940.9
C93

D510 .C87 1914
vol.5
Current history of the
European War : in 8 vols.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

940.9
C93

8022

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. V.—No. 1 October, 1916 25 cents a Copy $3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES	Editorial Interpretations	1
WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH	An Editorial Survey	5
HOW ENGLAND CHECKED THE SUBMARINE WAR	By Alfred Noyes	11
THE TITANIC STRUGGLE IN PICARDY	By the Editor	16
ITALY AND GERMANY FORMALLY AT WAR: Official Notification		19
THE ARMY BEHIND THE ARMY	By Lord Northcliffe	20
PREPARING THE SOMME OFFENSIVE	By a French Officer	25
THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME. II.	By M. Ardouin-Dumazet	28
"WE HAVE CAPTURED THE RIDGE"	By David Lloyd George	31
A SURVEY OF THE RUSSIAN BATTLE FRONT	By Charles Johnston	34
BALKAN DEVELOPMENTS	By a Staff Contributor	37
WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES:		
The Situation on Three Fronts: German View	By H. H. von Mellenthin	41
The Month's Military Developments: American View	By Lieut. J. B. W. Gardiner	46
$25 REWARD FOR EACH ENEMY SAILOR DROWNED		50
THE INVADER: A PARABLE	By Anatole France	51
RETALIATION FOR INTERFERENCE WITH AMERICAN TRADE		53
THE DESECRATED BIRTHPLACE OF LA FONTAINE	By Gabriel Alphaud	54
RUMANIA'S INTERVENTION	By a British Commissioner	57
Honorable Neutrality Impossible	By Take Jonescu	64
Text of Rumania's Declaration of War		67
Proclamation of the King of Rumania to His People		68
THE FIRST USE OF ASPHYXIATING GAS	By Joseph Reinach	69
BULGARIA'S PART IN THE EUROPEAN WAR	By Radoslav Andrea Tsanoff	70
Bulgaria's Claim on Macedonia	By a Bulgarian Diplomat	76
Bulgaria's Lost Claim: An Answer	By a Student of History	77
GREECE—THE NEUTRAL WITH NO FRIENDS	By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides	80
THE MOSLEM REVOLT IN ARABIA: Proclamation by the Sherif of Mecca		85

Contents continued on next page

Copyright, 1916, by The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved. Entered at the Post Office in New York as second class matter.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Canada.

CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
WILL RUSSIA KEEP HER PROMISES TO POLAND?	By Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy	87
CANADA AND THE WAR	By Spencer Brodney	89
The Catholic Church and the War	By Norman Murray	93
Canada's New Imperial Spirit: Captain Papineau's Letter		95
CIVIL WORK OF GERMAN WOMEN IN WAR TIMES	By Dr. Agnes von Harnack	97
THE CIVILIZING INFLUENCES OF WAR	By Alfred Rosenblatt	103

MAGAZINISTS ON WAR THEMES:

	PAGE
WHY NOT MAKE PEACE NOW? By Israel Zangwill	106
THE DAWN OF DOUBT IN GERMANY By Friedrich Naumann	107
THE ATTITUDE OF A RADICAL By Prince Peter Kropotkin	109
THE FACULTY OF WONDER DULLED By Winston Spencer Churchill	111
CHANGED IDEALS OF BELLIGERENTS By V. Kershentseff	112
HUMAN NATURE AND THE WAR By Principal L. P. Jacks	113
ITALIAN SOCIALISM AND THE WAR By Ivanoe Bonomi	116
A SILENT REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND By Editor of Round Table	117

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR:

	PAGE
"INASMUCH AS YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO THE LEAST OF THESE"—	118
A PERILOUS ESCAPE BY SEA By a Russian Correspondent	120
COMFORTS OF HOME—IN DUGOUTS By a British Private	122
THE MAORI IN FRANCE By a British Correspondent	123
FRENCH SCHOOLS IN ALSACE By the Editor	124
THE DEATH PLUNGE OF A ZEPPELIN: A NIGHT EPISODE	125

DEPORTATION OF CIVILIANS IN OCCUPIED FRENCH TERRITORY		127
The Agonized Mothers of Lille	By One of Them	131
GERMAN CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN BELGIUM	By Baron Adolf von Bachofen	136
THE INVASION OF BELGIUM	By Colonel Feyler	140
A PEACE THAT WILL LAST	By Jean Finot	143
WHAT WOULD GERMAN VICTORY MEAN?	By Prof. Moritz Julius Bonn	145
GERMANY'S OPINION OF WILSON AS A MEDIATOR	By Count Ernst zu Reventlow	147
COLONIAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES	By Prof. Brander Matthews	152
THE MONROE DOCTRINE	By the Editor	154
DIGGING SONG: A BAVARIAN PROTEST	By Corporal Sanktus	163
THE FIGHT FOR THE REPUBLIC IN CHINA	By W. Reginald Wheeler	164
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS, 26 Cartoons, All Nations		171
PROGRESS OF THE WAR	Chronology to Sept. 11	191

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA	*Frontis*
QUEEN MARIA OF RUMANIA	1
KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE	16
GREEK ROYALTY AND MINISTERS	17
GERMANY'S HIGHEST GENERALS	32
GENERAL JOSEPH JOFFRE	33
ENTENTE RULERS AND COMMANDERS	48
ANATOLE FRANCE AND HIS FRIENDS	49
KING LUDWIG III. OF BAVARIA	80
GENERAL VON SAKHAROFF	81
BULGARIA'S ROYAL CHILDREN	96
LORD NORTHCLIFFE	97
FOUR RUMANIAN LEADERS	128
GERMAN PRISON CAMP MONEY	129
HEROES WHO HAVE SAVED FRANCE	144
BIRDSEYE VIEW OF SALONIKI	145

KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA

Ruler of the Balkan Nation Whose Declaration of War on the Side of the Entente Was the Chief Military Event of Last Month.

QUEEN MARIA OF RUMANIA

The Beautiful Ruler, With King Ferdinand, of the Fifteenth Nation to Enter the Great European War.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

CURRENT HISTORY
A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES
OCTOBER, 1916

THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES

New Aspects of the Conflict

THE outstanding events of the last month were the declaration of war by Italy against Germany, the entrance of Rumania on the side of the Allies, and the practical surrender by King Constantine of Greek sovereignty to the Allies.

The importance of Rumania's decision lies not only in the fresh troops she supplies and opening the gates which heretofore have barred the Russians from Bulgaria and Hungary, but in the moral influence of her action on the neutrals. The Rumanian statesmen from the very beginning have been closely watching the situation; they have had access to the fullest and most secret information; moreover, they have been in a position to observe critically and thoroughly at first hand the march of events, and have not hesitated to confess frankly that if they yielded their neutrality it would be to take sides with the forces which Rumania was convinced would win. Now that they have unsheathed the sword and aligned themselves against the Teutons, Bulgarians, and Turks, the act serves notice to the neutral world that the most formidable uncommitted nation of Europe after two years of investigation feels sure that the cause of the Central Powers is lost.

The action of Greece implies practically the same conclusion. King Constantine undoubtedly intended to maintain neutrality, though the sympathies of his consort and of the entire royal entourage were decidedly pro-German. The deathblow to his prestige came when the Bulgarians invaded Greek soil and occupied Greek fortresses. A flame of indignation swept over Greece, revolutionary parties were formed in Thessaly and Macedonia, and some garrisons were forced to yield their forts to the revolutionists. Finally, when Bulgaria seized the important port of Kavala, the allied powers saw their opportunity; a large fleet was assembled at Piraeus, and instant demand was made that the posts and telegraph be turned over to the Allies, and that German propagandist agents be expelled from Greece. These demands were at once complied with, and the Allies are now practically administering Grecian affairs. The Zaimis Cabinet has tendered its resignation, and Nikolas Kalogeropoulos, a distinguished Greek lawyer friend of Venizelos, has formed a new Cabinet. The voice of ex-Premier Venizelos is paramount. The elections will be held in October. If they go, as is confidently expected, in favor of Venizelos, the King will face the alternative of abdicating or formally joining the Allies.

Italy's declaration of war against Germany simply gives the formal and final touch to the dissolution of the Triple Alliance and commits Italy irrevocably to a policy hostile to the aims of the Central Powers. She has been practically at war with Germany since her declaration against Austria in May, 1915, but the formal declaration late in August last has political significance, and may have influenced the final decision of Rumania.

Military Developments

THE first impression following the Rumanian action was that it meant the early ending of the war, but this opinion gradually altered, and within two weeks it was generally noted that as her enemies multiplied, Germany's backbone stiffened. The grandiose structure of Pan Germanism was shaken, however; the problem of the Central Powers had become one of keeping their empires intact, and to this end they were prepared to fight with desperation, and to expend the uttermost farthing and the last able-bodied man in their realms if necessary.

"The nippers are gripping." The ring of steel begins at Riga and now extends southward in an unbroken line through Transylvania, Macedonia, lower Hungary, Trent, Tyrol, Alsace-Lorraine, Western France, and Flanders, to Ostend and Antwerp. It is being contracted each day, but very slowly, and if this pressure can be resisted as effectually as at present, many months must yet elapse before German soil is reached.

The Rumanians have suffered severe territorial losses on their southeastern border—lands which Bulgaria has long sought—but have advanced with the Russians in Transylvania and Bulgaria. The full manoeuvre of the Rumanian-Russian campaign is not yet defined. The Allies have begun a serious upward pressure from Saloniki, and have already reconquered some Serbian territory. The Italians are making progress, driving for Trieste, the Trentino and Tyrol. The French have the advantage at Verdun, and are gradually recovering the outlying fortresses they lost there. On the Somme the Anglo-French offensive is blasting its way through the German trenches, gaining a few thousand yards every few days, but the Allies have not been able to break the German lines, and at their present rate of progress will be unable before Winter to bend them back far enough to flank them and drive the enemy out of France; but backward the Germans are moving, surely if slowly; it is clear that, unless new forces can be levied and new instruments of warfare introduced, they must in the end be forced to their own frontiers.

Stormy Days for Premier Tisza

RUMANIA'S entry into the war caused the sudden collapse of the recently patched-up peace between the Hungarian Government Party, led by Premier Tisza, and the four groups forming the Opposition, led by Counts Michael Karolyi, Albert Apponyi, Julius Andrassy, and Stephan Rakovski. The Opposition attacked the Premier fiercely for the failure of the Foreign Office to avert Rumania's participation on the side of the Entente Powers, for the advance of the Rumanians into Transylvania, and for the critical food situation in Hungary. Scenes of great excitement were enacted at the session of the Hungarian Diet on Sept. 5 and at subsequent sessions. The Premier was greeted by the Opposition forces with shouts of "Resign!" Ex-Premier Andrassy urged a change in leadership in view of the serious position in which the country found itself. Premier Tisza, however, showed no disposition to retire. Meanwhile the Bulgaro-German invasion of Rumania in the Dobrudja district lessened somewhat the vigor of the Opposition's attacks. The leaders even expressed themselves to the effect that the adding to the Cabinet of some Ministers without portfolios from their own ranks would satisfy the Opposition. The latter scored a victory on Sept. 13 in the withdrawal from the Government Party of Count Bela Serenyi and his resignation from the office of Minister of Agriculture. The political situation in Hungary is so dependent upon the position of the army that there is certain to follow a political crisis in case of further Russo-Rumanian successes across the Carpathians.

Hungary's Hard Lot

THE position of the Kingdom of Hungary at the present stage of the war is singularly hard. After fighting for her independence, which she would have won in 1848-9, but for the intervention of Nicholas I. of Russia as the defender of imperialism, Hungary, taking advantage of the Austrian Emperor's difficulties after Sadowa in 1866, made herself practically independent without fighting. The Magyars, who are only

10,000,000 out of Hungary's 20,000,000 population, then tried to dominate the Slavs and Rumanians within the boundaries of Hungary—and these include Croatia and Slavonia—disfranchising them and dictating to them in many ways. This treatment by the recently liberated Magyars of the Rumanian element in Transylvania was given by the Rumanian Government as one of its chief reasons for entering the war on the side opposed to Austria-Hungary.

Yet Hungary's position is exceptionally hard: though practically an independent kingdom, she has no independent army, practically no control over the valiant and hard fighting Hungarian regiments in the Austrian Imperial Army. According to the agreement, (the Ausgleich of 1867,) which binds the two parts of the Dual Monarchy together, there is only one War Ministry in the empire, that at Vienna, and it is practically beyond the control of the Budapest Parliament. Hence the sharp discontent in the Magyar capital; Hungary sees her eastern provinces given up to the Rumanian invader, knows that there are many valiant Hungarian regiments who might have fought to keep that invader back, but is unable to send them to the frontier passes. They have already been dispersed along other fronts, nominally by the Vienna War Ministry, but really by the Great General Staff of Germany, in accordance with German, not with Hungarian needs and strategy. After keen discontent, a compromise has been reached at Budapest, under which the critics of the Opposition have agreed not to quarrel under the enemy's guns.

The Forces of the Hellenic Armies

RUMANIA, with a population of about 8,000,000, affirms that she will be able to put 800,000 men of all arms into the field, in furtherance of her national ambition for a Larger Rumania of 12,000,000 souls. Even if her armies lose heavily, the nation, should it be successful, will greatly gain. Greece had, before the two Balkan wars, a population of 2,600,000; these wars gave her new territories with a population only slightly less, so that, in 1914, she counted some four and a half millions; about equal to the population of Ireland, with about the same area. If she is able to do as well as Rumania promises to do, she will be able to put into battle something over 400,000 men, or, let us say, ten army corps.

We may reach about the same result in another way. Each belligerent nation which had universal military service has been able to put into the field an army six or seven times as numerous as her peace army, by drawing on all reserves. But Greece has a peace army of 60,000; six times that number will give us 360,000; seven times that number gives 420,000—much the same result as before. Since military service in Greece is compulsory and universal, with very few exemptions, practically every man in Greece above the age of 20 has had a full military training, and has been trained well. The Greek service rifle is the Mannlicher-Schoenauer; the field artillery is armed with Schneider-Canet guns, very similar to the famous French "75." As for leadership, King Constantine, whose courage was questioned in the disastrous war against Turkey in 1897, showed himself in the Balkan wars of 1912-3 a soldier of considerable force and skill. And, as incentive in this war for nationality, there are still large colonies of "unredeemed" Greeks at many points throughout the Turkish Empire, notably in the splendid historic territories of Ionia, facing Greece across the Aegean Sea.

The new Greek Premier, who organized a Cabinet on Sept. 16, is Nikolas Kalogeropoulos, one of the cleverest lawyers of Greece. He holds the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Paris. He is regarded as friendly to Venizelos, and though he announces that Greece will maintain "benevolent neutrality" toward the Allies, it is believed this cannot continue long.

A Lost Italian Dreadnought

USELESS and needless to speculate on the cause of the loss of a fine Italian dreadnought named in honor of the most universal genius of Italy, Leonardo de Vinci, reported to have sunk in

the harbor of Taranto under the instep of the Italian boot. The cause is obscure. The fact of the loss remains. This fine battleship was one of a group laid down from 1909 to 1912, six in number, and several of them bearing splendid historic names: Dante Alighieri, Conte di Cavour, Giulio Cesare, (Julius Caesar,) Leonardo da Vinci, Duilio, and Andrea Doria—named for the authors of works as various as the Divine Comedy, the Commentaries on the Gallic War, and United Italy. Two of these ships, the poet and the statesman, displace 19,000 tons and carry a primary armament of twelve 12-inch guns; the other four were built to displace 21,500 tons each, and to carry thirteen 12-inch guns; among these is the Taranto wreck.

Italy began, in 1914, a group of still larger battleships, four in number, to be called the Cristoforo Colombo, the M. Colonna, the F. Morosini, the Carracciolo. These new ships were to displace 28,000 tons, excelled by only two ships in the British Navy, the battle cruisers Queen Mary and Tiger, the first of which went down at the battle of Jutland; equaled, in the German Navy, by the battle cruiser Derfflinger, by the Lützow, likewise sunk in the battle of Jutland, and perhaps by two or three new ships, one called after Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The four Italian superdreadnoughts were designed to carry a primary armament of eight 15-inch guns, a stronger primary battery, it would seem, than any in the United States Navy, though paralleled by all the newer British and some of the newer German ships. But Italy has always had a liking for the biggest guns. She was said at one time to have primary batteries of 17-inch guns on some of her warships, and it was said that these were the biggest calibre guns ever mounted on shipboard. But just what stage of completion the Cristoforo Colombo and "her" three sister ships have reached, it would be difficult to say. By the way, is it not, to say the least, an odd fact in nomenclature, that Dante and Caesar, George Washington and Kaiser Wilhelm are all spoken of as "she" when their names are given to ships?

Germany's and England's Losses in Men

IN the month of July, 1916, the Germans lost 121,824 men, divided as follows: Killed, 21,196; died of sickness, 2,062; missing, 15,334; severely wounded, 17,807; wounded, 5,654; slightly wounded, 50,157; wounded but remaining with units, 9,614. The total German losses, exclusive of colonial forces, from August, 1914, to August, 1916, are 3,135,177, of whom 784,400 were killed or died of wounds or sickness, 357,617 missing and prisoners, and 425,175 severely wounded.

In August, 1916, the British lost in killed, wounded, and missing 4,711 officers and 123,234 men. In the first two years of the war the British casualty list of officers alone aggregated 41,219. Up to Jan. 28, 1916, the British losses of men were 525,345. No cumulative list of losses of men since that time has been published, but, assuming that the ratio of losses of officers to men has remained constant, the number of men killed, wounded, and missing in the twenty-four months is about 1,000,000.

The Munitions Miracle

THE miracle wrought in the production of munitions in England is reported by the Minister of Munitions as follows: The output which before the war took an entire year to produce is now turned out in periods as follows: Eighteen-pounders, 3 weeks; field howitzers, 2 weeks; medium-sized shells, 11 days; heavy shells, 4 days. The monthly output of guns has been increased twelve fold over the pre-war production, machine guns fourteen fold, rifles three fold, small-arms ammunition three fold, high explosives sixty-six fold, and trench bombs, thirty-three fold. In one week of the western offensive the British consumed more light ammunition than was produced in eleven months before the war, while all the heavy ammunition manufactured in eleven months before the war would not have met the requirements of the army in Picardy and Flanders for a single day. Today 2,250,000 persons are employed in England as munition workers, of whom 400,000 are women.

Mail for War Prisoners

SWITZERLAND handles all mail to and from prisoners of war free of cost. In April of this year the Swiss Post Office forwarded to prisoners of war 326,241 letters daily and 102,209 parcels, weighing up to twelve pounds; it also handled an average of 7,994 money orders a day. From the beginning of the war to the end of 1915 the Berne Transit Bureau forwarded to the belligerent countries 74,256,858 letters and postcards addressed to prisoners of war, besides 19,028,192 large and small parcels. During the same period the Swiss Post Office transmitted 3,066,597 money orders aggregating $8,654,336. All this was done free of charge and cost the Swiss Government over $2,000,000. Letters and parcels from prisoners to correspondents in the United States are handled by our Post Office free of charge, but postage is required for forwarding from this country.

Mercantile Marine Losses

THE Bureau Veritas, an authoritative French marine publication, has collated statistics of the war losses of the mercantile marine, which differ widely from the figures given out by German authorities. The losses from Aug. 1, 1914, to May 1, 1916, as reported by the French publication represents a total of 1,475 vessels with gross tonnage of 3,324,725. The world's tonnage is 50,000,000, hence the loss is a little over 6 per cent. The chief sufferers are tabulated as follows:

	No.	Steam.	Sail.	Total Tons.
British	641	543	98	1,448,699
French	63	45	18	157,987
German	441	354	87	1,106,457
Austrian	49	48	1	173,417
American	3	1	2	7,202
Dutch	20	20	..	48,452
Norwegian	100	76	24	116,434

The German losses represent 18 per cent. of Germany's total at the outbreak of the war; England's loss is 7 per cent. The Germans seized in their ports sixty-three vessels with a tonnage of 142,936. Great Britain's seizures total 490,032 tons. Portugal seized German vessels with a total of 196,407 tons. The seizures are not included in the reports of losses. The Hamburg-American Company alone has lost during the war 48 vessels out of 205; the Hansa Line of Bremen 36 ships out of 74; the Kosmos Line 29 out of 59; the North German Lloyd 28 out of 142.

The losses from May 1, 1916, to Sept. 1, 1916, which were quite heavy among the Allies, are not included in the above. In August, 1916, alone the German Admiralty claims its submarines destroyed 126 hostile ships, totaling 170,679 gross tons; also thirty-five neutral ships carrying contraband, totaling 38,568 tons.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

Purchase of Danish West Indies

THE Senate on Sept. 6 ratified the treaty between the United States and Denmark for the purchase of the Danish West Indies for $25,000,000 without an opposing vote. Agreement to the sale by all political parties in Denmark, with the early consummation of the transaction, is confidently expected. The United States thus secures 33,000 square miles of new territory. In comparison with previous purchases of this kind the price is high. The Louisiana Purchase comprised 828,000 square miles and cost us (in 1803) $15,440,000. We paid Mexico in 1848 $15,000,000 for the 529,189 square miles in which California was included, and in 1867 we paid Russia for Alaska $7,200,000. In 1853 we paid $10,000,000 for the Gadsden Purchase, lands in Arizona and New Mexico, 45,000 square miles, and in 1898 we paid Spain $20,000,000 when we took over the Philippines, Guam, and Porto Rico. For Florida, in 1819, the price was $5,000,000, and that recently paid for Panama was $10,000,000 down and $250,000 annually for the Canal

Zone. In the purchase of these islands the amount of territory acquired evidently had no bearing on the price. Our Government paid the exorbitant amount asked not only to secure the islands, but to prevent their going to any other power.

The discussion leading up to this purchase reopened questions concerning the Monroe Doctrine. The enlarged interpretation given to Monroe's dictum in our own day had raised the question whether the acquirement of these Danish islands by any other European power would not be an intolerable violation of the principle at stake. The event, therefore, lends timeliness to an article elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in which the historic development of the Monroe Doctrine is traced.

* * *

OUR NEW NAVAL PROGRAM

THE United States Congress which adjourned Sept. 8, after a session lasting nearly ten months, made the largest naval appropriation ever passed by any legislative body in time of peace. The bill provides for the construction of 157 new vessels of all classes, and will put the United States second among the naval powers of the world. Provision is made for 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 50 destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, 58 coast submarines, and 13 auxiliary vessels, all having a total displacement of 813,000 tons. The program covers three years.

The cost of the vessels authorized, plus the 20 per cent. additional for expediting the construction, amounts to $654,000,000; the total cost of vessels from 1883 to 1915, inclusive, was $700,000,000. The bill also carries these important provisions: $13,700,000 for a Government armor plant, projectile plant, and laboratories, and $3,500,000 for naval aeronautics and a naval flying corps. The commissioned personnel of the navy is increased by 1,525; 900 in the line, 330 in the Medical Corps, 130 in the pay corps, 70 in the construction, 20 in the engineers, 25 in the Chaplains, 50 in the dental surgeons.

The enlisted force of the navy will be increased by 24,000 men, of whom 25 are annually appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to be midshipmen; he is also to appoint annually from civil life 30 Ensigns for engineering duties, graduates of engineering institutions. The Marine Corps is increased about 5,000, with 300 new commissions.

The Secretary of the Navy expects that the construction of all the vessels provided for in the program will be under way by March 1, 1917, and that all will be completed well within the three-year period.

* * *

AVIATION IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY

A FEATURE of the new Army bill enacted at the recent session of Congress is the provision for aviation. It provides for the training of 1,000 aviators, half of whom will be active and half in the reserve service. The plans call for an equipment which will include aeroplanes of all the various military types, for a thorough system of training, for the mobilization, and so far as possible the standardization, of the various industries which can be utilized in the manufacture of aeroplanes or their equipment for military purposes, and, lastly, for means by which any young man who can pass the mental, physical, and moral test of the regular service may obtain the practical and theoretical instruction necessary to equip him for a commission as an officer of the aerial reserve service.

There will be established a system of training schools, which are expected to be second to none in the world. The machines manufactured especially for training purposes will be of types to fly from thirty-eight to sixty miles an hour, and designed with the idea of obtaining a machine easy for a novice to operate.

* * *

NEW FEDERAL REVENUE LAW

THE new revenue bill doubles the initial income tax, making it 2 per cent. on incomes over $3,000 in the case of unmarried persons or over $4,000 for persons "at the head of a family." An additional tax is levied on incomes exceeding $20,000, increasing to 13 per cent. on incomes of over $2,000,000. All

the existing stamp taxes are abolished. There is a tax of 50 cents on each $1,000 stock (market value) of corporations in excess of $99,000.

A 30 per cent. duty is assessed on dyestuffs to begin at once, also on medicinals and flavors, the duty to be reduced gradually after five years. A 35 per cent. tax is put on blended wines and 10 cents a gallon on brandy spirits. The law also provides for a Federal inheritance tax beginning at 1 per cent. on estates up to $50,000, 9 per cent between $4,000,000 and $5,000,000, 10 per cent. over $5,000,000.

A tariff commission is authorized, the President to appoint and designate the Chairman. Salaries are fixed at $7,500 a year. The commission's duties are to investigate trade conditions and changes in case of production and to report its findings from time to time to Congress; it has no executive authority; $300,000 is appropriated annually for the work of the commission. Copper smelters, under the new law, are to pay a tax of 1 per cent. on gross receipts up to $1,000,000, 2 per cent. up to $10,000,000, 3 per cent. in excess of $10,000,000.

* * *

Great Britain's Wonderful Wealth

ACCORDING to British Treasury experts, Great Britain has provided for the interest and sinking fund of its colossal war debt twice over by the imposition of new taxes. The total debt July 29, 1916, was, in round numbers, $14,000,000,000; if the war continues to March, 1917, it is estimated the debt will be $17,000,000,000. The present debt averages 4½ per cent. interest; add 1 per cent. sinking fund, and the total annual charge on the debt now is $745,000,000. Prior to the war the expenses, including interest charges, was $1,000,000,000 per annum. The revenue for the current year, due to the imposition of extraordinary income and excise taxes, will be $2,500,000,000. Deducting one billion dollars as the normal rate of expenditure, there still remains one and one-half billions for new interest and sinking fund, which is twice the amount now required. Even if the national debt reaches twenty billions, with interest at 5 per cent. and 1 per cent. sinking fund, the present revenue will meet all current expenditures, as well as the colossal war drain, and will still leave a comfortable surplus.

* * *

Our Trade with Holland

ENGLAND has become so aroused over the extraordinary increase of Holland's importations of food products, a large proportion of which find their way into Germany, that she has laid a virtual embargo on all food products from the United States to Holland. On Sept. 14 notice was given that she refused to allow the Netherlands Oversea Trust to accept any further American consignments and declined to grant assurance for American shipments destined for either Holland or Scandinavian countries. Under this order only cargoes for Scandinavia and Holland, when accompanied by assurances of their innocent destination, will be allowed by the Allies to proceed.

The embargo on Holland doubtless arises from the following statistics recently procured by Great Britain: In the first six months of 1914 the shipments of butter to Germany from Holland were 7,671 tons, in the same period of 1916 19,026 tons; cheese jumped from 6,312 tons to 45,969 tons, cocoa from 1,025 tons to 3,302 tons, eggs from 7,868 tons to 20,328 tons, meat from 5,820 tons to 40,248 tons, potato flour from 20,985 tons to 52,298 tons, spirits from 447 hectoliters to 37,638. The shipments to England from Holland in the same period showed enormous reductions as compared with the same period in 1914.

* * *

The Mexican Conference

THE troubles on the Mexican border seem now to be fairly on the way toward a satisfactory solution through the labors of the joint high commission which has been in session at New London, Conn., since Sept. 6. The commission consists of three of Mexico's ablest men and three Americans of like endowment, namely:

Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior.

George Gray of Wilmington, Del., former Federal Judge.

Dr. John R. Mott of New York, General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation.

Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Cabinet.

Alberto J. Pani, President of the Mexican National Railways.

Ignacio Bonillas, Sub-Secretary in the Mexican Department of Communications.

The first two weeks of the conference have been devoted to a broad discussion of the economic and political problems that underlie the whole question of the Carranza Government's ability to restore security of life and property in Mexico as well as along the border. At this writing (Sept. 20) a plan to guard the border by a mixed American and Mexican patrol operating within a restricted neutral zone is under consideration. The fact of chief significance thus far, however, is that the members of the commission have met in a spirit of accord and mutual respect, and that both countries are confidently expecting a workable program at their hands, in which the early withdrawal of General Pershing's expedition from Mexican soil and the recall of most of our National Guard regiments from the Rio Grande will be the salient features. It is expected that an American loan will figure indirectly in the effort to increase the efficiency of the Mexican Government.

* * *

Germany's Food Problem

DR. HELFFERICH, Germany's Secretary of the Interior, states that Germany, notwithstanding her industrial progress prior to 1914, did not neglect food production; hence he scoffs at the idea that the nation can be starved. In consequence of scientific cultivation agricultural schools, irrigation, drainage, rotation of crops, and artificial fertilization, the harvests from 1909 to 1912 compared with the period of 1883-86 show an increase in area cultivated of 5.8 per cent., but the increase in crops was 87.7 per cent., making the increase in the net return per hectare 77.7 per cent. He says without any imports whatsoever Germany's breadstuffs are more plentiful per capita than they were thirty years ago, also that the imports of meat and butter were comparatively light, and that the production of sugar has increased 10 to 12 per cent., and will easily meet the requirements without any importations. The blockade on importations of cattle feed has rendered difficult, he says, the keeping of live stock and limited meat and milk products, but this deficiency is being met by economies. He states that the 1916 harvest is much better than in 1915, and that the increase in breadstuffs over 1915 will amount to several million tons.

* * *

Drunkenness and War

THE official reports show that there is a decided decrease of drunkenness in London. During the first eight months of this year the total convictions for drunkenness in the London district were 20,477, against 37,570 in the same period in 1915 and 45,540 in the corresponding period of 1914. Some decrease is attributed to the absence of men at the front, but the decrease in convictions of women is almost in the same proportions; the statistics of female convictions are, respectively, for the first eight months of 1914, 1915, and 1916, 12,-164, 11,231, and 6,797.

The average weekly number of convictions for drunkenness from January to June last was 835 in England and 454 in Scotland, as compared with 1,558 and 754, respectively, from January to June, 1915.

Beer charged with duty for home consumption in England and Wales during the first six months of 1915 totaled 11,439,306 barrels, against 10,782,533 in the first six months of this year, and in Scotland 676,381, against 651,209.

Whisky cleared for home consumption in England and Wales for the first six months of 1915 amounted to 13,258,158 gallons, compared with 11,254,933 in the first half of this year, and in Scotland 3,685,935 gallons, against 2,688,915.

* * *

The Situation in Ireland

AN American Consul returning from Europe has recently put it on record that, while in Ireland there is outward tranquillity, there is still much fermentation beneath the surface; that,

while no troops fight more loyally and gallantly at the front in France than those recruited in Ireland, (and the official army reports fully bear this out,) there is still much unrest in the southwest of Ireland, in the regions about Cork and Killarney in particular. He adds, and this is ominous, that a new rebellion is to be financed from the United States. Charles Stuart Parnell, by far the ablest leader Nationalist Ireland has produced in our days, a man who united passionate patriotism with a dry, scientific intellect, once said that Ireland was almost ideally unfitted for guerrilla warfare (and that is what a "rebellion" means) because it is like a basin, with a rim of mountains near the edge, but with the whole centre of the country an open plain. The entire coast is dominated by the English Navy, and must continue to be, so long as that navy is in possession of the sea; the whole centre of the country is indefensible by guerrillas; therefore any attempted military operations are foredoomed to fail.

The "rebellion" of 1798 demonstrated this. Foreign aid had been promised; because of England's command of the sea, even before Trafalgar seven years later, no effective foreign aid could be sent. Guerrilla warfare broke out at different points along the "rim" of the basin, (Wexford, Down, Mayo,) but these efforts were neither correlated nor simultaneous, and ended in early disaster. Today such a "rebellion" is even more certain to fail; no foreign aid, except, perhaps, a submarine crew or two, can possibly be sent; English garrisons, using railroads, can reach any point in the country within a few hours. Their possession of modern artillery would make the result of armed conflict a mathematical certainty. Only disaster and misery could result to Ireland, as was the case with the recent uprising in Dublin. It is quite clear that any one financing or otherwise abetting a "rebellion" in Ireland is not seeking the well-being of Ireland, which could not conceivably come from it, but is seeking to embarrass England; to help, not Ireland, but the nations fighting England. For the sake of Ireland every one must hope that these efforts, if they really exist, will be wholly abortive.

* * *

Social Relief Work in England and Russia

ONE of the effects of the war throughout the civilized world has been the unparalleled intensity of relief work carried on by diverse social bodies both in belligerent and neutral countries. While the full extent of such work can never be measured with any degree of accuracy, the statistics based on the activities of the major organizations in a certain country are instructive in themselves. Thus we find that in the first two years of war the people of England have voluntarily contributed more than $250,000,000 to the work of the various British organizations engaged in relief activities at home and at the front. The leading fund in England is the Prince of Wales Relief Fund, the receipts of which now total more than $30,000,000.

Russia's relief work is more astounding than that of England. This is partly due to the fact that the Russian social bodies are engaged in certain activities—such as supplying clothes to the soldiers at the front—which in England or France are the work of the Government exclusively. Russia's leading social organization, the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, has handled in the first two years of the war the enormous sum of 2,500,000,000 rubles. On July 16, 1916, the Zemstvo Union had on its hands 1,500,000 pieces of underwear, while all supplies on hand were insured at the sum of 23,000,000 rubles. In the two years the union has supplied the Government (for the army) with 78,000,000 pieces of underwear, while it expended for its own relief work 50,000,000 more such pieces. All other items included, the union supplied the Government with 131,000,000 articles. The union's order department is now turning out for the Government 5,000,000 pairs of warm boots, 4,000,000 Winter coats, 5,000,000 pairs of gloves, and 10,000,000 pairs of socks. From Aug. 3, 1915, to Aug. 10, 1916, the union manufactured for its own activities goods worth 36,000,000 rubles. Up to Jan. 14,

1916, 7,000,000 rubles were spent on medicine alone. The Central Committee of the union had purchased since November, 1915, 27,253 horses, 1,261 motor cycles, and 60 motor boats. A special factory maintained by the union had manufactured articles of a sanitary character to the value of 1,450,000 rubles. If it be remembered that the Zemstvo Union is only one of many social organizations doing work of like nature, the amazing extent of Russia's social awakening and progress may be realized.

* * *

THE Government of the United States has notified the allied Governments, in discussing the submarine merchant vessel Deutschland, that it cannot subscribe to the doctrine that all submarines shall be treated as vessels of war. The United States holds that the determination of the status of a submarine must be based on consideration of the facts in each individual case, and that the rule of conduct for a neutral Government must be the same with respect to this type of vessel that it is for other craft. Submarines may be merchant ships or warships, and their status is determined by the character and purpose of their armament, the ownership of the vessel, and whether they are privately owned or owned by a Government and commissioned as part of the naval forces of that Government.

* * *

THE foreign trade of the United States for the first seven months of 1916 reached the staggering total of $4,394,040,948, an increase of nearly $1,500,000,000 over the corresponding period last year. The exports from Jan. 1, 1916, to Aug. 1 were $2,926,221,372; imports, $1,467,819,574. Prior to the war our highest aggregate of exports and imports in an entire year, 1914, was $4,258,504,805; hence our foreign business in seven months is now practically up to the previous maximum in twelve months. The British Empire is our best customer, representing nearly half the total. Our balance of trade with the United Kingdom alone in seven months is $854,000,357. Our trade with Japan is nearly twice as large as last year. In seven months our trade with Germany was only $5,931,635, and with Austria $564,593. We imported from Germany in the first seven months of 1915 goods valued at $36,094,099, but the figures fell to $4,813,452 in the same period of 1916. Our sales to the A B C South American republics increased 100 per cent., and our imports from those countries increased over 50 per cent.

* * *

IN the first ten weeks—up to Aug. 12—of the Russian drive in Bukowina and Galicia, the Austro-Germans lost as prisoners to the Russians 7,757 officers and 350,000 men, besides 405 guns, 1,326 machine guns, 338 bomb throwers, and 292 caissons. Adding the losses of the next eighteen days—up to Sept. 1, 1916—the total number of prisoners captured by the Russians since the beginning of the drive is considerably in excess of 400,000. The British and French up to Sept. 10, 1916, in the drive in Picardy, which began July 1, captured 54,000 prisoners.

* * *

EMILE VANDERVELDE, Belgian Minister of State, recently told a London audience that on the day after the battle of the Yser the Belgian Army was reduced to a few thousands; the country, all save a little corner, was occupied by the invader, its finances were in ruin, and most of its young men of military age were on the other side of the German lines. Yet today Belgium has an army of 200,000 men, well armed and equipped, which is doing its share, pro rata, on the western front, holding the twenty-odd miles of trenches from the North Sea to Bixschoote.

How England Checked the Submarine War

By Alfred Noyes

Alfred Noyes, whose fame as poet is enshrined in English and American literature, served for a while at the Dardanelles and later visited the United States, where he was warmly received. On his return to England he began studying the British Admiralty methods for coping with the German submarines. With the co-operation of the Admiralty, he has been able to shed the first real light on this mystery. His articles, which are given here in abbreviated form, are copyrighted in America by The New York Tribune Association.

THERE has been some discussion in America as to whether Mr. Wilson's notes, or some other more secret and certain power, caused the Germans to abandon their deadliest sea weapon. Inasmuch as this weapon ceased to trouble the English a little earlier than it ceased to sink neutrals, the latter alternative might be accepted as probable, even without further knowledge, but further knowledge absolutely confirms this probability. Nothing is more striking in the conduct of this war than the way in which the British method of "slow and sure" has justified itself. The superficial clamor for sudden and sensational proofs of "what England is doing" began in the first fortnight of the war. Neutral countries even wondered why the first month of the war had produced no great historian. In the meantime, England was making the history of the next thousand years; and that can only be done on vast and deeply sunken foundations, which must be laid in silence. Results, and solid results, of granite and oak were England's aim. These are now appearing; and while her great new armies are demonstrating what England has created on that side, it is now possible to give a glimpse of the far-reaching method that destroyed the menace of the German submarine.

ALFRED NOYES

It was done in silence, and silence was one of the weapons. Submarines went out and never returned. Other submarines went out, perplexed, against a mystery; and these, too, never returned, or returned in mysteriously diminishing numbers. Nothing was said about it till the destruction of the fiftieth was quietly celebrated at a small gathering in London; and then neutrals began to inquire, with a new note of curiosity, "What is England doing?" We heard tales of steel nets—as vague as the results would have been but for certain great preliminaries of which we never heard. A few days ago I had the opportunity of seeing the finished system, and this threw a flood of light on the immense work that must have gone before in even this one branch of our sea warfare.

A Mysterious Fleet

To begin with, a body of men, larger than the United States Army, was chosen from the longshore fishermen and trawler crews. They were gradually drilled, disciplined, and trained and put into naval

uniforms. This force is now over 100,000 strong. They were chosen, of course, on an entirely different principle from that of the army. They were tough sea-dogs, of all ages, inured to all the ways of the sea, but not at all to any form of discipline. This in itself implies very great preliminaries, for the finished product is fit to man a battleship.

In the meantime, their fishing-boats, trawlers, and drifters were gradually taken over by the Government and fitted out for the hunt, some three thousand of them. To these were added a fleet of fast motor boats, specially built for scouting purposes. They were stationed at various points all round the island. Night and day, in all weathers, section replacing section, these trawlers and drifters string themselves out from coast to coast; while on shore thousands of workers are turning out their own special munitions and equipment—nets, mines, and a dozen mysteries which may not be mentioned.

From one of their bases a patrol-boat took me out along one of the longest lines of the flotilla. This innocent line of trawlers, strung out for some fifty miles, had more nightmares in store for the German submarines than a fleet of battleships. It was an odd sensation to approach trawler after trawler and note the one obviously unusual feature of each—the menacing black gun at bow and stern. They were good guns, too—English, French, and Japanese. The patrol-boat carried a Hotchkiss, and most of the trawlers had equally efficient weapons. There were other unusual features in every trawler, drifter, and whaler, features that made one catch one's breath when their significance was realized. About this I may say very little; but in the matter of the nets it was demonstrated to me that within twenty-five minutes any submarine reported in most of our home waters can be inclosed in a steel trap from which there is no escape. The vague rumors that we heard in the earlier stages of the war led one to suppose that these nets might be used perhaps in the English Channel and other narrow waters. But I have seen traps a hundred miles long, traps that could shift their position and change their shape at a signal.

A submarine may enter their seas, indeed, and even go to America. She may even do some damage within their lines. But, if she does this, her position is known, and, if there be any future damage done, it will probably have to be done by another submarine. For she has called upon a thousand perils, from every point of the compass, to close upon her return journey. I have actually seen the course of a German submarine—which thought itself undiscovered—marked from day to day on the chart at an English base. The clues to all the ramifications of this work are held by a few men at the Admiralty in London. Telephone and telegraph keep them in constant touch with every seaport in the kingdom. But let the reader consider the amount of quiet organization that went before all this. Even the manufacture of the nets—which do not last forever, even when made—is an industry in itself; and that is one of the least of a thousand activities.

Sailors' Awful Ordeal

[Mr. Noyes refers to the three English sailors who were captured from a trawler by a German submarine:]

They endured eighty hours' nightmare under the sea that shattered the mind of one and left permanent traces on the other two. Periodically revolvers were put to their heads, and they were ordered, on pain of death, to tell all they knew of our naval dispositions. They saw a good deal of the internal routine of the German submarine also; and noted, characteristically, that the German crew—on this boat, at any rate—were very "jumpy," too "jumpy" even to take a square meal. They munched biscuits at their stations at odd moments. On the third morning they heard guns going overhead, and watched the Germans handing out shells to their own guns. Finally a torpedo was fired, and they heard it take effect. Then they emerged into the red wash of dawn and saw only the floating wreckage of the big ship that had been sunk, and, among the wreckage, a small boat. They were

bundled into this, told they were free to row to England or Nineveh, and the submarine left them—three longshore fisherman, who had passed through the latest invention of the modern scientific devil, two who could still pull at the oars, but the other too crazy to steer, as his little personal part of the price paid by England for sweeping and patrolling the seas of civilization.

Many were the tales of neutrals, towed to port, battered but safe, by these indefatigable auxiliaries. One was towed in, upside down, by fixing an English anchor in one of her German-made shell holes; she was towed for a hundred miles, at a quarter of a knot an hour, and arrived for the Admiral at the base to make his inspection.

Attack on the Gulflight

The attack on the American steamship Gulflight was narrated to me as follows by the skipper of his Majesty's drifter Contrive:

"We had shot our nets, and about noon we saw a large tank steamer coming up channel at a good pace. She was coming in our direction, and I soon saw her colors, the Stars and Stripes, at the stern—a fine big ensign it was and spread out like a board. When she was about two miles off, to my horror I saw a submarine emerge from the depths and come right to the surface. There was no sign of life on the submarine, but she lay stationary, rising and falling in the trough, and I knew instinctively that she was watching the steamer. She had undoubtedly come from the same direction as that in which the steamer was going, and it did not take me long to realize what had actually happened. I took in the situation at a glance. The submarine had passed the Gulflight, (for that proved to be her name.) She had deliberately increased speed to lie in wait for her and get a sure target rather than attempt to fire a torpedo when overhauling her, with the possible chance of missing and wasting one of those expensive weapons, even on an American.

"The submarine was painted light gray and had two guns; but I could not see any number. For five minutes she lay motionless—and then, having fixed the position of her prey, and taken her speed into consideration, she slowly submerged in its direction. I knew what was coming, and it came—a dull, heavy explosion and a silence, and then, as if to see the result of her handiwork, the submarine again appeared. She did not stay up long, as smoke was soon seen on the horizon, and I knew the patrols had been looking for her. She knew it, too—and submerged. I hauled in my nets and proceeded at full speed to the sinking ship to try and save the lives of the crew. Our boat was launched, and I went aboard. By this time the Gulflight's bows were well down and her fore decks awash, and she looked as if she would sink at any minute. She was badly holed in her fore part. The Huns, I thought, had done their work well.

"Ten minutes later I saw the patrol vessels racing up for all they were worth, and one of these vessels took off the crew, two of whom were drowned. The Captain of the Gulflight died of shock. Soon four patrol vessels were on the spot, and three of these vessels put men aboard with wires in double quick time. The fourth—a big trawler, with wireless (which I now know in naval language as a 'trawler leader')—steamed round and round in the vicinity, keeping a careful watch. In less than two hours the Gulflight, her Stars and Stripes still flying above water, was being towed at a good speed to port, with the trawlers in attendance."

Frightfulness Frightened

[Mr. Noyes tells how the trawlers have driven German submarines out of English waters, and narrates as follows a moving story of submarine frightfulness, which is an epic of unspeakable cruelty.]

It was on a fine Summer morning that the fishing trawler Victoria left a certain port beloved of Nelson to fish on the Labadie Bank. She carried a crew of nine men, together with a little boy named Jones—a friend of the skipper. He held under his arm a well-thumbed copy of "Treasure Island." Perhaps it was this book that had inspired him to

the adventure, for, though nobody quite believed at that time in the existence of the twentieth-century pirate, there was adventure in the air, and it was only after much pleading that he was allowed to go. This vessel, of course, was unarmed and used only for fishing. For a week all went well. There was a good catch of fish, splashing the rusty-red old craft with shining scales from bow to stern, and piling up below like mounded silver. The crew were beginning to think of their women at home and their accustomed nooks in the Lord Nelson and Blue Dolphin Taverns.

They were about 130 miles from land when the sound of a gun was heard by all hands. The boy Jones shut his book on his thumb and ran up to the bridge, where he stood by the skipper. In the distance, against the sunset, they saw the silhouette of a strange-looking ship. At first it looked like a drifter, painted gray, with mizzen set. But the flash of another gun revealed it as a submarine. The skipper hesitated. Should he stop the ship and trust to the laws of war and the good faith of the enemy? The lives of the crew and the little boy, who had been left in his charge, were his first thought. Yes, he would do so, and the order was given. The engines ceased to throb. Then, as the ship rolled idly, he was disillusioned. The gun flashed again, and he knew that he was facing an implacable determination to sink and destroy.

It was only a forlorn hope, but he would risk it, and not a man demurred at his decision. The engines rang "full speed ahead" and the Victoria began to tear through the green water for home. The submarine opened a rapid fire from two powerful guns, and the first to fall was the little lad Jones. The skipper kept steadily on his course, with the boy dead at his feet. But the submarine gained rapidly and continued to pour a devastating fire on the helpless craft. The skipper was struck next and blown to pieces. The bridge was a mass of bloody wreckage and torn flesh. The next shell shattered the tiny engine room and killed the engineman. The Victoria lay at the mercy of the enemy. The submarine continued to close on her, and kept up a rapid fire, killing the mate and another engineman and severely wounding another. The four men who were left tried to save themselves. The boat had been smashed to splinters, and they jumped into the water with planks.

Careless of the men in the water, the submarine steamed up alongside the Victoria and sealed her fate by placing bombs aboard her. There was a violent explosion, and her wreckage, strewn over the face of the waters far and near, was the only relic of her existence. Not till nearly two hours after this were the four numbed and helpless men in the water taken aboard the submarine. They were placed down below, and, one by one, closely examined by the commander as to the system of patrols in the neighborhood. Dazed as they were, and hardly responsible for their actions, they one and all refused to answer their captors. Late that night they were told that the submarine was about to submerge, and, so far as they could gather, they proceeded below the surface for over twelve hours. They knew enough about the system of netting to know that they were in constant danger of being trapped in the belly of the sea and drowned, hideously, in the darkness, but not a man spoke. During the night they were given some coffee and a biscuit each, and the wound of one man, who had been badly lacerated by a shell, was dressed by the ship's surgeon. They lay in the semi-darkness, listening to the steady beat and hum of the engines and wondering what kind of a miracle could bring them to the light of day again.

Abandoned at Sea

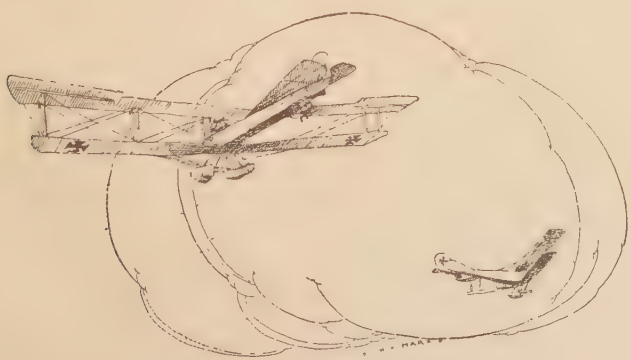
On the next morning the trawler Hirose fell a victim to the same submarine. She was no sooner sighted than she was greeted with a hail of shot. She stopped and lowered a boat, while the enemy dashed up. The commander of the submarine shouted through a megaphone: "Leave your ship. I give you five minutes." The crew complied —there were ten hands all told—and were ordered aboard the submarine, while the Hirose was blown up. After being

given six biscuits each the crew of the Hirose were put back in their boat. The survivors of the Victoria were ordered on deck and placed in the same boat. The submarine steamed away and shortly afterward dipped.

It was very dirty weather at this time. A strong gale blew and the rain drenched them. There were fourteen men crowded in a small trawler boat, a hundred miles from home. By dint of baling out the water continually, till their arms were numbed, they managed to keep afloat. Twenty-four hours later, at 6 o'clock in the morning, they were picked up by the collier Ballater about sixty miles off the Smalls Lighthouse. Their condition was then indescribable. Soaked through and through, with the boat half full of water, battered to and fro by every wave, they had lost all hope, and were lying exhausted. Their bodies were stiff with cramp, and they were hauled on board the Ballater with difficulty. But there, at least, they found the rough comfort of the sea. Each man was stripped and his clothes dried in the engine room. Hot coffee and food and blankets kept them alive till they reached port.

But the ordeal had left its mark upon them all; and when examined as to his experiences on board the submarine, the boatswain of the Victoria—a man of over sixty years—seemed to be too dazed to give any coherent reply. All that he could remember was the scene on the deck of the Victoria before the crew took to the sea; and his description was that of a shambles, where six of his mates lay drenched with blood, some with their heads blown off, others screaming in agony, with arms and legs blown off; and in a chaos of escaping steam and wreckage the little boy Jones lying dead on the bridge.

The sinking of these fishing boats suddenly ceased, except on rare occasions; and, for certain reasons, it is now an acknowledged fact that when a submarine sees one it submerges or bolts immediately. Details must not be given; but these smaller fishing boats now form a class to themselves, and they are known among the other auxiliaries as "mystery ships." Only one hint I may give here. There was once upon a time a simple fishing boat shooting her fishing nets for simple fish. A submarine appeared and gave her men "five minutes, you swine!" Immediately there was a panic, which had been part of their drill in port. Two of the crew went on their knees for mercy, and others hauled at the boat like men possessed. * * * I must pass over the details once more; but the resultant picture was this: A dummy boat on deck in four pieces, and a fine big gun leveled straight at the submarine, attended by gunners of his Majesty's navy "like gods in poor disguise." There were two Germans kneeling for mercy; and after they had scrambled into safety there was an abolished submarine and oil upon many troubled waters.



The Titanic Struggle in Picardy

By the Editor

FIGHTING on the Somme has continued with unabated fury throughout the month just past. The British and French armies, which come shoulder to shoulder near Combles, have kept up their slow, steady, forward push, with the constant accompaniment of a smashing hail of great shells which no defenses can withstand. At Bouchavesnes on Sept. 13 General Foch's men achieved what the Germans had believed impossible—they broke through the last line of the original German system of fortified trenches. Walls of reinforced concrete, powerful earthworks, vast mazes of barbed wire—all had been pounded into chaos. New trenches, of course, had been built behind the old, but the significance of the achievement remains. The last month also was marked by the appearance of a new type of armored motor car, which promises important results.

In the first two and one-half months of this offensive the Allies have taken 54,000 German prisoners, some thirty-odd villages, and a devastated section of France nearly thirty miles long and five or ten wide. The aggregate losses in killed and wounded are necessarily heavy on both sides.

Stubborn Thiepval

Two or three crises of more intense battle are seen to flame up from the level of the month's events. Around the fortified village of Thiepval, at the north end of the British sector, some of the fiercest fighting of the war has raged for weeks. On Aug. 21, after a bombardment of indescribable intensity, the British infantry went over the ground in waves across the tangled web of trenches and redoubts, capturing 200 prisoners and establishing themselves within a few hundred yards of the beleagured German garrison of Thiepval; yet a full month later those heroic Germans still hold the Thiepval hills. The quality of their resistance may be guessed from this description of the bombardment of Aug. 21, which is typical of many others since then:

"Suddenly, as if at the tap of a baton, the great orchestra of death crashed out. It is absurd to describe it; no words have been made for a modern bombardment of this intensity. One can only give a feebly inaccurate notion of what one big shell sounds like. When hundreds of heavy guns are firing upon one small line of ground and shells of the greatest size are rushing through the sky in flocks and bursting in masses, all description is futile. I can only say that the whole sky was resonant with waves of noise that were long drawn, like the deep notes of violins, gigantic and terrible in their power of sound, and that each vibration ended at last in a thunderous crash. It seemed as if the stars had fallen out of the sky and were rushing down to Thiepval."

Work of French Guns

While the British were pounding thus with strokes of Thor at the northern end of the Picardy front, the French were wiping out German trenches to the south along thirty miles of front with a storm of steel that lasted seventy-two hours. An artillery Lieutenant detailed to watch a small section of German trench tells what he saw:

"At first there was a series of earth fountains along the trench line, followed by great cones of smoke, which slowly collected over the wood itself, until the latter was hidden. Through glasses I could see that whole sectors of trench had closed up, burying the defenders. Constantly human limbs and bodies were visible among the upthrown earth and débris. At intervals a gray-green form would leap swiftly backward from the trenches, but the hazard from the incessant rain of steel fragments was too great, and gradually there grew a line of motionless bodies among the brushwood. I counted thirty-seven after three-quarters of an hour.

KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE

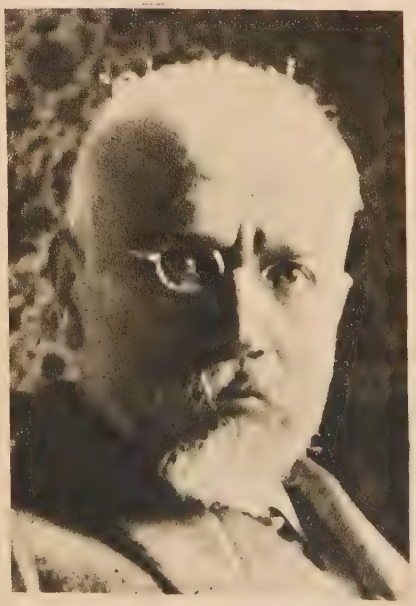
Who Attempts to Remain Neutral in Spite of the Greek Nation's Pro-Ally Sentiments.

(Photo from Pach Photo News.)

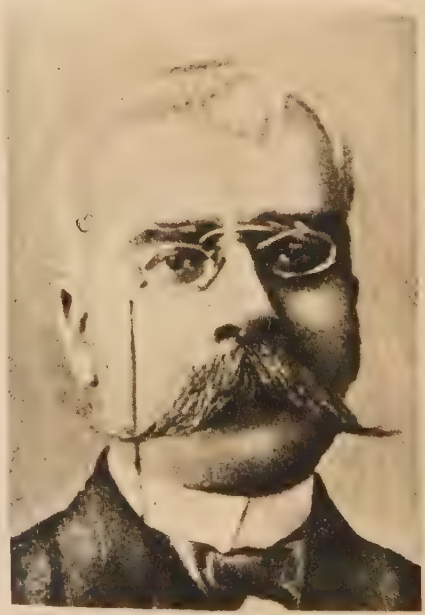
GREEK ROYALTY AND MINISTERS

Queen Sophia of Greece,
Sister of the German Kaiser.
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

Crown Prince George of
Greece.
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



Eleutherios Venizelos,
Former Premier of Greece.



Alexander Zaimis,
Present Premier of Greece.

"After eighty minutes I signaled, 'trench demolished,' and the bombardment ceased. I would have defied any one to point out where the trench had been. There was nothing but a line of hollows, hillocks, and shell holes. As the smoke cleared, I saw how excellent had been the aim on the communication trenches. Two open roads, each twenty feet wide, had been blasted through the wood. It was only the bodies, lying thick along both, that showed they had indeed been communication trenches.

"I continued to watch. Here and there a wounded wretch dragged himself painfully amid the tree stumps. Perhaps a few survived in the deepest dugouts, but as a practical unit the half battalion had ceased to exist. And, remember, that was a tiny sector. Add the total of such cases along the whole front, and you will realize why our victory is certain."

An Old-Style Battle

Near the centre these operations came to a dramatic climax on Sunday, Sept. 3, in the pitched battle that wrested Guillemont from the Germans on the British sector and gave the French near Clery the greatest victory since the offensive began. It was a battle of the old-fashioned kind in the open, a battle with bayonets between great forces. Between Maurepas and Clery, where the bloodiest fighting occurred, the French faced the Second Army Corps of Bavarians, crack troops ever in the forefront of battle, and next to them on the north was the Third Division of the German Imperial Guard under command of the Prince of Prussia. Opposite the British front the Kaiser's heroic Brandenburgers fought to hold Guillemont—fought fiercely, and failed. Nearly 80,000 of Germany's finest troops met this historic Anglo-French assault and had to give way.

The French reached the outskirts of Combles and remained firmly intrenched on the plateau overlooking the Bapaume-Peronne State road. Further south they gained a footing on Hill St. Quentin, dominating Peronne itself. More important still was the moral effect of having proved that not even Germany's best troops, in equal or superior numbers, and fully prepared for attack, could check a French offensive. The French came out of the trenches cheering and singing, the Germans rushed to meet them. At Soyécourt the French charged with the bayonet, took the enemy's machine guns, and turned them upon their former owners. It was a great battle in the old-time sense, and a clean-cut victory.

The Fight for Guillemont

The British, at their end of the line, were fighting in like manner for Guillemont. Aviators who looked down upon the scene saw it as a mad football scrimmage of struggling figures. At midday the British went forward steadily in waves after a hurricane of fire from their heavy guns. The Germans flung 10,000 gas shells at them, enveloping them in poisonous vapors for hours, and German machine guns swept the ground with a storm of bullets; but the British took cover in the dips and hollows of the shell-tortured earth and reached the village.

For two weeks Guillemont had been the most completely devastated spot on the western front, for the British had been pounding it with every calibre of gun. It had ceased to be a village and become an iron and lead mine. More than 200,000 shells had burst in this once quiet hamlet of French homes, and 3,000,000 bullets had traversed the junk heap that now remained.

Twice the British had charged into and through the town, only to be forced out by the Germans. Now, sapping forward and connecting up the shell craters into trenches, they worked their way again to the village. The Germans, however, had established themselves in a small trench salient forty yards away, where the British guns dared not fire on them for fear of hitting their own men. Here the Germans had a machine gun that swept the English trenches; but the Britons and Irish, defying it, dashed through, cleaned out the nests of other machine guns in the village, and took up a strong position beyond in a sunken road.

South of Guillemont, one section of the Prussian Guard resisted desperately in Falfemont Farm and wedge wood, and

here bombing and hand-to-hand fighting continued until the British captured the position next day. The scene is thus described by Philip Gibbs:

"The way to the trenches was the most amazing scene of the war—more terrible and wonderful and as great a battle picture as any I had seen before. Everywhere along the way which leads to the country between Hardecourt and Maurepas, there is great desolation and ruin of all the things that grew or stood upon the earth. Here, for two miles or so, a long avenue of trees is a highway of violence. Not a tree stands whole, and their great trunks have been slashed and broken by the shell fire and lie with ragged stumps — great giants —across the unending shell craters there.

"On one side was Maurepas, a few brick ruins standing in the midst of bare black trunks and naked branches. In a turmoil of shell craters on the other side was Guillemont. I could see every tree in it and one solitary shell of a barn and a few black German crosses to their dead and blown-out dugouts on the southern side."

Irish regiments played a gallant part in the taking of Guillemont, and a week later it was the men from Munster, Dublin, Connaught, and the west and south of Ireland who captured Ginchy. They came out of the battle weary and spent, and left many good comrades behind, but they still marched proudly. "A great painter," says an eyewitness, "would have found here a subject to thrill his soul—that long trail of Irish regiments, some of them reduced by losses and with but few officers to lead them. Ahead of them walked one Irish piper, playing them home to the harvest fields of peace, with a lament for those who will never come back."

New Armored Monsters

Another day of great remembrance for the British was Sept. 15, when their soldiers broke through the German third line and went out into the open country to deal new blows to the war machine that had seemed so incredibly strong before the days of Verdun. A new element was introduced that day in the form of enormous armored motor cars that travel on caterpillar feet right across shell craters, over German trenches, through brick walls and ruined houses, smashing their way through everything like monsters from prehistoric ages. As for trees in their way—"they simply love trees," as one officer remarked. They wear a steel armor that makes them impervious to bullets and ordinary shell fragments; in short, they promise to play the rôle of veritable dreadnoughts on land.

Tommy Atkins promptly dubbed these modern ichthyosaurs "tanks" or "Willies," greeting them with roars of laughter as they crawled with uncanny nonchalance across craters and earthworks until they poured their fiery breath into the enemy trenches. One writer compares them to toads of vast size emerging from the primeval slime in the twilight of the world's dawn. They have furnished both humor and aid to the Allies on the Somme since the day of their début. The fact that their mysterious internal organs were manufactured by a farm tractor company in Peoria, Ill., does not alter the other fact that in their armored form they are a British innovation. They seem destined to do deadly work as they sprawl across enemy trenches, enfilading them with machine-gun fire, and themselves as indifferent to rifle bullets as a rhinoceros to mosquito bites.

The Fall of Falkenhayn

The battle of the Somme has an evident connection with the recent fall of General von Falkenhayn from the position at the head of the Kaiser's Great General Staff. A press dispatch of Sept. 19, which states that the headquarters of the Great General Staff have been removed from the western front to the eastern, apparently confirms the triumph of Hindenburg's policy over that of Falkenhayn and of the Berlin Court faction which had dominated military affairs since the beginning of the war, and earlier. A Rotterdam correspondent tells the story substantially as follows:

In January, 1916, there was a bitter controversy between Generals Falkenhayn and Hindenburg regarding the conduct of the war. Hindenburg was utterly opposed to any big offensive in France.

He advised striking another blow immediately at Russia, and was already preparing a new offensive there behind Courland. General Falkenhayn, however, refused to give him the additional forces necessary for this purpose, and Hindenburg's plan was overruled in favor of an offensive against Verdun. The German Crown Prince is believed to have been the sustaining power behind Falkenhayn in making this disastrous decision.

Before the failure at Verdun was fairly written into history the Anglo-French drive on the Somme came to emphasize the extent of the error. The Kaiser at last turned to Hindenburg, elevating him to supreme military power in place of the Court favorite, Falkenhayn, but too late to undo all the harm that had been done to Hohenzollern prestige. For the deposition of Falkenhayn necessarily involved a certain discrediting of the Crown Prince and his ultra-militaristic following. Thus the radical change in the General Staff is taken by the outside world to indicate the extent of a reaction in Germany against the faction primarily responsible for the war.

Italy and Germany Formally at War

THOUGH Italy has been at war with Austria since May 23, 1915, and has been practically in the same hostile relations with Austria's ally, Germany, for an equal length of time, the formal declaration of a state of war with the latter nation dates only from Aug. 28, 1916. Official notification of the event was transmitted to the United States in the following note to Secretary Lansing from Count Macchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador, who was then sojourning at a Massachusetts Summer resort:

From Royal Italian Embassy.
Beverly Farms, Mass, Aug. 28, 1916.

To Mr. Secretary of State:

I have the honor to address the following communication to your Excellency in the name of the King's Government:

Systematically hostile acts on the part of the German Government to the detriment of Italy have succeeded one another with increasing frequency, consisting of both an actual warlike participation and economic measures of every kind.

With regard to the former, it will suffice to mention the reiterated supplies of arms and of instruments of war, terrestrial and maritime, furnished by Germany to Austria-Hungary, and the uninterrupted participation of German officers, soldiers, and seamen in the various operations of war directed against Italy. In fact, it is only thanks to the assistance afforded her by Germany in the most varied forms that Austria-Hungary has recently been able to concentrate her most extensive effort against Italy. It is also worth while to recall the transmission by the German Government to Austria-Hungary of the Italian prisoners who had escaped from the Austro-Hungarian concentration camps and taken refuge in German territory.

Among the measures of an economic character which were hostile to Italy it will be sufficient to cite the invitation which at the instance of the Imperial Department of Foreign Affairs was directed to German credit institutions and bankers to consider every Italian citizen as a hostile foreigner and to suspend payments to him; also the suspension of payments to Italian laborers of the pensions due them by virtue of a formal provision of the German law.

The Government of his Majesty the King did not think that it could longer tolerate such a state of affairs, which aggravates, to the exclusive detriment of Italy, the sharp contrast between the de facto and the de jure situation already arising from the fact of the alliance of Italy and of Germany with two groups of nations at war with one another.

For these reasons the Royal Government has, in the name of his Majesty the King, notified the German Government through the Swiss Government, that, as from today, Aug. 28, Italy considers herself in a state of war with Germany.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the assurances of my highest regards.

MACCHI DI CELLERE.

The Army Behind the Army

By Lord Northcliffe

Owner of The London Times and London Mail

Lord Northcliffe's article was written at the British front in France just before the storming of Pozières in August.

TAKE this powerful pair of field-glasses in your hand. They were captured in a German dugout, and bear the famous mark of Zeiss of Jena. Adjust them carefully and look well over to where dark clouds of shells are bursting so rapidly that they form what looks like a dense mass of London fog, with continuous brief and vivid flashes of explosions. That is Pozières. That is how Fricourt looked and how Longueval is looking on the day this is penned. From behind where we sit ensconced in an old German trench there come night and day the bang and the far-traveling scream of British shells. It does not seem possible that any one can emerge alive from those bombarded villages.

From north to south is an irregular chain of watchful observation balloons. High and glittering in the sunshine are planes, directed as often as not by boys who in happier times would be in the boats or the playing fields. Their heroism during the last few weeks has never been equaled, except in this war.

Along the Somme

The battles of the Somme are not, of course, so easily witnessed as those which can be seen from the heights around Verdun, but they are a great deal more visible and understandable than the depressing artillery duels in the plains and swamps of Flanders. Neither photographs nor maps give much real impression of the great panorama, which is, indeed, only possible for an onlooker to understand when accompanied by one who has witnessed the steady conquest of the German trenches from the beginning of the movement which was made on July 1. What is easy to realize, and so cheering to our soldiers, is that we give the Germans full measure and more in the matter of guns and shells. A couple of hours in any place where the battles can be properly observed is enough for the nerves of the average civilian, for to see battles properly one must be well in reach of the enemy, and so when we have had our fill we make our way along a communication trench to where a small and unobtrusive motor has been hidden.

Presently we come to the roads where one sees one of the triumphs of the war, the transport which brings the ammunition for the guns and the food for the men, a transport which has had to meet all kinds of unexpected difficulties. The last is water, for our troops are approaching a part of France which is as chalky and dry as the South Downs of England.

A Great Organization

Some researches with a view to placing on record the work of the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John in their relations to the wonderful Army Medical Service in France have brought the writer into touch with almost the most splendid achievement of the war, the building up of the great organization that lies between the Somme and the British Isles.

Communication being as urgent as transport, the Royal Engineers have seen to it that the large area of Northern and Northwest France in which our armies are operating has been linked up by a telephonic system unique. It is no mere collection of temporary wires strung from tree to tree. The poles and wires are in every way as good as those of the Post Office at home. The installation might indeed be thought to be extravagant, but cheap telephoning is notoriously bad telephoning. A breakdown of communications which might be caused by the fierce wind and electric storms which have happened so frequently in the war might spell a great inconvenience or even

worse. An indistinct telephone is useless. And so, marching with the army, and linking up a thousand essential points, is a telephone service that cannot be bettered. Today it would be quite possible for the Commander in Chief, if he so desired, to call up London from beyond Fricourt, for our wires are already in places where we saw them burying the blackened corpses of dead Germans, and where the sound of great guns makes it sometimes necessary to shout in order to make one's self heard in a conversation.

Army Telephones

Every officer or head of department of importance in the British zone has a telephone at his hand, so that he may give and receive orders, not absolutely secret, by the quickest and most popular means of communication. Where necessary, the English telephones are linked up with the trunk lines of the French Government, for which purposes interpreters are placed in the exchanges. The speed of communication is remarkable. It varies, of course, with the amount of business, but I have seen a man call up Paris, London, and the seaport bases in France all within an hour.

Supplementing the telephonic system is a telegraphic link, and there is also the wireless. The Army Signal Corps is to be congratulated on a fine achievement. Over and above these there are the motor dispatch riders, some of whose experiences during the war have been as thrilling as those of our air boys. The noisy nuisance of our peace-time roads at home has been a prime factor in the prompt waging of war. Motor cycles and portable telephones appear in the most out-of-the-way spots. Far beyond Fricourt I met these cyclists making their way in and out and around the shell holes.

A few days later when visiting one of the workshops at the base I saw the wrecks of similar machines twisted and smashed out of all recognition by shrapnel, each speaking of an adventure, and perhaps a tragedy. The fact that these derelicts were being examined for possible repair is a portent of the rigid economy with which, on the French side of the Channel at any rate, and perhaps on both, the war is now being conducted.

An Aeroplane's Staff

The war plane of 1916 flies upward and away with the speed and grace of a dragon fly. She has been made perfect and beautiful for her flight by skilled expert mechanics. When she returns after, let us hope, her conquest, the boys who have escorted her in the air (one of these I met was at school last year) hand her over again to those attendants to see if she has any rent in her gown or other mishap which may be speedily mended. When, therefore, you see an aeroplane you must realize that each machine has its staff. Speed and efficiency being prime essentials of victory, her caretakers must be skilled and young. As for her supplies, there must be at hand a great quantity of spare parts ready to be applied instantaneously, and there must be men, in case of need, who can either alter or even make such parts. There must be those who understand her camera and its repair, her wireless and its working, men who have already learned the mysteries of the newest bombs, rockets, and machine guns. I take the aeroplane as an instance because of its prominence in the public eye.

What applies to an aeroplane applies in other degrees to every kind of gun, to every form of motor or horse transport, ambulances, field kitchens, filters, and to a thousand articles which at first sight do not necessarily seem to be part of war making.

The army behind the army is full of originality. It has already improved, on the spot, much machinery which we had thought to have attained perfection. This is a war of machinery as well as of bravery, and among Germany's many blunders was her forgetfulness of the British power of quick improvization and organization in unexpected circumstances, which is a secret of our success in building up the empire in strange lands.

The army behind the army is being squeezed for men for the front. In some places it can legitimately bear more squeezing, and it is getting it. On the other hand, owing to their own burning desire or by the pressure of the authori-

ties men have left the anvil, the tools, the lathe, or the foundry for the firing line who in the end would have killed more Germans by the use of their own particular skill in the workshop.

Our L. of C. in France (line of communication) has developed to what must be one of the largest organizations in the world. It represents 6 per cent. of the whole of our forces in France. It has to deal with more spheres of human industry than I should be allowed to mention. Its personnel is being revised continually by medical examinations that eliminate fit men for the trenches. The task is a delicate one. An organization absolutely essential to victory has at length, and after infinite labor, by promotion of the skilled and rejection of the incompetent, been set on its feet. We must make changes with caution.

Economy and Salvage

At various times I have personally observed the great organizations of the Clyde, the Tyne, of Belfast, of Woolwich, Chicago, in and around Paris, at St. Etienne, and in the Creusot works, in Hamburg, in Essen, and at Hoechst on the Rhine, and I say without hesitation that, making allowances for war time, our lines of communication organization, super-imposed as it is upon the overworked French railways and roads, and in a country where there is no native labor to be had, is, in August, 1916, as near perfection as ever it can be. And I say more, that, difficult as economy and war are to mate, I have on the occasion of this visit and in contrast to the days of 1914 seen nothing wasted. In the early months of the war there was waste at home and abroad arising from lack of control of our national habit of spending money with both hands. I remember a certain French village I visited where every tiny mite was filling its mouth with English bread and jam. Today there is enough food and a greater variety of foods than before, but there is no waste that is visible even to an inquisitive critic.

Coming to the front, not only in the high commands and among regimental officers and along the line of communication, is a pleasing proportion of Scotch folk who, while generous in the giving of ambulances, are not accustomed to waste anything in war or at any other time. Today, almost before the reek and fume of battle are over, almost before our own and the enemy dead are all buried, the Salvage Corps appears on the bloody and shell-churned scene to collect and pile unused cartridge and machine gun belts, unexploded bombs, old shell cases, damaged rifles, haversacks, steel helmets, and even old rags, which go to the base and are sold at $250 a ton. It is only old bottles, which with old newspapers, letters, meat tins, and broken boxes are a feature of the battlefields that do not appear to be worthy of salvage.

Regarding the utilization of waste products there is as much ingenuity and industry along the lines of communication as would satisfy the directorate of the most highly overorganized German fabrik. At one place I saw over 1,000 French and Belgian girls cleansing and repairing clothing that had come back from the front. They work and talk and sing with alacrity, and I witnessed the process of the patching and reconstructing of what looked like an impossible waterproof coat, all in the course of a few moments. Such labor saves the British Nation hundreds of thousands of pounds, and is considered well rewarded at a wage of half a crown (62½ cents) a day.

Elsewhere I saw men using the most modern Northampton machinery for soling and heeling any pair of old boots that would stand the operation, and such footgear as was useless was not wasted, for by an ingenious contrivance invented on the spot by a young Dublin bootmaker the upper parts of such boots were being converted into bootlaces by the thousand.

In the army machine shops the waste grease is saved and the oil which escapes from every such establishment is ingeniously trapped and sold to local soap makers at the equivalent of its present very high value.

Workmen Translated

Since the early days of chaos and muddle we have conveyed across the seas

machine shops and mechanics which must exceed by twice or thrice the total of those in a humming town like Coventry. Such factories have had to be manned, and manned with labor able to meet the sudden emergencies of war. The labor has all had to come from home. Clerks, engineers, fitters, mechanics, quickly settled down to the monotonous regularity of military life and the communal existence of the barracks, huts, and tents in which they live. True it is that every consideration possible has been shown for their happiness, comfort, and amusement. They have their own excellent canteens, reading rooms, and places of entertainment. They are not forgotten by the Y. M. C. A. or by the Salvation Army and Church Army, whose work cannot be too highly spoken of. They are individually looked after by their own heads of departments with solicitude and kindness. The gramophone, the joy of the dugouts, the hospitals, and the billets, is a never-ending source of entertainment.

The workers are by no means unable to amuse themselves. They are well provided with cinematographs and frequent boxing tournaments. Gardening, too, is one of their hobbies, and from the casualty clearing stations at the front to the workers' huts at the bases are to be counted thousands of English-made gardens. The French, who know as little of us as we do of them, were not a little surprised to find that, wherever he sojourns, the British workman insists on making himself a garden.

Huge bakeries, the gigantic storehouses, (one is the largest in the world,) factories, and repair shops are filled with workers who are a visible contradiction of the allegations as to the alleged slackness of the British workman. The jealousy that exists in peace times between most army and civilian establishments does not seem to be known.

The War Atmosphere

The authorities at home seem to hide our German prisoners. In France they work, and in public, and are content with their lot. Save for the letters "P. G." (prisonnier de guerre) at the back of their coats it would be difficult to realize that comfortable-looking, middle-aged Landsturm Hans, with his long pipe, and young Fritz, with his cigarette, were prisoners at all.

The war atmosphere and the patriotic keenness of the skilled mechanics and labor battalions in France have enabled the Commander in Chief, Sir Douglas Haig, who has personally visited the bases in hurried journeys from the front, to accomplish what in peace time would be the impossible. Transport alone is a miracle. The railways are so incumbered that it is frequent to see trains nearly a kilometer (five-eighths of a mile) in length. As one travels about in search of information mile-long convoys of motor lorries loom quickly toward one from out of the dense dust, and it is by this combination of rail and road that the almost impossible task has been achieved of keeping pace with the German strategic railways, which were built for the sole purpose of the quick expedition of men and supplies.

Vast War Schools

Scattered through the army behind the army are schools where war is taught by officers who have studied the art at the front. Here in vast camps the spectator might easily imagine that he was at the front itself. Here the pupils fresh from England are drilled in every form of fighting.

There is something uncanny in the approach of a company to a communication trench, in its vanishing under the earth, and its reappearance some hundreds of yards away, where clambering "over the top," to use the most poignant expression of the war, the soldier pupils dash forward in a vociferous bayonet charge. At these great reinforcement camps are gas mask attacks, where pupils are passed through underground chambers, filled with real gas, that they may become familiarized with one of the worst curses of warfare. The gas itself is a subtle and at first not a very fearsome enemy, but the victim is apt to be overcome before he is aware of it.

And at these miniature battlefields, all of them larger than the field of Waterloo, are demonstration lecturers who teach bombing, first with toy bombs that explode harmlessly with a slight puff,

and then with the real Mills bombs which have a noisy and destructive effect altogether disproportionate to their size and innocent appearance. The various types of machine guns are fired at ingenious targets all the day long. There are actual dugouts in which pupils are interned with entrances closed while gas is profusely projected around them, so that they may learn how to deal with the new weapon by spraying it and flapping it away when the entrance is uncovered at a given signal. Crater fighting is taught with an actual reproduction of a crater, by a lusty Sergeant who has seen much of the actual thing, and tells the men what to do with their bombs and with Germans.

German Prisoners

In the centre of one of these schools there arrived, while I was on the scene, a great number of German prisoners on their way to the base. I do not know how many young soldiers just landed from England were being trained that day. Certainly many, many thousands, and I do not wonder that the prisoners were amazed at the spectacle before them. One of them frankly confessed in excellent English that his comrades were under the impression that we had no men left. The food supplied to these German prisoners here, as everywhere, was excellent, and they did not hesitate to say so. Temporary baths and other washing arrangements were fitted up for them, they had an abundance of tobacco, and were just as comfortably off in their tents as our soldiers not actually in barracks. Their condition on arrival here, as elsewhere, was appalling. Imprisoned in their trenches by our barrage of fire, they had been deprived of many of the necessities of life for days, and on their arrival ate ravenously. Most of them were Prussian Guards and Bavarians, and the number who had the Iron Cross ribbon in their buttonholes was eloquent testimony to the type of enemy troops our new armies have been fighting.

In one great branch of the clerical departments is kept a complete record of every British soldier from the hour of his arrival in France to his departure, or death. Think of the countless essential correspondence and forms that must necessarily be filled up to achieve that end efficiently and with accuracy.

Another department, which exists for the satisfaction of relatives and possible decisions in the Court of Probate, keeps an exact record of the time of death and place of burial of every officer and private soldier in France, whether he comes from the British Islands or the dominions. Such establishments necessarily demand the use of much clerical labor.

It should be remembered always, in regard to such a department as that which follows the course of every soldier in France, that a Tommy is a difficult person to deal with. It is more than possible that there is a considerable number of men who have been reported as missing and dead who are not missing or dead at all. One case was discovered while I was at a certain office. It was that of a soldier who had been reported missing for more than a year, but who was found in comfortable surroundings doing duty as an army cook in a totally different part of the field to that in which he disappeared.

A Pathetic Duty

There are countless departments of which the public knows nothing. I have only space and time to deal with one more. It is that which watches over the recovery of the effects of dead men and officers. There are separate departments for each, but I only saw that affecting the men.

The work begins on the battlefield and in the hospitals, where I saw the dead bodies being reverently searched. A list is carefully made there and then, and that list accompanies the little familiar belongings that are a part of every man's life to one of the great bases on the lines of communication. The bag is there opened by two clerks, who check it once more, securely fastening it, and sending it home, where it eventually reaches the next of kin. I watched the opening of one such pathetic parcel during the final checking. It contained a few pence, a pipe, a photo of wife and bairn, a trench ring made of the aluminium of an enemy fuze, a small diary, and a pouch. It was all the man had.

They told me that nearly every soldier carries a souvenir. In one haversack was found a huge piece of German shell which had probably been carried for months. The relatives at home set great store on these little treasures, and though the proper officials to address are those at the War Office, London, the people in France are often in receipt of indignant letters from relatives asking why this or that trifle has not been returned.

One of them which arrived that day said: "I gave my son to the war, you have had him, you might at least return all his property intact. Where are the pair of gloves and zinc ointment he had with him?"

The work of collecting these last mementos of the dead is carried out with promptness, care, and very kindly feeling, despite the monotony of the task, which begins in the morning and goes on to the evening, a task which is increasing daily with the size of the war.

Preparing the Somme Offensive

By a French Officer

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from L'Illustration]

IT will be one of the greatest claims to honor of the French General Staff that during the very height of the battle of Verdun they staged the offensive on the Somme. The Germans, on their part, had had, from the close of the battle of Champagne (September-October, 1915) to the last days of February, 1916, four months of relative calm on the western front, to prepare their undertaking on the Meuse, (Verdun.) On the contrary, it was while victoriously resisting the most powerful effort of the German Army that our high command conceived and realized another battle.

What the preparation of an offensive is we shall try to indicate by broad strokes. The region behind the battle front is an immense workshop, in which the instruments of battle are manufactured; arms, munitions, material of every kind, brought regularly to the advanced depots and put at the disposal of the leaders for the execution of their plans. The representatives of the nation, the people, all will co-operate, each according to his rôle. The advanced position becomes a great storeyard, in view of the coming battle.

First, the ground must be prepared. The engineer corps construct railroads: lines of normal gauge, with large capacity, along which circulate enormous tonnages of munitions, supplies of every kind, and also the heavy guns mounted on rails; lines of twenty-four inches gauge, which will make it possible to carry munitions far forward, and which will form a network serving all the depots. It is necessary to lay the rock ballast, and for this purpose quarries are opened and worked, a system of military trains established. And when the track has been laid it is necessary to construct the stations and platforms. Plank villages thus rise from the earth in a few days.

To fix the position of munition depot is a problem. It must be hidden from the enemy's view, as much as possible in a dead angle, in order that it may escape artillery fire. About the depots, along the roads everywhere, it is necessary to dig shelters, to establish first-aid posts, to burrow into the earth. While these excavations are going on other forces of men build new roads, widen the old roads, mend them, regulate traffic on them. Further forward they are working at the trenches, at the connecting trenches, which must be wide and numerous, and at the troop quarters. This is only a part of the task. Add the reconnoissance of artillery emplacements, the installation of platforms, the organization of the ground. And all this activity, carried out through several

weeks, must escape the notice of the enemy, his observers and aviators must discover nothing of it. But we, on the contrary, must be perfectly informed as to what is going on within his lines.

It has been told how, before the release of our offensive and during its opening days, the German Drachen were rendered incapable of accomplishing their work by our aviators. Since that time the enemy "sausages" have only attempted a few ascensions at long intervals, and quickly interrupted by the apparition of one of our pilots. And just as the captive balloons were unable to remain in the air, so the German aviators were unable to pass behind our lines. But if the enemy was ignorant of our preparations, we were well informed as to his organization. The position of his lines, the defensive works, the gun emplacements, had all been sighted and measured.

The destruction caused by our artillery was regularly followed. In order to learn the effect of a shot several means are employed. The first is to send patrols to find out the condition of barbed-wire entanglements and defensive works. But human testimony is always fallible; the conditions of observation during the night are bad; it is possible to see one point and not see a neighboring point, or to be completely prevented from seeing anything by bullets or machine-gun fire. But we have at our disposal an eye which makes no mistakes: the eye of the photographic lens—and aerial photography is yet another new tool for our aviators.

Every evening before the battle of the Somme was begun a map of the German trenches was drawn up, in accordance with what the photographs revealed. On it was distinctly marked what had been completely destroyed, what was not, and what was incompletely indicated. Thus, the corps were informed as to the work of their artillery and as to what remained to be done. The conditions of a complete preparation were wanted. And they were gained, to the complete satisfaction of our infantrymen. The German first-line trenches were leveled; the nets of barbed wire, however closely woven they might be, were annihilated; the most substantial organizations were knocked into ruins.

One of the first problems of armies during a campaign is that of communications. It can be imagined to what a degree, in a war in which the fronts have become stabilized, among an infinity of wheels and organisms, this problem is complicated, and what an amount of new works an offensive will require. In this domain the installation of telephone lines dominates everything. It could never have been imagined beforehand to what an extent they would be employed. In August, 1914, if the General Staffs of the armies were connected by telephone with their army corps, that was as far as matters went. In the war of movement there were, to carry orders, connecting agents and messengers.

Today not a service but has its telephone line, and in constant use. For the artillery, the telephone is the indispensable auxiliary; it is by telephone that the observers in balloons communicate with the batteries. Therefore, how much work and what consumption of telephone wire! On July 15, 1916, 12,420 miles of wire were in use in the army of the Somme. A thousand telephone operators were employed. Wireless telegraphy also renders precious services, particularly in the control of gunfire. But each of these organs of the army would deserve a special study, and our purpose is only to show what a battle is.

When these immense works of organization have been accomplished, when what would require a year and more in normal life has been realized in a few weeks, when everything is in place, the hour of battle arrives. The date is chosen, the hour is fixed, the moment when the assault is to begin.

Then from the lines of departure, from which they have started, to the enemy positions which they are approaching, the actual fighters have to play their part. In the complexity of the conflict, the dispersion of the action, and the episodes of the battle, the high command of the army does not intervene. It will recommence its activity as soon as the general devel-

opment of the situation becomes known to it; up to that moment it is the leaders of the small units who orient the battle. It is they who work for success. But behind them the immense, minutely regulated machine is carrying on its work.

To begin with, it is necessary to be informed, quickly and well, as to the positions attained. Reinforcements must be pushed forward, and the battle must be fed. All the experiments which have been made are utilized in order that connections may work as perfectly as possible. Heliographs, flags, optical signals, Bengal fire, runners when the lines are cut—every system is put into use. But the services of the infantry airmen have been particularly remarkable. And the officers detailed to orient the artillery, going forward with the waves of the assault and followed by a telephonist unrolling his reel, keep the firing batteries perfectly informed as to the points hit and the shots to make. The barrier fire follows the movements of the infantry in their advance.

The infantry has reached the objectives which were fixed for it. It must now stop there and consolidate its position. Behind it also begin the organization of the conquest and the preparation for the next battle.

First the communications. The telephonists install a new network, utilize the newly won emplacements, place their apparatus. The French advance on the north and on the south of the Somme, and during the first ten days of the battle they install 500 miles of new telephone wires. The blocked passages of the deeper trenches, broken down by shells, are put in order. The materials and the workmen must be brought forward, then, to begin with; the loose earth in the enormous holes left by the large-calibre shells must all be removed and replaced by pebbles; then earth must be added and the whole rammed down hard. And this difficult task has often been performed under enemy shells.

Each day the ravages of the day before must be repaired. The arrival of supplies must be made secure, the passage of carts and movable kitchens must be provided for; new emplacements for batteries and for observers must be sought; drinking water must be brought —13,200 gallons, at least, for each army corps; the crews of well sinkers must be pushed forward to the conquered villages, the water must be sampled, tested for poisons, for it may always be feared that the conquered Germans, before abandoning a position, may have poisoned the wells. The depots of munitions and material must also be moved forward, the troops who are to take up positions in an unknown territory must be oriented, the traffic control must be organized.

And in the rear, while the front is being organized, the animation redoubles and extends. The convoys come up in order, the regiments march toward their destined stations, the wagons of the sanitary department go and return, and the railroads are busy. Along the road reserved for motor traffic the regulating commission exercises its function, as it was organized in the Verdun region, each of its divisions assuring good circulation along a fixed space.

Everything is order and method. Each one knows his rôle—and fills it.

[Second Installment]

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for Current History Magazine. See map on page 48]

IN the period beginning July 20 the struggle was, above all, an artillery duel; under the protection of their cannon, the British troops, with unwearying tenacity, gained ground little by little, dislodging the enemy by grenade attacks and hand-to-hand fighting. These encounters took place along the whole front, from the Leipzig redoubt, close to Thiepval, to the Delville Wood, which touches Longueval. Between this village and Bazentin, the enemy, during July 20, was pressed back to a depth of a kilometer, but he resisted fiercely throughout the night. Our allies had reached the Foureaux Wood, ("High Wood";) they were there subjected to a bombardment with the aid of asphyxiating shells and were compelled to abandon the northern part of the wood.

On July 23 the battle suddenly assumed a new vigor, from Pozières, on the road from Albert to Bapaume, as far as Guillemont, between Montauban and Combles. It attained its greatest height of fury on the two wings. Pozières, which stretches along an exceedingly gentle slope, with a windmill at 160-Meter Hill, is the culminating point of the whole region in which the boundaries of Picardy and Artois meet. The vistas are immense. For this reason the Germans had made of Pozières a redoubtable fortress, which it was necessary to smash to pieces with shells, though even then its defenders were not driven out. English and Australian troops launched in an assault succeeded, only after midnight, in carrying the advanced trenches, and were then able to enter the village, which is built chiefly along the two sides of the highway. The village had to be taken house by house; on Monday morning, July 24, the Germans were still in possession of a considerable part of the village; two guns and 150 prisoners were gathered in by the Australians. On Tuesday, July 25, the Germans retook several houses on the north side of the village, from which they were finally driven on Wednesday morning, July 26. Having made themselves masters of this position, to which the enemy attached great importance, the British troops turned toward the west, that is, toward Thiepval.

In the centre, Longueval, which the enemy had retaken, was carried on July 23; the enemy in his turn captured that portion which marches with the Delville Wood. This wood and, in the direction of Guillemont, the ground occupied by the Waterlot Farm, were also twice taken and retaken. The battle was carried on furiously by hand-to-hand fights and grenades. At the close of Tuesday, July 25, our allies had made a certain amount of progress, in spite of continuous bombardment. All the enemy's attempts to advance were repulsed.

On Thursday, July 20, while the British troops were developing their movement between the Leipzig redoubt and the approaches of Guillemont, the French troops were attacking on both sides of the Somme. To the north the movement started from Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, and was directed toward the point where the great winding dry ravine, which begins near Combles, comes out on the Somme. Our progress halted at the lip of this ravine near the narrow-gauge railroad which runs up it. Thereafter our soldiers in this sector limited themselves to consolidating their positions; only the artillery intervened, to support

the English in their attacks between Delville Wood and Guillemont. We took 400 prisoners.

A more extensive movement was developed on the same day, Thursday, July 20, to the south of the Somme and the highway from Peronne to Amiens, at first from Barleux to Soyécourt, then toward Vermandovillers, one and one-quarter miles to the north of Chaulnes. The whole of the first line of the enemy trenches was carried. Few details of this fighting have been given; yet they were very important, as they raised to 2,900 the number of prisoners taken on this day on both banks of the Somme. Thirty officers surrendered, three guns and thirty machine guns were taken. The enemy attempted to counterattack at one point only, to the south of Soyécourt. A battalion launched against our lines was crushed by our barrier fire, and retreated in disorder. On July 23 a new attack took place during the night; it was not more successful. On the morning of the following day our troops, in a local action, carried an enemy battery of mine-throwers to the south of Estrées and several machine guns.

During the evening we resumed our attacks in the neighborhood of Estrées, to dislodge the enemy from a group of houses which they had fortified on the south side of the village; the movement was successful. At the same moment another attack gave us possession of trenches between Soyécourt and Vermandovillers. In these engagements 117 prisoners and 3 more guns were taken.

The enemy took the offensive only to the south of Chaulnes, near Maucourt, where, on the morning of July 21, he tried to reach our lines; he was driven back by a bayonet charge.

From this time until Sunday, July 30, quiet reigned on both banks of the Somme. To the south reconnoissances or scouting movements of the enemy were repulsed at Soyécourt, Vermandovillers, and Lihons-en-Santerre, then once more, on July 29 and 31, at Lihons.

On July 30 we resumed the offensive to the north, in conjunction with the English. It will be remembered that we had there occupied a line formed by the railroad which follows the hollow of the dry ravine at Combles, beginning at 139-Meter Hill, a kilometer (1,086 yards) from Hardecourt, and reaching to the Somme. At the level of Hem our front left the ravine to go direct to this village, before which we held the Monacu Farm. This represents a distance of four and one-third miles. The whole sector was covered in a single advance movement. During the forenoon the enemy's trenches fell into our hands, to a depth varying from 217 to 869 yards. The Combles ravine was crossed; our soldiers reached the first houses of Maurepas, a large village which covers the hillside on the left bank, and half surrounded that fortified position. Toward Hem, between the Albert road and the railway station, we carried a small intrenched wood and a quarry. Finally the Monacu Farm was completely in our hands.

This success gave us assured possession of the highway crossing the Somme and the canal to Feuillères; it gave us a direct communication between the two groups of Hardecourt and the loop of the Somme. The only fixed bridge downstream is at Eclusier; to make use of it, to go from Feuillères to Monacu, represents a detour of more than nine miles, while from Feuillères to Monacu is not 540 yards. This makes clear the importance of our gain and the immediate attempts of the enemy to drive us from Monacu Farm and the Hem Wood.

Repulsed in the afternoon, after extremely violent attacks, the Germans returned to the charge during the evening and a part of the night. At one time, they gained a footing in the farm, but a superb assault by our soldiers drove them out. During the whole of Monday, July 31, they redoubled their efforts, without penetrating our lines. In the evening, exhausted by their terrible losses, they gave it up. Our defense was supported by the batteries in the loop of the Somme; from the steep hills which dominate the valley they enfiladed the assaulting massed troops and mowed down whole lines.

This support enabled us to carry a powerful fortified work which the enemy still held between Hem Wood and Monacu.

The British troops had less respite than the French. From July 27 to July 30 the struggle was continuous, the enemy preparing his assaults by an intense bombardment with asphyxiating shells. On the morning of July 27 the Germans, who, during the night, had lost a trench to the north of Pozières and Bazentin-the-Less, threw themselves on this work and retook it; our allies forthwith took it back again. At the same time they attacked the parts of Longueval and the Delville Wood which had remained in the possession of the enemy, and there began a fierce fight which lasted until the following day, but they required the whole day of July 28 to make themselves masters of these positions. Toward Pozières a terrible hand-to-hand fight was begun and lasted from July 27 to July 28, when it was still undecided.

Throughout the whole night a fierce fight continued in the approaches of Delville Wood, where the enemy had already sacrificed two or three regiments, (8,000-12,000 men,) which were nearly annihilated, then the hand-to-hand fights slackened; the artillery duels were resumed until July 30. On that day, Sunday, the English took part in our movement across the Combles ravine, carrying on the struggle between Longueval and Guillemont. The battle was bloody, but won for our allies valuable gains to the east of the Trônes Wood and the Waterlot Farm.

Then the British troops set themselves to consolidate the ground they had conquered and to extend their front a little beyond Bazentin-the-Less.

To the north of the Somme the Monacu Farm, the east of which was held by French troops and which had been the object of violent counterattacks, was the goal of fierce assaults during the night of Aug. 2-3; the attack extended across the railway as far as Hem Wood on a front of 1,086 yards. The Germans were repulsed; they had suffered such heavy losses on this side since July 30 that it was necessary to relieve their units. Our organization at the mouth of the Combles ravine was also reinforced. On Aug. 7 we advanced against a line of trenches between Hem Wood and the Somme and took them by storm. One hundred and twenty prisoners and a dozen machine guns were taken.

During the forenoon of Tuesday, Aug. 8, the Germans tried to regain the ground lost; two attacks were repulsed, and 100 more prisoners fell into our hands. We did not stop at this success: joining our efforts with those of our allies, who were advancing against Guillemont, we made progress toward the east from 139-Meter Hill to the north of Hardecourt and along the whole front as far as the Somme, winning a depth of 300 to 500 yards of trenches along a winding line of three and three-quarter miles. Night counterattacks to the north of Hem Wood were repulsed, though one trench was occupied by the enemy; it was retaken on Wednesday morning, Aug. 9. The Germans then began a bombardment of our positions with large-calibre shells.

To the south of the Somme we limited ourselves to checking the attempts of the enemy from Aug. 1 to Aug. 3 against our positions on the approaches of the Deniecourt hamlet near Estrées. On Aug. 5 we attempted minor attacks, which made gains for us in the same region. A few kilometers to the south, toward Lihons and Chaulnes, an artillery action was begun which seems to have been of extraordinary violence. Close to the railroad the Germans had penetrated our advanced lines between Lihons and the railroad; a bayonet charge drove them out.

The English meanwhile continued an effective bombardment of German positions. Guided by their airmen, they were able to make hits against batteries and munitions depots, notably in the valley of the Ancre, at Grandcourt, at Miraumont and, to the north of Pozières, at Courcelette. This fire reached a high degree of intensity between Pozières and Thiepval, where the enemy is powerfully organized. The German artillery, on its side, violently bombarded the region behind the English lines, notably Mametz Wood.

On both sides, there were attacks, often of great violence, especially near

Pozières, whose loss the Germans keenly felt. They extended as far as Delville Wood and Troncs Wood, (not Trônes Wood, as reported.) During the night of Aug. 3-4, the Germans four times attacked Delville Wood and were continually repulsed. In the morning, between Pozières and Thiepval, enemy contingents, bent back by our bombardment, were cut down by machine guns.

On the following night, the British marked certain gains between Pozières and Bazentin. This success was continued during the night of Aug. 4-5, and even extended; the second German line to the north of Pozières was carried on a front of 2,000 yards, in spite of vigorous counterattacks. The struggle continued in the morning and definitely secured for the British troops the possession of a total front of 3,000 yards to a depth of from 400 to 600 yards. In spite of extremely vigorous artillery fire the Australians and their comrades of Old England succeeded in organizing the ground gained. On Aug. 6, the enemy returned furiously to the assault, making use of flaming liquids. A local success, due to this use of flaming liquids, was immediately wiped out, and a further attempt was also repulsed.

The Germans once more took the offensive on Monday, Aug. 7, after bombarding the positions to the north and northeast of Pozières. At one time reaching the British trenches, they were driven out again. At sunrise, at 9 o'clock, at 4 in the afternoon, these attacks succeeded each other, somewhat feeble toward evening, without taking an inch of ground from our allies. On Aug. 9, to the northwest of Pozières, the Australian troops advanced on a front of 600 yards.

We have already recorded that our left wing took part in a movement against Guillemont in conjunction with the British. The village of Guillemont, situated at the junction of the roads coming from Longueval and Montauban and going to Combles, was reached by British troops on the northwest and southwest.

[Since the foregoing was written the Allies have slowly but steadily pushed forward, taking Maurepas, Guillemont, Ginchy, Flers, Martinpuich, Courcelette, Vermandovillers, Berny, practically surrounding Combles, cutting across the Peronne-Bapaume road, and taking a firmer grip on the whole Picardy front from Chaulnes in the south to Thiepval on the north.]

"We Have Captured the Ridge"

By David Lloyd George

British Secretary for War

[From an address in the House of Commons, Aug. 22, 1916]

I DO not want to give a military estimate of the situation, but I would invite the House to look at the state of things a few months ago and contrast that with the state of things at the present moment. Two months ago the fate of Verdun was in the balance. The fall of Verdun might not have had very important strategic results, but from the moral point of view it would have been a very serious blow to the cause of the Allies. Two months ago the Austrians appeared to be pressing into the plains of Italy. They were advancing, and they were making great captures of men and guns in the field. The Russians at that time appeared to be held with ease by inferior forces. The Germans were worrying our line along the whole front with incessant attacks, some of them successful, and the new Russian levies and, to a very large extent, our own new armies, were untried. No one knew when put to the test how well they would do. What is the position now? Along the whole of the battle front, east and west, the initiative has been wrested from the enemy almost for the first time. There is only one possible exception, and that is Mesopotamia,

where very largely, owing to climatic reasons, our army for the moment is quiescent. Take the west, along our front and the French front, take the eastern front, where the Russians have won such conspicuous victories—take the notable victories won by the Italians—take the great victories in the Caucasus. The whole situation has completely changed.

The Recent Offensive

I have heard a good deal of criticism of our offensive, and some of the critics imagine that its only justification would be if we were to break through. Not in the least. The enemy had two alternatives. He might have said: "All right, march on, capture trench after trench, we will give you one after the other of these trenched villages, we might throw in a few French towns. We will give you not merely kilometer after kilometer, we might even give you departments, but we will not let go Verdun, and we will throw our forces on to the eastern front to prevent the break-up of Austria." He might, on the other hand, have said: "Oh, no; rather than let you break through here and drive us back, we will take guns and divisions from Verdun, and we will concentrate our troops in front of you rather than let you have this territory." He chose the latter. That suited us. It relieved the pressure on Verdun and prevented the enemy from withdrawing his forces to support the Austrians. I want those who are thinking of this offensive in terms of yards or kilometers to realize the full effect of this achievement.

One of two things would be a success. Breaking through would be a success, but forcing the enemy to bring his armies there to prevent our breaking through would be an equally great success. The latter we have accomplished. In addition, we have rescued a very considerable portion of French territory from the enemy's grip. But that is not the end of it. The enemy is still powerful, and no one pretends that he is yet at the end of his resources. At the present moment his armies are just as numerous as they ever were, his equipment is as formidable as it ever was. That is true of the Germans alone, but it is not true of their allies, not in the least.

The British Contribution

And if it is not true of their allies, it is because we have been able to concentrate such great forces that we have held the Germanic power while the Russians were dealing with some of her allies. That has been our contribution, a great contribution and a costly contribution. Not as costly as the enemy makes it out to be. His accounts of our losses have been grossly, ludicrously exaggerated. At the present moment we are pressing him over territory the value of which must be reckoned not by the number of yards, but rather by the importance of the positions we are capturing. Any man who looks at the contour of the map of this particular battlefield will see what it means, and our losses, although deplorable, as all losses must be, are relatively very low, while the enemy, forced to counterattack over ground which is exposed to our artillery, suffers heavily.

We are fighting a very great military power, with gigantic resources and with an enormous population to draw upon. But no one realizes better than the foe what a change has come over the spirit of the scene. He knows for the first time that his forces are being held, that he is now on the defensive, and that makes a great difference in the whole character of the campaign henceforth. But there are many valleys to cross, there are many ridges to storm, before we see the final victory. We shall need more men, more munitions, more guns, and more equipment, and we shall need all the courage and the endurance of our race in every part of the world in order to convert the work which has been begun, more especially during the last two years, into a victory which will be really a final and complete victory.

Pressing the Enemy Back

We are presssing the enemy back. Sir Douglais Haig's report tonight shows how we are gradualy pressing him back here and there over ground every meter of which is important at the present moment because of its dominating position in that particular country. It does

GERMANY'S HIGHEST GENERALS

Latest Portrait of General von Hindenburg and His Chief of the General Staff, General von Ludendorf.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL JOSEPH JOFFRE

Commander of all the Armies of the French Republic at Work in His Headquarters in the War Office at Paris.

not seem to be a very big achievement, but it is all in one direction. We have secured the ascendency, instead of being pushed back, as we were before Verdun, yard by yard, until the Germans got nearer and nearer to the fortress itself. What is happening now? We are pushing the enemy on the Somme, and the French are doing the same. Near Verdun, instead of being driven back gradually day by day and week by week, the French are regaining ground that they had previously lost.

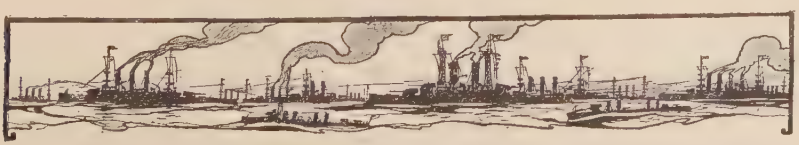
All that is a change, but in order to convert that into a real victory, a victory which will enable us to impose the only terms that will make it worth our while for having entered into this war, it is necessary that we should get every possible support that this country or the dominions can give us. It is upon that support and upon the equipment of Russia, with heavy guns and heavy ammunition, that victory depends. During the whole of these fateful months the enemy knows perfectly well that if Russia had been equipped with heavier artillery and ammunition her progress would have been much more rapid than it has been. It is upon considerations of that kind, which involve greater sacrifices, still greater drafts upon our tenacity and courage, that the one great question whether we shall see the end of this war in the coming year depends.

Germany's Chance Gone

We have captured the ridge; we can see, at any rate, the course of the campaign. I think in the dim distance we can see the end. The enemy has been driven off the dominant position which he held at the beginning of the campaign, and that in itself is a great achievement. He has lost his tide. He had France not fully prepared, and yet the best prepared of all; the most finely organized country in the alliance was still, in a sense, unprepared. Russia, also, was unprepared, and Britain with practically no army in the Continental sense. We had an army for policing the empire, but we had no army in the sense of an army for a great Continental campaign. I am the last man to disparage the work which our first expeditionary force rendered. I have no doubt when the history of the whole war comes to be written it will be said that the action of that gallant little force saved the situation.

Now France is equipped, and Russia is rapidly becoming equipped. The Italian equipment is getting along in a way which has amazed even her best friends. We have now in the field one of the greatest armies any empire could command. Germany has missed her chance and she knows it.

Without in the least pretending to predict times and seasons, it would be a mistake for us to anticipate an early victory; that would only produce disappointment; I have never in the least underrated the greatness of our task; I never cried out victory when, as a matter of fact, we were sustaining defeat, as I have always thought it better to tell the people frankly and fairly exactly what was happening, because the people of this country are not the kind of people to be terrified by any facts, and I knew that their exertions would be in proportion to the difficulty of their enterprise. Having always taken that view, and now surveying the whole situation in the light of existing facts and upon the advice of those who are far more competent to express an opinion than I am, I have no hesitation in saying that all this country and the Allies have to do is to march together steadily, work together loyally, as they have done in the past, and then victory, assured victory, will rest in their hands.



A Survey of the Russian Battle Front

By Charles Johnston

WE have been forgetting the north end of the Russian battle line in watching the absorbing drama of the south. But at the north end also there has been vital fighting. Kuropatkin, who was far greater on the defensive than in attack —and of whom it was said that, at the battle of Mukden, in its time the greatest battle of history, he had ten matured plans for withdrawal but not one for an advance—has gone south to his beloved Turkestan; Ruzsky, one of the hardest hitters in the Russian Army, who shared with Brusiloff the honors of the first great aggressive in Galicia, has taken Kuropatkin's place, or, more truly, has returned to his own post which Kuropatkin was holding for him; and, with the return of the "fighting General," the northern Russian line has moved steadily forward. Not on the grand scale of Galicia and Bukowina, it is true, but there are good reasons for that; first, although Russia has an apparently inexhaustible host of young, well-trained soldiers, and literally mountains of shells, which are pouring in daily from England, from Japan, from Russia's own new munition works in the iron regions of the south and east, and also from America, yet of necessity the enormous calls made both on men and munitions by Brusiloff's vast offensive and now by the new invasion of Bulgaria through the Dobrudja, have left Ruzsky in the north with comparatively limited means. Let us see what he has been able to accomplish with them.

The Dwina Front

Riga, a city of 600,000 population, (as large as Baltimore or Pittsburgh,) and, after Odessa, the greatest port in the empire, was the first goal of Hindenburg's great drive; Dwinsk, with 100,000 inhabitants, was the second. The distance between is about 120 miles, or, along the curved line of the Dwina and the trenches, more than 150. All along this line, (which is about equal to the line on the western front from Ostend to Rheims,) Ruzsky has been attacking, fighting against lines organized exactly like those we are familiar with in the descriptions of the fighting on the Somme. And the result of this fighting is that, along the greater part of the line, the Russians have captured the German first-line trenches and are firmly installed on the western side of the Dwina.

While the trenches themselves were splendidly organized with reinforced concrete, forests of barbed wire, subterranean caves, deep connecting trenches, the whole well defended by multitudes of machine guns, bomb throwers, rapid-fire cannon, yet, according to Russian reports, the German army defending them was worn, nervous, inadequately fed and clothed, and the trenches were undermanned. But there was no lack at all of munitions, nor of fierce determination to hold the trenches. In general, when Ruzsky's men attacked, after a tremendously heavy artillery preparation, with high explosive shells of the largest calibre, they found that the German defenders had, during the bombardment, practically given up the first-line trenches; only small groups were left, in the deepest burrows, at the telephone stations from which wires, deeply buried in the earth, maintained connections with the second lines. German prisoners who had remained at these first-line telephone stations said that, so tremendous was the Russian bombardment, nothing could stand against it; barbed wire entanglements were mowed down like reeds, concrete trenches were first smashed up into great fragments, as old-fashioned housewives used to pound up their sugar loaves, and then the chunks of concrete were literally pounded into dust.

When the Russian foot soldiers charged with the bayonet, over the stupendous

ruins their own guns had created, the telephonists gave the signal, and the German troops came rushing forward from the second line, in which, during the bombardment, they had taken refuge; fierce hand-to-hand fighting with the bayonet, with gun butts, with grenades began, but within five or six hours the Russians were masters of the first-line trenches. But, when they ran on to the trenches of the second line the tables were turned against them; finding it impossible to take them without prolonged artillery preparation, they contented themselves with retiring to the first-line trenches and consolidating these; they are now working their heavy guns forward to attack the next line, exactly after the fashion of the Somme battle.

While these fights were going on, along a line of about 150 miles, the clouds were full of German albatrosses and Russian aeroplanes, scouting, pursuing each other, taking photographs of each other's position. Again and again the albatrosses have bombed Riga and Dwinsk, while Russian airmen have bombed the German trenches, depots, and field railroads. The net result of all this is that the Russians are now firmly settled on the west side of the Dwina and are preparing to attack the German second line, the German first line being already in their hands.

Dwinsk to the Pripet

The next sector of the eastern front, from Dwinsk to the Pripet River, (a tributary of the Dnieper, which runs east and south into the Black Sea at Kherson, east of Odessa,) a distance of about 300 miles almost due north and south, a distance equal to a direct line from Ostend on the Strait of Dover to Strassburg, the great German intrenched camp in Alsace. On the German side this sector is commanded by Prince Leopold of Bavaria, a veteran, 70 years old, to whom is accredited the capture of Warsaw. On the Russian side, General Evert commands, a robust fighter who won distinction by blocking the first Austrian thrust north from Lemberg against Lublin and Kholm, while Ruzsky and Brusiloff cut at and captured Lemberg and Halicz from the east. The most vital point on this long line which, for the most part, runs through enormous forests of pine, wet and marshy under foot, is the junction at Baranovici, an important station on the direct railroad from Warsaw through Brest-Litovsk to Moscow. In this region there has been severe fighting, which seems to be approaching a decision favorable to the Russians.

The Pripet to Rumania

From the Pripet southward, as far as the Rumanian frontier, the Russian line is under the general command of Brusiloff, and this is, of course, the sector in which the really decisive and dramatic struggle is taking place.

We may make the purpose of this fighting clear by naming four cities, two of them, Kovel and Vladimir-Volhynski, in Russian territory now held by German armies; two, Lemberg and Halicz, in Austrian Galicia. The German commands have undergone several recent changes, but it seems that Generals Linsingen, Boehm-Ermolli, and Bothmer, under the nominal direction of the Austrian Archduke Charles Francis, the heir to the throne of the Dual Monarchy, are in command of the sectors from north to south. General von Pflanzer-Ballin, who commanded the extreme southern sector, has just retired owing to ill-health.

When Brusiloff tore the first great breach in the Teutonic defenses at Lutsk and Dubno, his next objective was Kovel, with Vladimir-Volhynski somewhat to the south; there were strong Teuton defenses between, first along the Styr, then along the Stokhod, and against these a section of Brusiloff's forces, commanded by General Kaledin, who has just been made a full General for his distinguished services, was immediately directed, but for the last month or six weeks Kaledin has made almost no headway, though he has taken a good many prisoners. Here, then, is the first point at which Brusiloff is now being held up.

Last month saw the able and resourceful Teuton commander, General Count von Bothmer, in a very dangerous position. Three of Brusiloff's Generals were

hemming him in: Sakharoff had outflanked him on the north by the capture of Brody and an at first rapid advance along the Brody railroad toward Lemberg. Stcherbatchoff was pressing his whole line hard from a base near Tarnopol. The volatile Letchitski, to the south, had far outflanked him by taking successively Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, Kolomea and Stanislavoff, and getting behind him along the Dniester River—the midrib of Galicia. Bothmer, thus very seriously threatened, managed to extricate himself—but with the loss of a considerable portion of his army. He is said to have lost 50,000 prisoners and probably as many killed and wounded. And he probably had not more than 300,000 men all told when the Russian drive began, on June 4, while the intervening months brought continuous losses. It is difficult to believe that Bothmer has more than a third, or at most a half, of his original force. With these he has withdrawn to Halicz, and is there putting up a very stiff fight; but Letchitski, who has won for himself very ample elbow room south and west of Halicz, is once more working up behind Bothmer's position, and the fate of Halicz is, apparently, only a matter of time.

On Familiar Ground

It should be kept in mind that General Brusiloff knows, with close personal knowledge, the whole region in which the four armies under him are fighting. When the war broke out, he had been stationed for several months at Vinnitsa, in Russian Podolia, on the railroad a short distance to the east of Tarnopol. Earlier he was stationed at Lublin, and several times conducted manoeuvres about Lublin and Kholm. He fought westward and eastward through Galicia on the Tarnopol-Halicz-Baligrad line. He won at Halicz one of the earliest Entente victories, just before the Battle of the Marne. So he is now playing the great game on a very familiar chessboard.

But we should not forget the ability of the Teuton Generals opposing Sakharoff and Kaledin. We should add to those already named the Austrian General Koevess, a really able soldier, especially skilled in mountain warfare, who was withdrawn from Gorizia to meet the Russian threat at the Carpathians—with disastrous results for the Austrian forces about Gorizia. Largely to him, it would seem, has fallen the task of holding the Carpathian passes in Galicia and Bukowina against the flying wings of General Letchitski's army, but his position is suddenly and markedly weakened by Rumania's entry into the war, which now introduces a new threat against these passes, this time from the Hungarian side.

Should Rumania make to the north progress as extensive as she has made to the west through the Transylvanian Carpathians, then General Koevess will shortly find himself outflanked and forced to withdraw his forces into the interior of Hungary, as the Austrian armies in Transylvania have been withdrawn. Indeed, the whole face of the problem, from the Pripet River southward, has been suddenly altered, and altered in a sense very favorable to Russia. This will be clear, if we remember that Orsova, the most westerly point won so far by the Rumanian armies, is about 100 miles west of Lemberg, and still further west of Halicz; and that the upward push of the Rumanian armies, on anything like the level of Orsova, would mean the outflanking of every Teuton position which is now to the east of our old friend, Przemysl; this would give Russia possession of full two-thirds of Galicia, and Russia has already a far firmer hold on Southern Galicia than she had at any time in 1914. The complete conquest of the Bukowina has effected that, and Rumania's declaration has confirmed it.

Rumania's move, indeed, puts a new aspect on the whole problem of the Russian line. It makes, as we have seen, the defense of Halicz by the Teuton powers more precarious; and Halicz is the key to Lemberg. Indeed, it was Brusiloff's Halicz victory, in the beginning of September, 1914, which completed the rout of the Austrian forces holding Lemberg. In the same way the loss of Lemberg would be a serious danger to the Teuton

possession of Vladimir-Volhynski and Kovel, and might easily hurry their evacuation.

Consolidation of Bukowina

So we come to the southern end of the immensely long Russian line in Bukowina, where it now joins the northern end of the Rumanian battle front. The Russians are still fighting in the hill country, among the Carpathian beech woods, which give Bukowina its name, but the whole of the level country along the Pruth and Southern Sereth and Moldava, is firmly in their hands; is already "consolidated" along Russian lines. The country about Czernowitz is singularly picturesque and attractive, and the little metropolis itself, which in normal times has about 95,000 inhabitants, has decided charm. The Pruth, on which it stands, winds picturesquely through rich corn fields and meadows, between its osier-fringed banks; and, within the city, well built houses and gold domed churches are mirrored in its quiet waters. The city itself is full of gardens, rich in trees, so that it nestles amid verdure. Russians say it looks like Kieff —on a much smaller scale—and Kieff is the most picturesque town in the Russian Empire.

Balkan Developments

By a Staff Contributor

[See other Balkan articles, pages 57-84; also military events, pages 41-46]

THE problem of what we may, perhaps, begin to call the Battle of the Balkans is intensely interesting, and not a little perplexing. To begin with, it is quite clear that we are very far from having all the facts. For example, we have practically no knowledge of how many of the Teuton-Turkish troops are engaged, under Field Marshal von Mackensen, or on his initiative, in the attempted invasion of Dobrudja; compare with this vagueness the precise knowledge of the western front, where, the French authorities tell us, Germany has 122 divisions, or 2,240,000 men. When Turtukai was taken, one party called it a great fortress; the other said it was a mere earthwork. The Bulgarians said they had taken 20,000 Rumanian prisoners; the Rumanians retorted that they had not that many men on that sector. If this be anywhere near the truth, how many Bulgars, Turks, and, perhaps, Teutons are these Rumanians and their Russian allies holding back on the Silistria-Varna line? All this is still obscure, and will only be made clear as the fight progresses.

Again, there are some 350 miles of the great River Danube, across which Bulgarians and Rumanians—or at least their territories—face each other; why has no fighting been reported from anywhere on this long, easy line?—nothing beyond a few gunshots fired across the river, at widely distant points like "Tekia, Widin, Lomorjechovo, and Ivichton," to quote a recent dispatch. We need much more information here also. The Iron Gates of the Danube, where the river cuts through the extension of the Carpathians, mark a region very like the Highlands of the Hudson; the "Iron Gates" themselves were ridges below high water, very like Hell Gate, and now, like that once perilous passage, blasted out and cleared. From this point, not far below Orsova on the Rumanian-Hungarian frontier, down to the Dobrudja, (whose high plateau forces the Danube northward out of its direct course,) the great river flows between low banks, among marshes. Armies can easily cross it; have repeatedly crossed it ever since Trajan's day; twice, for example, in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78; twice during the invasions of Serbia in the present war. Why has no army crossed it now?

We must, of course, take the Dobrudja

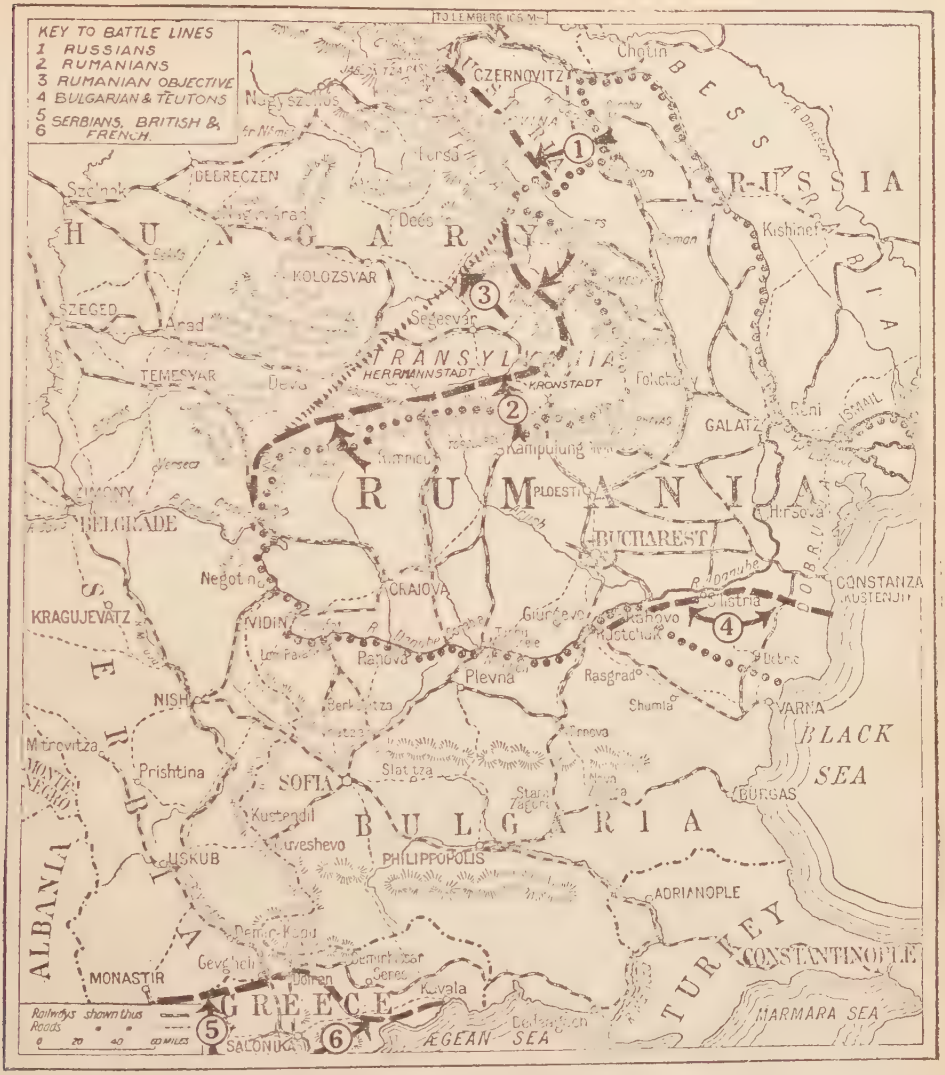
fighting in its relation to the Rumanian invasion of Transylvania, and also in connection with the Saloniki offensive of the Entente Allies. First, why did the bulk of the Rumanian armies go west, to Hungarian Transylvania, instead of simply crossing the Danube southward and attacking Sofia, not more than seventy or eighty miles from the great river? The reason seems to be political; in Transylvania, (which is a part of Hungary,) and in the Bukowina, (the "Beech-land" which is a Crown land of Austria,) there are some 4,000,000 Rumanians, speaking the same tongue as the people of Bucharest and Jassy; and their union with the present Rumanian Kingdom is as much a part of Rumanian national policy as, for Italy, is the winning of Trent and Trieste. Rumania, knowing Austria's weakness there, knowing that practically all the native Hungarian troops were employed elsewhere, determined at once to seize the "unredeemed" Rumanian territory, leaving the Bulgarian problem to be handled later—perhaps by other than Rumanian forces.

For there are two wholly contrasted reasons which dictate the sending of Russian troops into Bulgaria. The first, the obvious reason is, to defeat the government of the Coburg Ferdinand, as an enemy of the Entente Powers. The second, and the more vital reason, perhaps, is to meet half way the pro-Russian, anti-Teuton movement among the Bulgarians themselves; evidences of which we may see in the fact that Radko Dmitrieff, the ablest Bulgar soldier of the first Balkan war, whose victories over the Turks at Lule Burgas and Kirk Killisse astonished all Europe and decided the war, has been fighting, since 1914, as a Russian officer in the Russian Army; in the fact that General Savoff, the fine organizer, who made the modern Bulgarian Army, was imprisoned at the outbreak of the present war, because he refused to fight for the Coburg Ferdinand against Russia's allies; in the fact that more than a thousand skilled Bulgar officers are even now in Russia, because they wholly disapprove the Coburger's pro-Teuton policy; in the fact that Bulgar regiments have again and again mutinied, as a protest against the same policy.

If Rumanian forces invaded Bulgaria, they would meet with violent animosity, because of old rivalries, but far more because it was Rumania's intervention that caused Bulgaria's downfall in the "four weeks' war" in the Summer of 1913; because Rumania then took from Bulgaria the Silistria region, to the south of Dobrudja, nearly 3,000 miles in area. It is precisely there that the Teuton-Bulgar-Turks have now struck; doubtless in pursuance of a promise given by Kaiser Wilhelm that if the Coburger joined the Teutons they would win back for him every inch of territory of which Bulgaria was "robbed" by the Bucharest Treaty of August, 1913. A Rumanian invasion across the Danube, therefore, would fire intense animosities; Russian intervention will find the Bulgarians half friends; for Bulgarians remember that their land is strewn with the graves of Russian soldiers who died to liberate Bulgaria, even though Russian politics did much to estrange what is nevertheless a very real gratitude.

It would seem, then, that the Entente Powers, and especially Russia, are not without hope that Bulgaria (though not the Coburger's party) may yet swing around and at the eleventh hour join the Entente, which now grows daily stronger. Perhaps we have here, in these purely political considerations—or, rather, race considerations—the key of the problem we began by stating: Why there has been no real fighting along the 300-mile Ruman-Bulgar frontier on the Danube.

Political considerations obviously enter into the direction of the Russian invasion through the Dobrudja. This move would seem to be directed, not really against Bulgaria, but rather against Turkey; or, to name the real goal, against Constantinople. It seems fairly certain that England has overcome her long hostility to the presence of Russia there; Russia's defeat of the projected invasion of India by her Armenian-Persian campaign under Generals Yudenitch and Baratoff did much to disarm English questionings. And it has been pretty



FIGHTING FRONTS IN THE BALKANS, SEPT. 15, 1916 (SEE KEY IN UPPER CORNER.)

openly declared—notably by the well-known Russian statesman, Professor Milyukoff—that an explicit agreement exists, assigning Stamboul to Russia in the event of Entente triumph. But possession is nine points of the law; therefore Russia is very naturally desirous of finding herself in actual possession of Constantine's city when the great day comes. And the way thither leads through the Dobrudja and Varna. Russian armies were already within sight of Stamboul in January, 1878, when Disraeli called a halt; but Disraeli is no more; and his Russophobe policy has followed him.

This would be a reasonable explanation of both the Rumanian movement westward (instead of southward, across the Danube) and of the defense of the Dobrudja by Russian (not by Rumanian) forces. There remain certain things to be accounted for; for instance, the slowness of Russia's advance, which allowed Mackensen's forces to capture Turtukai, Silistria, and a group of fishing villages on the Black Sea. The reason, doubtless, is the extreme difficulty of transporting

the big guns which, to a large degree through the initiative of Mackensen himself, at the Dunayets, have become an integral part of field warfare. There are no north-and-south railroads through the Dobrudja, and very few roads up and down that high, very arid plateau; there is only the Bucharest-Constanza (Kustendji) railroad running east and west, across the fine Danube bridge, one of the largest in Europe, completed, with French Creusot material, by the late King Carol in 1895. So it is exceedingly difficult for Russia to bring her big guns to bear, and, till they are under way, her progress must lag.

On the Bulgarian side, on the contrary, there is a railroad from Varna to Dobric; another from the Varna-Sofia railroad to Rustchuk, thus running along the back of Mackensen's positions; while, from Rustchuk eastward along the Danube, on its south bank, there is a good highway, running through Turtukai to Silistria, evidently used in the movement which captured these two posts. The Turks, it may be noted, will fight very willingly to take Dobrudja, which belonged to them as recently as 1877, and which still has a quarter of a million Turk inhabitants. But one doubts that Turkey can have many available troops.

This would seem to go some distance toward clearing up the northern side of the Balkan battle. We come now to the southern side; to the fighting which radiates from Saloniki, at a distance of some 75 miles from that city, and on a front of some 150 miles. It seems difficult to believe that there are more than 200,000 troops to the north of the fighting line, including Bulgarians, as the main element, with some Germans and Austrians, and, perhaps, some Turks. The problem of this relatively small force, of five or six army corps, at most, is a very serious one. It can draw supplies of munitions along the railroad which traverses the Morava and Vardar Valleys from the Danube and Germany; but their sideways distribution, in mountainous country, is not easy. This relatively small force, then, has two tasks—to defend the valley of the Vardar, up which an allied advance will push toward Nish, seeking to cut the railroad from German bases to Sofia, and to defend the Struma Valley, up which English and Italian troops are already making a thrust which will be aimed at Sofia itself, the capital and the heart of Bulgaria. It was Rumania's thrust at Sofia, in July, 1913, which brought Bulgaria to her knees and ended the second Balkan war. The Italo-British drive may have the same result, in the next few months, while the Franco-Serbian drive up the Vardar accomplishes two things—liberates devastated Serbia and cuts off Teuton aid from Bulgaria.

If the present Rumanian action about Orsova and the Iron Gates of the Danube, which has already made a good deal of headway, continues very successful, we may, very probably, see a Rumanian thrust southward from Orsova, largely or even wholly on Serbian territory, directed toward Nish, and intended not so much to defeat Bulgar troops as to cut off Bulgaria's Teuton allies, therefore not restrained by the political considerations which, we have conjectured, keep back Rumanian invasion of Bulgaria from the north.

It is always perilous to prophesy, yet it is interesting to speculate on the possible outcome of the Balkan battle. On the one hand it is difficult to see where the Teuton-Bulgar-Turk allies are to get any considerable reserves, while, on the other, there must be unlimited Russian forces available for the Dobrudja drive, large Italian forces ready to strengthen the move up the Struma, with at least considerable French and British contingents ready to support Sarrail. And at neither the northern nor the southern front have the Teuton-Bulgar-Turk forces made any great headway; in the south, indeed, they seem to be either held stationary or losing ground. Therefore, if we take the question of coming reserves into account, as we must, it is evident that the odds against Bulgaria and her allies are exceedingly heavy, while the Generals opposed to them, men like Sarrail and Mahon, will not make many mistakes.

We have said nothing of Greece, because the position of Greece has not been finally decided.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Situation on Three Fronts

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See Map of Balkan Front, Page 39]

THE principal event of the period which forms the subject of this review—up to the middle of September—was the intervention of Rumania on the side of the Allies. Rumania's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, with a statement of the reasons for her action, came on Aug. 28. Germany promptly declared war on Rumania; Bulgaria and Turkey followed suit a few days later.

Rumania's entrance into the war has, besides its military importance, an economic significance. Economically Rumania is the loser. Through her commercial agreement with the Central Powers she had garnered in enormous profits. Naturally the Central Powers on their part, cut off as they are from the outside world by the British blockade, had gained advantages from the possibility of receiving goods from Rumania—advantages which are not to be underestimated. However, the abundance of this year's German harvest more than counterbalances the stopping of the Rumanian source.

The military significance of Rumania's action lies primarily in the intention of the Allies to extend still further the general offensive on all theatres of war. The Rumanian offensive has two possibilities:

1. The forcing of the Transylvanian Alps, which form the continuation of the Carpathians, and the invasion of Hungary either from the southeast or south.

2. An invasion of Bulgaria from the north, in conjunction with the Russian forces for whom the Rumanian border was opened with the declaration of war.

For both cases the condition and the strength of the Rumanian Army constitute the decisive factor. The numerical strength of that army is hardly underrated when estimated at 400,000 men. As for its equipment, the infantry is armed with Mannlicher rifles dating from 1893, 6.5 millimeter calibre; the artillery with Krupp guns, model 1908, 7.5 centimeter calibre, and 12-centimeter howitzers. The machine guns are constructed after the Maxim type.

On the opposing side considerable Turkish forces are at hand for the new campaign. Since the conclusion of the Dardanelles enterprise of the Allies the Turkish main forces which had been massed partly at Constantinople and partly in the new big military camp at Tchatalja, west-northwest of the capital, have not been heard from. It was said that they were being kept in readiness for the event of an allied attempt to break through from Saloniki in order to cut the communication between the Central Powers and Turkey, established by the Serbian campaign. Such, too, would be the ultimate aim of a Bulgarian invasion by the Russians and Rumanians. The realization of this aim, however, would for Turkey be the gravest blow, and the Turks may be expected to exert their entire available strength to avert it.

The Rumanian Attack

The Rumanians opened attack even before the declaration of war by proceeding against Rotenturm Pass, Toerzburg Pass, and Toemoes Pass, in the Transylvanian Alps. At the same time a Russo-Rumanian army attacked the front of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Heir Apparent, Karl Franz Josef, in the Southeastern Carpathians, at Toelgyes Pass and Bekas Pass. The result was the withdrawal of the forces of the Central Powers, in accordance with the general basic idea of the whole war—to rest on the defensive at certain points and to

take the offensive on other fronts designated therefor.

The Rumanins advanced at three points: Far to the west, near the "Iron Gate," where the Czerna empties into the Danube, Orsova was occupied. In the centre they pushed through the Transylvanian Alps from the south in the direction of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt. The open Hungarian city of Kronstadt (Brasso) fell into their hands. They advanced as far as the Gyorgyo Mountains north of the town. Kronstadt is of military importance as an intersection, being the converging point of several lines leading across the mountains into Rumania. The city had, therefore, been fortified in former times, but is today completely open.

Thirdly, there was the Rumanian advance from the east, across the wooded Carpathians against the Ersik heights, the Rumanians being aided here by Russian forces.

The withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian lines to previously selected positions was based upon the military advisability of shortening the front. A front running along the whole frontier, from Dorna Watra before the Borgo Pass of the wooded Carpathians to Orsova, at the "Iron Gate," would have been 600 kilometers long. The defense of all frontier passes in south and east was hardly possible; to hold the entire 600-kilometer front would have presented enormous numerical difficulties. The present plan of the Austro-Hungarian high command is to oppose a further advance of the enemy on the line that has been reduced to less than half its original length.

The Austro-Hungarian troops also have taken up new positions in the Csik Mountains, withdrawing to the heights west of the Csik Szerada.

The Teutonic Offensive

On Sept. 2 the Central Powers and their allies opened the offensive against Rumania from the south. Bulgarian, German, and Turkish troops crossed the Dobrudja frontier and entered Rumania. The Southern Dobrudja forms the territory which Bulgaria had to cede to Rumania at the peace of Bucharest, Aug. 10, 1913, after the second Balkan war—although Rumanian troops had had no actual part in that conflict.

The border was crossed by three columns—in the east, in the centre, and in the west.

1. The western column of invasion advanced against the Danube bridgehead Turtukan. German troops took a part in this advance. The bridgehead was constructed to defend the crossing of the Danube to Oltenita, on the left bank. From Oltenita a railway runs directly to Bucharest. The distance between Oltenita and the Rumanian capital is sixty kilometers as the crow flies.

2. The advance of the central column was directed against the fortress of Silistria. This stronghold, too, was taken.

3. The advance of the easternmost column was aimed primarily against the fortress of Dobritsch, (Hadshi-Oglu-Basadshik.)

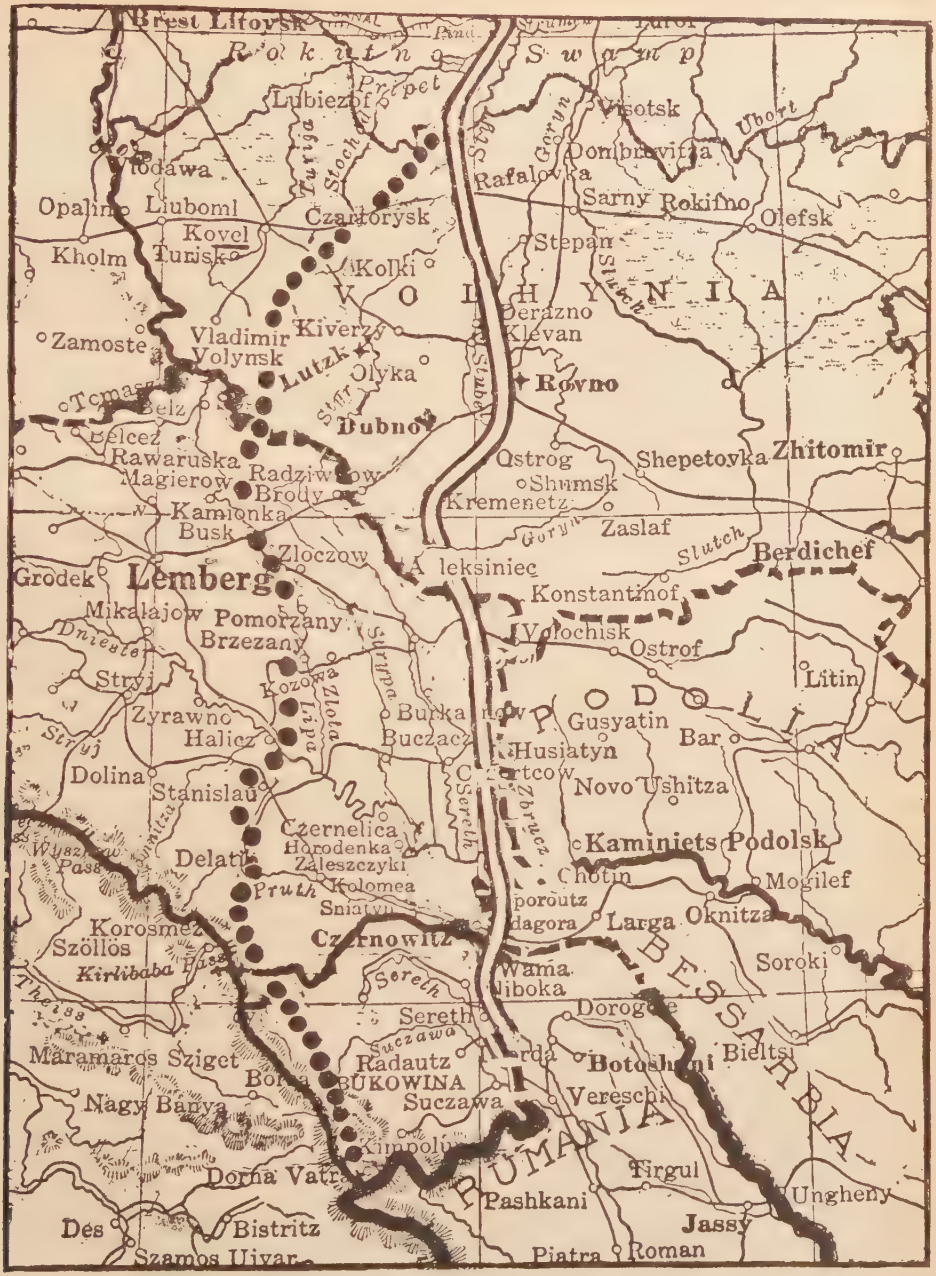
On the left wing and in the centre the Bulgarian troops are strengthened by Germans, on the right by Turks. Russian forces, on the other hand, are aiding the Rumanian right flank.

On Sept. 3 Dobritsch fell. Three days later the Danube bridgehead Turtukan had fallen, and on Sept. 9 the fortress of Silistria was stormed. On Sept. 7 the Rumanian Black Sea ports of Baltchik, Kowarra, and Kaḷi-Akra were occupied.

Turtukan is to be regarded as an advanced position of the Rumanian capital and principal fortress, Bucharest. It is at this point that the great Moltke considered that the Danube could best be crossed.

With the occupation of Turtukan and Silistria, the crossing of the Danube at two important points of the Dobrudja is within reach of the attackers' guns. Oltenita, on the northern bank of the river opposite Turtukan, already is under bombardment. And from Oltenita a railway leads directly to Bucharest. The Rumanians only have left the second Danube bridgehead, Czernavoda, east of Silistria. This bridgehead is connected by rail with the principal Rumanian port, Constanza, on the Black Sea.

The entire land defense of Rumania is organized after the so-called central system. Bucharest is the principal fortress,



RUSSIAN BATTLE FRONT IN GALICIA AND VOLHYNIA: DOUBLE LINE MARKS RUSSIAN POSITION BEFORE THE PRESENT DRIVE, AND DOTTED LINE THAT ON SEPT. 15

the pulse of that system; and, as its capital, it is the heart of the kingdom. The fortress, one of the strongest in the world, is the work of General Biralmont, the famous Belgian fortress builder who also constructed Liége, Namur, and Antwerp. The present war, however, has considerably reduced the value of fortresses.

The Russo-Rumanian troops have begun to retreat northward, and thus have opened for the attackers the cross-

ing of the Danube. At this writing comes an official statement from the Berlin War Office reporting Field Marshal von Mackensen's right on the line from Rasova across the Southern Dobrudja through Cobadin to Tuzla, a line about twelve miles from the Czernawoda-Constanza stretch protected by the historic rampart, Trajan's Wall.

The development up to date of the offensive by the combined Bulgarian, German, and Turkish forces under the chief command of Field Marshal von Mackensen against Rumania from the south already has had its effects upon the military situation on the northern front. The Rumanian advance in Transylvania, after first slackening, has now come to a standstill at Sepsi-Szent-Gyorgy, slightly to the north of Kronstadt. The shortening of the Austro-Hungarian line has been carried into effect.

The military expert of The London Times already has asserted that Rumania must be "saved." The rescue, he emphasizes, must be effected upon the main theatres of war, for a rambling about in the whole world would be folly for the Allies. Rumania will remain an incidental theatre of war, even though the campaign in that country is in close military connection with the great Russian offensive.

Russian Offensive Fails

The "grand offensive" of the Russians has meanwhile resolved itself to two operations on separate fronts.

When on June 5, in accordance with the allied military conference in Paris, the great general offensive began on the eastern front, ushering in the united attack on all main theatres of war, the task mapped out for the Russians was the "rolling up" of the entire Teuton front through a break in its southern line, from Baronovitchi, north of the Pripet Swamps, down to the Rumanian border of the Bukowina. This general strategic idea of the Russian drive was analogous to that of the Anglo-French offensive on the western front, which also was aimed at the "rolling up" of the entire German front.

But the Russians have progressed neither from the lower Stokhod north of the Sarny-Kovel railway, nor against this line from the south, from the Lutsk region. The new Russian attacks on the lower Stokhod thus far can be regarded only as demonstrations. Nor has the advance from Brody in a westerly direction even begun.

Thus, all that is left at present of the "grand offensive" in the east is the fighting in the region between the Zlota Lipa and the Dniester and the advance across the Carpathians. The battles on these two theatres of war are extremely violent and in themselves of great strategical importance, but they are in no inner military connection whatsoever with the task originally set to the "grand offensive."

The battles in the Carpathians have completely lost their original tendency. They gravitate toward the Northern Rumanian front, which stretches from the wooded Carpathians down to the "Iron Gate." The result of the Carpathian battles, too, is influenced by the course of the campaign in Rumania.

Thus we have left of the "grand offensive" really only the developments between the Dniester and the Zlota Lipa. These are described by Russian military experts as a "Russian general attack." The general attack is aimed at Lemberg from the south. After crossing the River Koropiec and occupying positions in the terrain of that river, the Zlota Lipa and the Khowanka, the Russians reached Podhajze and occupied Maryampol, on the Dniester. By this operation the Russian left wing (army group of General Letchitsky) had effected a junction with the centre (army group of General Schterbatscheff) on the comparatively short front Stanislau-Maryampol.

From this line the advance on Lemberg was continued. It was aimed primarily against Halicz, the important railhead of the communication with Lemberg.

On Sept. 6 the Russians had won some ground in the direction of Halicz. In the battle of Sept. 7 and 8, between the Zlota Lipa and Dniester, they attempted to seize Halicz by means of swift successive mass attacks against Buraztyn, (about seventeen kilometers northwest of

Halicz, not far from the railway to Lemberg.)

Had the Russians succeeded in breaking through there they would have gained, with the possession of the city, the control of the railway as well. The attempt was frustrated "by a cleverly mapped out and as cleverly executed plan of defense on the part of General Count von Bothmer," in the words of the official German War Office statement. In the same report the highest praise was expressed for the Turks' fighting on Count Bothmer's front.

Since them the Russian advance against Lemberg has been—temporarily, at least—discontinued.

Field Marshal General von Hindenburg has been called from the east front to become Chief of the German General Staff of the Army in the Field, succeeding General von Falkenhayn.

Simultaneously came the appointment of General Ludendorff, Hindenburg's former Chief of Staff, as Quartermaster General. This post once before received a significance quite out of proportion with its usual functions. In peace time, from 1881 until 1888, a Quartermaster General was the "right-hand man" of Field Marshal Count Moltke, then Chief of the General Staff of the Army, and was in the absence of the latter Acting Chief of the General Staff. General Ludendorff will be Hindenburg's right hand.

The fact that these two men have been simultaneously taken from the immediate command on the front and intrusted with the chief direction of the whole war, as far as the German arms and operations are concerned, indicates the seriousness of the entire war situation.

The new army chief, after personally inspecting the military situation in the west, has effected a regrouping of that front. The front as a whole has been divided into three main sections, commanded, respectively, by Field Marshal General Duke Albrecht von Württemberg, Field Marshal General Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, and the German Crown Prince. The regrouping is analogous to the changes made on the eastern front.

Fighting on the Somme

The break which was to usher in the "rolling up" process on the western front was to be effected on the line Peronne-Combles-Bapaume. The storming columns of the Allies have in the course of the period under discussion regained their unity of action in the various sectors of the 45-kilometer front extending from north of Thiepval down to Vermandovillers. The German first-line positions were battered to pieces, the second lines were stormed, and even sections of the third-line system were conquered.

The British are operating north of the Somme; in the centre, at the point of their junction, French and British cooperate, and the allied right wing, south of the Somme, is held by the French.

After careful artillery preparation the Allies are attacking alternately on the left, in the centre, and on the right. Thus, on Sept. 2 the centre advanced to the line Ginchy-Guillemont-Combles-Le Forest-Clery, and on Sept. 4 the French on their right wing pushed from the line running from Barleux to south of Chaulnes as far as Soyécourt, the outskirts of Berny, the northern edge of Deniecourt, and into Vermandovillers and Chilly. At the moment of writing the abandonment of Deniecourt is admitted by the Berlin War Office.

Sept. 4 saw the beginning of the battle for Ginchy, on the Anglo-German front. On the following day the French advanced their lines north of the Somme to the region east of Le Forest. With the occupation of the village of Ommiecourt the French lines on both sides of the river were straightened out. On Sept. 9 the British attacked on a front of 6,000 meters from Foureaux Wood to Leuze Wood; all of Ginchy was taken by them. Two days later the French progressed as far as the Béthune-Peronne highway. On Sept. 15 the British took part of the Bouleaux Wood, High Wood, (Foureaux Wood,) Flers, and Martinpuich, (on the road Albert-Pozières-Bapaume,) thus seizing all the ground between the region northwest of Combles and the Béthune road as far as Courcelette.

The territorial gain made by the Allies is in itself no factor. The row of villages, woods, and road intersections taken by them can be valued from a strategical standpoint only if these points are serviceable to the attackers in the realization of their basic offensive idea. But not even the artillery preparation of these "main blows" has fulfilled its mission, namely, to wipe out the hostile infantry in its trenches or reserve positions and to destroy its supplies and communications behind the front.

For every position that the Germans give up on their front a new one is built behind the front; that is to say, a new front is established. This means that the cohesion of the defense has been nowhere broken. And as long as the front holds, no matter whether it is taken one or two kilometers forward or backward—as long as it *holds*, the *defensive, not the offensive*, is successful.

What are kilometers in the face of the basic idea of a general offensive which means to carry the victory over tremendous fronts and areas? Not even the line Bapaume-Combles-Peronne, geographically and strategically the immediate objective of the "grand offensive," have the attackers been able to take in two months and a half!

[American View]

The Month's Military Developments

From August 15 to September 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See Map of Balkans on Page 39]

LAST month brought about in several of the war theatres a situation which promises more interesting results than anything which has happened in Europe during the current year. The most important of these was the entrance of Rumania as one of the Entente Powers. This action was not entirely unexpected. Despite her recent commercial treaties with the Central Powers, it was generally felt that Rumania would sooner or later line up squarely with the Entente. The question was definitely settled when Italy declared war against Germany.

This was purely a technicality. A state of war between Italy and Germany had actually existed for some time, but, for commercial and diplomatic reasons, the formal declaration was avoided. Italy's hand was in a measure forced by her own participation in the campaign at Saloniki. Sooner or later the Italian forces on this front would of necessity have come into conflict with the German troops, and then to have maintained a semblance of peace would have been a farce. But Italy's action, while in itself it meant nothing in a military way and added not at all to the difficulties of the Central Powers, did cause Rumania to make a decision.

In such a cataclysm as that now tearing Europe, the smaller nations, if they wish to take sides, must, in order to avoid being swallowed up, choose the side which will eventually win. This was just as true the day Bulgaria declared war as it is today. But Bulgaria was too greedy to wait, she did not have sufficient information, the war had not reached a point where mature judgment was possible. Rumania is in a much more fortunate position. For two years she sat still, friends with all of her turbulent neighbors, studying, analyzing, weighing chances and probabilities. Her decision was made as a result of the most sober judgment, the most exhausting consideration, with the envoys of both parties constantly on the field, filling her ears with tales of the present and

promises of the future. If, then, Rumania decided to join the Allies, it was only because she was convinced that the Teutonic Powers were on the decline and that the laurel wreath of victory was eventually to be placed on the banners of the Entente.

Rumania's Importance

From a military standpoint, the entrance of Rumania into the war carries with it an importance which cannot well be discounted. Those powers which are adversely affected may, for the purposes of home consumption, declare that the situation has not been altered, and that Rumania will soon be crushed under the iron heel and take her place beside Belgium and Serbia. But this view will not stand the light of reason. The fact is that Rumania has injected into the war at a critical period, and at a critical point geographically, the gravest menace which the Teutonic allies have yet had to face.

The first of these has to do with numbers. Rumania has had the conscript system—compulsory military service where every one must serve and did serve. Under pressure of abnormal recruiting, Rumania could put into the field nearly a million men. Under ordinary methods this would be reduced to about 750,000. She had enrolled, equipped, and mobilized at the time she declared war about 600,000. She brings this force into the war with its proper proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers entire, untouched by casualties. She brings it in at a time when her enemies have lost a considerable proportion of their effectives. She brings them into a field where their presence will be most strongly felt. And more, she has extended the front which the Central Powers must defend by something like 900 miles.

The logical answer to this increase caused by Rumania would be, as von Falkenhayn is said to have advocated, to shorten the lines at some other point. But where? On the Russian front it is impossible without retiring to Warsaw, abandoning all conquests in Russia, abandoning Galicia and the Carpathians, and risking a serious invasion into Hungary and the defeat of a necessary ally. This is, of course, out of the question. The only front where a shortening is possible is in France, and here, for political reasons, Germany does not dare retire.

Campaign in Transylvania

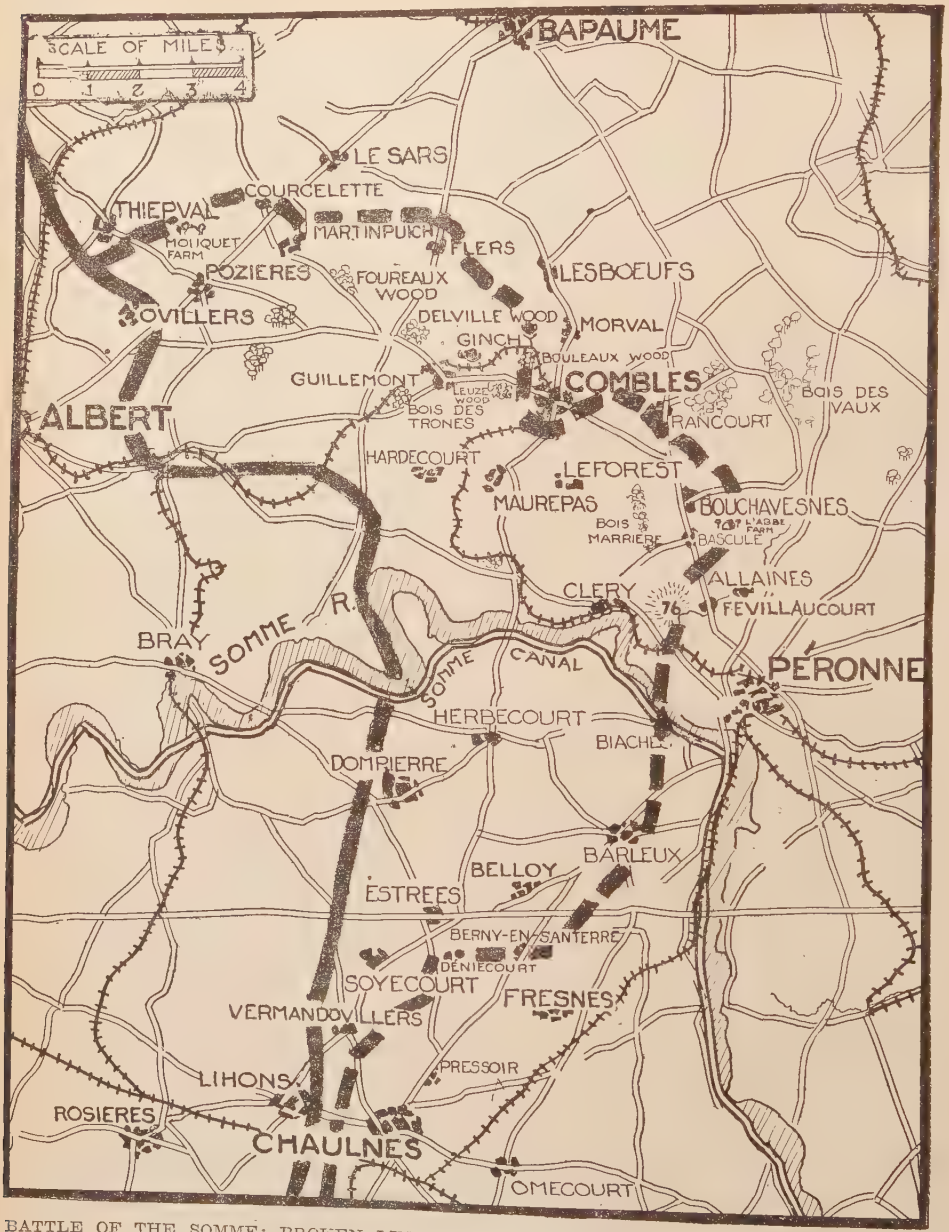
Striking at the weakest link of the Central Powers, Rumania moved at the Rumanian "irredenta"—Transylvania—and almost without opposition took possession of the passes which lead from Rumania into Hungary. Her advance since the passes fell into her possession is noteworthy, and indicates that the Austrians, as they have claimed, decided not to offer any material defense of Transylvania on account of the great length of line involved, due to the peculiar way in which Transylvania juts eastward into Rumania. This line could be reduced many miles by retiring before the Rumanian Army, permitting it to draw a chord across Transylvania, connecting the two tips of the arc formed by the Rumanian boundary. This chord generally follows the line of the Maros Valley. It is still some distance west of the Rumanian line, for, although the Austrian defense has been perfunctory, it has nevertheless retarded the advance.

This move by Rumania will have two objects. The occupation of Transylvania is one, and will popularize the war among those sections of the Rumanian population which may still be averse to it. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Russians are just north of the Carpathians and are struggling for possession of the passes which lead across to the plains of Hungary. Before these plains are reached, however, from Southern Bukowina, the maze of mountains which constitute Transylvania must be crossed.

The Russian fighting has resulted in the flattening out of the Austrian right wing against the wall of the Carpathians, while their centre is battling desperately along the Dniester River in defense of Lemberg.

Teutons in the Dobrudja

In answer to the Rumanian attacks on their western frontier, the Teutonic allies have begun an offensive against the



BATTLE OF THE SOMME: BROKEN LINE INDICATES POSITION OF ALLIES ON SEPT. 15.

southern border of the Rumanian province of Dobrudja. The Danube River is, for the greater part, the southern boundary of Rumania, separating it from Bulgaria. Where Dobrudja begins, however, the Danube turns north on its way to the Black Sea. This leaves a part of the southern Rumanian frontier entirely open to attack. It is all open country, and to hold it against a large body of troops on the scale on which the greater part of the French front is held would require a force of about 200,000 men. Rumania had no such force available for this purpose while she was engaged in the fighting in the west. This, there-

A NOTEWORTHY GROUP OF ENTENTE RULERS AND COMMANDERS

Left to Right: General Joffre, President Poincare, King George of England, General Foch, and General Sir Douglas Haig.

(Photo from Central News Company.)

ANATOLE FRANCE AND FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY

From Left to Right: Marcel Prevost, De Segur, Jean Richepin, Anatole France, Ernest Lavisse, Eugene Brieux, Frederic Masson.

fore, was the location of the Teuton countermovement.

Rumania depended for the defense of Dobrudja almost entirely upon the Russian forces on the Bessarabian frontier at Reni. These forces, however, obviously did not get into position in time, and the small Rumanian element which was on the border was easily overcome. The Teutons then advanced as far as the Danube west of the railroad which divides Dobrudja, but before they could carry their movement along the whole line from the Danube to the sea the Russians arrived and checked them. The check appears to be purely temporary, and there is reason to believe that the Teutonic forces are present in sufficient numbers to force their way to the river.

In connection with this advance, two things may be noted: First, the Danube River, for its entire length from the Black Sea to the Serbian frontier, is the natural defensive line of Rumania. The second, which is a corollary, is that no advance the Germans can make south of a line through Constanta carries any threat to Rumania as long as the Danube is not crossed. As the bridges over the river are few and far between—in fact, the only one in Dobrudja is at Cernavoda—the Germans, in spite of their initial successes, have accomplished very little.

Fighting on the Somme

The month has been characterized on the western front by a succession of heavy French attacks, and by several strong British drives toward the north. In all cases these attacks have met with success, and it seems now that the last line of German trenches has been reached in more than one section of the front. The French attacks have been directed principally against Combles, the largest town, except for Peronne, in that section of the front. Both Combles and Peronne are still held by the Germans, but the French advances north of the Somme now seriously threaten both places. Combles indeed has been pocketed by the French on the south and the British on the north, and its fall at any time would surprise no one. Peronne has not been touched as yet, and indeed it seems that the French do not plan any direct action against it. They can from their present positions both north and south of the river reach the defenders with their guns, but their position as a result of recent successes will enable them, when they are ready to move in that direction, to reach the German lines from three sides, and in all probability flank them out of the town without subjecting it to direct fire.

The German situation in the west is becoming extremely dangerous as a result of the Somme movements of the Allies, and it is beginning to appear that a radical change will have to be made in their lines in order to prevent them from being broken. They are being badly bent now, bent so far that the entire Noyons salient will soon be thrown in danger. Before they are broken it will probably be necessary to draw them in and increase the number of defenders per mile of line. The battle of the Somme is just beginning. Before it ends it may prove the deciding factor in the western fighting.

Not a great deal has happened on other fronts. There has been some spasmodic fighting about the Saloniki position, but the allied offensive seems to have just been begun. Previously, such fighting as there was developed only into a movement in which Bulgaria was the principal participant. On the Russian front the fighting has been equally spasmodic. The Russian main effort has been concentrated about Halicz and has apparently resulted in the taking of the main defenses in the south. The city holds out, however, so that there has been no real change in the situation. Italy has been able to do but little since the fall of Gorizia. The Carso Plateau still blocks her path to Trieste, and such fighting as has occurred has been in the attempt to gain a foothold on the edge of the plateau. It has been entirely uneventful.

$25 Reward for Each Enemy Sailor Drowned

A recent record of proceedings of the British prize court, which is in daily session at London, reads like a tale of the Middle Ages, when pirates sailed the seven seas. On Tuesday, Aug. 22, the court is thus officially reported by the London Telegraph:

IN the prize court yesterday the President, Sir Samuel Evans, awarded prize bounty amounting to £12,160 to Vice Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee and the officers and crews of his Majesty's ships Invincible, Inflexible, Carnarvon, Cornwall, Kent, and Glasgow, in respect of the destruction of the four German warships Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Nurnberg, and Leipzig, in the battle of the Falkland Islands, on Dec. 8, 1914.

Commander Maxwell Anderson, R. N., counsel in support of the claim, stated that it was estimated that the total of the crews on board the enemy vessels was 2,432 persons, and thus the bounty at the rate of £5 per head amounted to £12,160. This was, he continued, the first case of a fleet action to come before the court during the present war. It would be recollected that on Nov. 1, 1914, a British squadron encountered a German fleet off the coast of Chile, and his Majesty's ships Good Hope and Monmouth were unfortunately overpowered and sunk. Whatever others might have thought of this twist of the lion's tail, it appeared that the German Admiral was under no delusion himself.

As at that time it was clean fighting, it was perhaps as well to put on record that the German Admiral, when he took his fleet into Valparaiso, refused to drink the toast of "Damnation to the British Navy," and apparently had a premonition that his own end was very near. On Dec. 8 a British squadron was lying in the harbor of Port William, Falkland Islands, under the command of Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee, K. C. B., C. V. O., when the German Pacific Squadron came into view. What followed was described in an affidavit by the British Admiral. He stated that he was in command of a squadron composed of the following of his Majesty's ships:

Invincible, (Captain T. P. H. Beamish, flagship.)
Inflexible, (Captain R. F. Phillimore, C. B., M. V. O.)
Carnarvon, (Captain H. L. D'E. Skipworth, flying flag of Rear Admiral A. P. Stoddart.)
Cornwall, (Captain W. M. Ellerton.)
Kent, (Captain I. D. Allen, C. B.)
Glasgow, (Captain I. Luce, C. B.)
Bristol, (Captain R. H. Fanshawe.)
Macedonia, (Captain R. S. Evans, M. V. O.,) an auxiliary.

While the squadron was at anchor in Port William on Dec. 8, at about 8 A. M., the shore signal station reported that two enemy cruisers were in sight. Steam was at once raised for full speed, and the Kent proceeded out of harbor to investigate. Smoke from other vessels could be observed over the horizon, and later other enemy vessels appeared in sight. Accordingly, the British squadron, with the exception of the Bristol and the Macedonia, proceeded to sea, and, clearing the harbor entrance at 9 A. M., the signal was hoisted for general chase. The enemy squadron of warships consisted of the five German cruisers Scharnhorst, (flying the flag of Admiral Graf von Spee,) Gneisenau, Leipzig, Nurnberg, and Dresden.

The affidavit continued: "At about 1 P. M. Invincible and Inflexible were within range of the enemy, and fire was opened at long range. Shortly after fire was opened the enemy squadron, in obedience to orders from their Admiral, scattered, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau turning to port, while the light cruisers Leipzig, Nurnberg, and Dresden turned to starboard in an endeavor to escape.

"The pursuit of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau was continued by Invincible and Inflexible, with Carnarvon in support, and at about 4:17 P. M. Scharn-

horst was sunk. At about 6 P. M. Gneisenau was sunk under the combined fire of Invincible, Inflexible, and Carnarvon. Kent, Cornwall, and Glasgow had continued the pursuit of the light cruisers, and at about 4:30 P. M. Kent and Cornwall came within range of Leipzig and opened fire. Kent, Cornwall, and Glasgow gradually gained on Leipzig and Nurnberg, but Dresden, increasing her distance, drew away to starboard, and finally made good her escape. Kent continued her chase of Nurnberg, which vessel she sank at about 7:10 P. M., while Cornwall and Glasgow overhauled Leipzig and sank her at about 9:23 P. M."

Admiral Sturdee added that, saving the Dresden, which, as explained, outdistanced her pursuers, all the enemy ships were destroyed and sunk by the gunfire of his Majesty's ships under his command. Bristol and Macedonia took no part in the engagement. Bristol was unable to leave harbor with the remainder of the squadron, and the Macedonia, being a vessel of small fighting value, had neither the speed nor the power to take any part in the chase. These two vessels left harbor later, and were detailed to look for the auxiliaries accompanying the enemy. Two auxiliaries were found and destroyed, while a third escaped. The vessels destroyed were unarmed. No survivors were rescued from the Scharnhorst, but from the Gneisenau, Nurnberg, and Leipzig, a small number of prisoners were taken. From these and from information in possession of the Admiralty, Admiral Sturdee estimated that the crews of the enemy ships destroyed were as follows:

Scharnhorst, 872 persons.
Gneisenau, 835 persons.
Nurnberg, 384 persons.
Leipzig, 341 persons.

Commander Anderson said, as would be seen, the enemy vessels were disposed of by different ships; but, subject to his lordship's approval, the claimants desired to claim as in one action. The engagement started as a general action or chase, but after a time it became a series of separate actions.

Clive Lawrence, for the Crown, said he raised no objection to Admiral Sturdee's estimate of the number of persons on board the destroyed vessels.

The President, declaring the number of persons on board the four destroyed enemy vessels to be 2,432, pronounced that Admiral Sturdee, the officers, and crews of his Majesty's ships Invincible, Inflexible, Carnarvon, Cornwall, Kent, and Glasgow were entitled to prize bounty amounting to £12,160.

The Invader: A Parable

By Anatole France
Famous Member of the French Academy

Xerxes, at the head of an immense army, invades Greece. Having learned that Leonidas, King of Sparta, is getting ready to defend the pass of Thermopylae against him, he sends for Demaratus, son of the former King of the Spartans and an exile from his country, and addresses him.

XERXES—You know that the Greeks gathered to defend this pass are commanded by Leonidas. A spy, sent by me, has observed those of them who are on this side of the wall which they have raised to close the passage. They were Spartans. Having placed their arms against the wall, they were giving themselves naked to athletic games or carefully combing their hair. I cannot believe that they thus prepare to die fighting. On the contrary, they seem to me to be behaving in a very ridiculous manner, and I conjecture that they will retire within four days. What do you think, Demaratus?

Demaratus—O King, ought I to give you a pleasant or a truthful reply?

Xerxes—Tell the truth, and I promise you will not have to repent it.

Demaratus—O King, do not fear words of dissimulation from me. I have al-

ready told you what kind of men the Greeks are. They do not nourish vast desires and are content with what they possess. They fear the divine Nemesis which humbles those who rise too high, and they observe proportion in everything. Wisdom is their faithful companion: it preserves them from yielding to tyranny within and from practicing it without. But when I announced to you, O King, the way in which they would act toward you, you laughed at me. This time listen to me more favorably. They have come to defend this pass against you, and that is what they are preparing themselves for. Now this is their custom: before sacrificing their lives they encircle their heads with fillets and crowns.

Xerxes questions Demaratus about the Greeks, the forces they are preparing against him, and the quarrels which divide them.

Demaratus—It is true, O King, that, judging according to their sentiment of what is good and what is bad, the Greeks quarrel often and struggle, town against town, citizens against citizens. It is true that the people of Athens are not unanimous as to the way in which it is advisable to govern the city. Among the citizens some regret the tyrants and aspire to confine authority to the well-born men; others, led by brilliant, clever, and daring orators, are striving to maintain the popular government; and, again, it is true that the latter having prevailed, men who passed for just have been exiled. But these dissensions ceased at your approach, O King. The leaders of the aristocracy have been recalled to their native land, and they are today governing in conjunction with the friends of the people.

Xerxes—What does that matter to me? Heaven is on my side. Alone among men the Persians know the true gods. I have given the immortal gods the surest testimony of my piety. I have sacrificed white horses and young men to them that they may make me victorious. The Greeks worship neither the sun nor the stars and are very ignorant in matters divine. The Athenians do nothing to please the heavenly powers and refuse to shed the blood of human victims. They defiled themselves in Lydia with horrible impieties. At Sardis they burned the temples and the sacred woods. Heaven will punish them for their crimes, and their ruin is assured. I shall wage war against them to win high renown in the eyes of men and to teach all peoples what it costs to invade a country that belongs to me. My plan is to conquer not only Greece, but all Europe. Europe is beautiful; there the sky is soft and the earth fertile and all sorts of fruit trees are cultivated. Of all mortals I alone am worthy of its possession.

Demaratus—O King, take in good part what remains for me to tell you. Listen, I speak to you as to a sacred host. King, do not avenge yourself too cruelly on the Athenians. The vengeances of men are odious to the gods. Son of Darius, if you believe in a god, if you believe you are in command of an army of immortals, you do not want my advice. But if you recognize that you are a man and that you are in command of men, consider that fortune is like a wheel which turns ceaselessly and throws down those whom it has raised. It never happens, it never will happen, that a mortal should from birth to death experience constant good fortune. For the loftiest heads are reserved the most terrible calamities. I have spoken out because you have forced me to. Now may what you desire come to pass, O King!

At these words Xerxes sent Demaratus away without anger. He was not annoyed with him, because he thought he was out of his mind.

However, he was soon aware that the Spartan was not mistaken. The Greeks remained steady and resolute and would have blocked the way had not a man of Malis named Ephialtus shown Mardonius a little-known path which was not guarded and by which the barbarians penetrated into Greece. Seeing themselves outflanked, the Greeks, with the exception of 400 Thebans, 700 Thespians, and 300 Spartans, who allowed their lives to be sacrificed for their country, withdrew to fight elsewhere. The Persians, having seized Athens, which was devoid of

combatants, massacred the old men, plundered the temple, and burned the citadel. Meanwhile, the Athenians, who had retired in 380 galleys, destroyed 1,200 Persian ships in the Straits of Salamis.

Xerxes returned to Asia alone in a fisherman's boat. He left Mardonius in Greece with 300,000 men. The barbarians ravaged Attica, burned what remained of Athens, and passed into Boeotia. A year after the flight of the great King Mardonius was vanquished and killed at Plataea, at the foot of Cithaeron. And at the same time the Persian warships which had escaped the disaster of Salamis were sunk by the allied Athenians and Spartans at the promontory of Mycale.

Thus the words of Demaratus came true to the last particular. Neither abundance of gold nor the number of ships nor the multitude of men prevailed against the courage and wisdom of the Greeks. Europe had heard the last of an insolent threat and no longer feared the yoke of the barbarians.

Retaliation for Interference With American Trade

THE United States Congress, in the closing hours of the recent session, adopted a law which confers on the President the power to take drastic retaliatory measures against any foreign Government that interferes with our commerce or mails in palpable violation of international law. As finally agreed upon, the first of the retaliatory authorizations reads:

Whenever any country, dependency, or colony shall prohibit the importation of any article the product of the soil or industry of the United States and not injurious to health or morals, the President shall have power to prohibit, during the period such prohibition is in force, the importation into the United States of similar articles, or in case the United States does not import similar articles from that country, then, other articles, the products of such country, dependency, or colony.

That whenever, during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged, the President shall be satisfied that there is reasonable ground to believe that under the laws, regulations, or practice of nations the importation into their own or any other country, dependency, or colony of any article the product of the soil or industry of the United States and not injurious to health or morals is prevented or restricted, the President is authorized and empowered to prohibit or restrict during the period such prohibition or restriction is in force the importation into the United States of similar or other articles, products of such country, dependency, or colony, as in his opinion the public interest may require; and in such case he shall make proclamation stating the article or articles which are prohibited from importation into the United States, and any person or persons who shall import or attempt or conspire to import or be concerned in importing such article or articles into the United States contrary to the prohibition in such proclamation shall be liable to a fine of not less than $2,000 nor more than $50,000 or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both, in the discretion of the court. The President may change, modify, revoke, or renew such proclamation in his discretion and the Senate agree to the same.

The second retaliation measure, based on the same war conditions, gives the President authority to withhold clearance to vessels of a belligerent nation "making or giving any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage in any respect whatsoever to any particular person, company, firm, or corporation, or any particular description of traffic in the United States or its possessions or to any citizens of the United States residing in neutral countries."

The law also gives authority to the President to deny American facilities of commerce to citizens in the United States of an offending belligerent nation, and authorizes him to use the land and naval forces of the Government to enforce the retaliatory provisions.

These measures were drawn by the State Department and have the approval of the President. It is construed that this action is our reply to "the blacklist" adopted by the allied powers, the interference with United States mail by the Allies, and the embargo on certain American products by Germany and Great Britain.

The Desecrated Birthplace of La Fontaine

By Gabriel Alphaud

[Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

[*La Fontaine, the famous French writer of fables, was born at Château-Thierry, and his birthplace is still reverently preserved by the State as a shrine.*]

IN the Elysian Fields, whither it has gone to join the souls of other vanished sages, the shade of La Fontaine must feel some inquietude. He did not love children, not even his own, whom he saluted one day in a crowd without recognizing them. "Youth is without pity," he wrote of them. Now the school children of the Aisne have been driven by the German invasion as far as Château-Thierry, where they are living today in the house in which the fabulist was born. Their shouts disturb the haunts where the philosopher prolonged the reveries he had begun in the highways and meadows of the neighborhood.

Against the façade of this house, with its softened tones of age, the crime of treason against beauty had been committed before the war: back of the grille of forged ironwork, and in the inner court, a horrible whitewash, insolent in its whiteness, covered the panels of the walls. It is in the apartments themselves that a new upheaval—though for a good cause—has just taken place. The pictures of Desbrosses, of Lhermite, of Teniers, of Vithoos, the drawings of Daubigny, relics of La Fontaine's birthplace, which had been transformed into a municipal museum, have been removed. School mottoes and geography maps have replaced them: in the halls and rooms now are found classes of boys and girls. The shade of La Fontaine is compelled to desert the precipitous street, paved with loose cobblestones, and to descend to the banks where the Marne, peaceful and beautiful, flows between two paths of fine sand.

Never, indeed, has the Marne seemed more graceful or flowed in an atmosphere more simple. Its recent immortality, the noise made in the world by the victory that has rendered it famous, has not altered its habits: in its new glory it seems to have acquired a new indifference, an indifference to battle, to cannon.

Not far from it, however, the great guns of the warring nations still mingle their wild voices day and night. These voices were heard by Château-Thierry and the Marne for the first time on Aug. 31, 1914. It was the retreat. On the 2d of September, in the afternoon, the enemy entered the town by the Soissons road. With their rifles on their shoulders, in columns by eights, and keeping parade step, the regiments of Von Kluck filed in and stacked their arms in Champ de Mars square on the right bank of the river. Their patrols were stationed on the crossings and streets in every direction on both sides of the bridges. After a lively combat the soldiers who formed our rearguard had cut their way out with rifle and bayonet, and had disappeared.

An order was given by Prussian authority to occupy and barricade the principal houses. On the public square the Court House was immediately invaded. In the hall where President Magnaud had once decreed as a "good Judge" the acquittal of the poor woman who had stolen bread, the Prussians put everything to pillage. The clerk's records, torn, shredded, honeycombed, served to build improvised loopholes at the windows and doors.

On the other side of the river, facing the Court House, lies a beautiful estate. The buildings on the north wing are used as a factory. Those of the south wing have been transformed into a

château of sumptuous appearance. Between the two a park spreads the foliage of its magnificent forest trees, hiding the factory from the château. The Prussian command chose the château as the headquarters of its General Staff, and from the first hour announced—already!—its intention of seizing the important stocks of copper in the factory.

The estate had been left in charge of two old servants, Hector and his wife Fanny, who has a blue-ribbon reputation as a cook. Hector received the German officers who first appeared. They spoke French without the slightest accent. They knew the inhabitants and contents of the house, the names of the two domestics, even the fact that Fanny cooked certain dishes divinely, especially rabbit à la royale. The news that she had remained, with the affirmation that she would prepare appetizing meals on condition that the estate be not molested, put the German officers into a good humor.

A last quick inquiry, made in a tone of apparent indifference, sought to discover whether the stocks of copper were still there. This was enough to cause the wily Hector to invent diplomatic strategems each day, with a view to making von Kluck's officers forget the supplies which they coveted. The fare was exquisite, the best wines came from the cellars for every meal, old liqueurs and choice cigars were lavished upon the guests. Chance also favored Hector. Through the edges of the battle of the Marne the German officers went and came and went again, giving the place to others and taking it back by turns. On the 9th of September, after seven whole days of occupation, General von Kluck suddenly gave the order for his army to retreat toward the north. The copper was saved.

A piquant detail: When von Kluck's order reached Château-Thierry it was about noon. A fat Prussian General quartered in the château was preparing to sit down at the table and enjoy a juicy beefsteak which Fanny had declared to be unusually good. Though he sprang to the saddle on receiving the order, he demanded that Hector serve the steak to him as he sat on horseback; and as events moved swiftly, the General, in order not to lose a mouthful, seized the enormous slice of meat, all hot and sticky with sauce, carried it in his right hand, and with his left gave the reins to his beast for flight. He was wise in his Teutonic gluttony, too, for six other German officers who were at a table a few paces away in the Swan Hotel, and who refused to believe in the victorious return of the French, were made prisoner in the turn of a hand by two little "glaziers." One of them fired on the group from the rear court, which opens on the street. The bullet went through the wall and carved a beautiful spider's web in the dining room mirror, at the centre of which it still remains in full sight. "Surrender!" cried the chasseur, as he leaped over the threshold; and the six German officers, seeing a second French military cap appear behind the first, surrendered.

The City of La Fontaine was freed, but not all the Department of the Aisne. Out of thirty-seven cantons, barely eleven were to regain their liberties and the joys of their native land. Today out of 841 communities only 265 have escaped German occupation. Of the 550,000 inhabitants who lived in this department before the war, 125,000 now occupy the soil on which they were born and welcomed. Many have taken refuge in other provinces, notably in those of Yonne, Loiret, Orne, and Aude. There are 12,000 in Paris. About 15,000, civil and military, are prisoners in Germany, where their number is diminishing daily, thanks to the work of repatriation. Few remained on this side of the German lines: the frontier populations particularly detest the invader.

Château-Thierry, a sub-prefecture of 7,500 inhabitants, might have kept this number; but after the victory of the Marne the report spread of a second victory on the Aisne. Those who had fled before the enemy believed their whole department liberated, and flowed back, impelled by love of the earth, by devotion to their buried dead, by the passion of their griefs and hopes. The firing line stopped them. They refused to depart again, in-

toxicated anew by the odor of their native soil, plunging their gaze beyond the horizon to the belfry or village, to the cherished field or house where they had known the happiness of home. Thus Château-Thierry and the liberated cantons saw their population doubled.

In the town itself, where most of the houses had been left uninjured, it was relatively easy to reorganize a normal life. It was less easy, however, in the hamlets and farming communities, where the peasants, despoiled of everything by the soldiers of von Kluck, no longer had linen, furniture, or food. From all over France came help for these. Prefects and Sub-Prefects might be seen in their silver-embroidered uniforms and gold-laced caps, transporting, now in rude wagons, now in luxurious automobiles, great sacks of supplies for the ruined villages. Everybody was shouting at once in more than 200 communes: Food, more food, still more food! It seemed as if it would never be possible to satisfy them. Salt, which caused so many insurrections in the ancient days of the salt tax, was lacking everywhere; it had never before seemed so indispensable. Then it was clothes and bedding. In each community there were episodes of rare beauty. At Epieds three women who were still suckling their infants took refuge. Under their weight of misery and hunger they had crept into a muddy shed and were sleeping on a pile of dirty straw. A poor old woman of 80, wrinkled and broken, found them there, and called the attention of the officials to their plight. By way of example she returned a quarter of an hour later carrying in her trembling hands a woolen comforter which she had brought, with the slow steps of an old woman, from her home.

"The Germans have robbed me of everything," she said; "but I still have this. I already have one foot in the grave, and am perhaps more accustomed to suffering. Give it to them, monsieur, for the babies."

Two years have passed over these miseries. In the freed territory life has returned, and acts of devotion have multiplied. Soissons is under shell fire. Of 14,000 inhabitants scarcely 400 have remained, among whom are a baker who fills his ovens daily, two grocers, a butcher who sells fish, wine, preserves, and one photographer. Mme. Macherez and Mlle. Sellier labor tirelessly at a task which the War Cross has made famous and which the Audiffred prize of 15,000 francs has further magnified. Do you know the latest of Mlle. Sellier's lovely deeds? She is the daughter of well-to-do parents. Feeling too highly honored by the mention of the institute, she has refused its gold and begged Mme. Macherez to take her 7,500 francs and devote the whole to the misfortunes of the devastated village.

The capital of the Aisne today is Château-Thierry. In its Town Hall are assembled all the administrative services of the department. * * * Nor do all the provisions come from Paris. The fields sown by the peasant of the Aisne furnish anew their tribute, in which is found once more the savory perfume of the soil of the Ile-de-France. From the Marne to the Aisne there is not a corner left fallow.

The families scattered by the war are gradually reuniting. In the evening, "between dog and wolf," at the hour when light vapors rise from the river and spread along the lanes like a protecting and favoring veil, it is not rare to see the girls and young men of the neighborhood going arm in arm to gay betrothal parties. Some of the men, decorated with the War Cross, have undergone glorious amputations; their love is all the livelier on that account; in their arms the girls seem more beautiful, and are all laughter. The couples flee under the foliage of the fine trees, far from the populous section where stands the statue of the fabulist. Yet he would not be the one to say unkind things to them if he were living. La Fontaine described himself as "a light thing," lovable and loving, lively and delicate, whom a pretty face, a prepossessing manner, a fresh laugh, a floating lock of hair, a white hand carelessly arranging the fold of a gown, have always rendered amorous and dreamy. His frivolity, his skepticism, his indulgence would bestow upon the romantic couples only the happiest of smiles.

Rumania's Intervention

By a British Commissioner

FOR months Bucharest had been a hotbed of intrigue second only to Saloniki and Athens. The question frequently asked was, Would the assumed sympathies of a Hohenzollern King, comparatively fresh from Germany and German influences, prevail over the natural Franco-Italian tendencies of the Rumanian Nation and cause a Teutonic orientation? Kingly influence and German relationship had helped to bring Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers, in opposition to her old friend and liberator, Russia. It was known that Constantine and his consort prevented Greece from entering the arena against Germany; and there was a natural anticipation that Rumania might abandon her neutrality and array herself on the side which appeared to be invincible.

The Critical Period

When I was in the Rumanian capital the allied diplomacy had been discredited in the Balkans, and British arms had been defeated at Gallipoli. The Macedonian enterprise was beginning to develop, but not having reached its present formidable pitch of strength was none too hopefully regarded. Russia had not displayed signs of that offensive which it was hoped would dislodge the Austro-German armies from the positions they had secured all along the line from the Baltic provinces in the north to Volhynia in the South. There was a deadlock on the western front, though we were constantly hearing of the projected allied drive in the Spring. Italy, toward whom Rumania was looking with interested eyes, was engaged in a terrific struggle with Austria in the Alpine passes, and the prospects of Italia Irredenta becoming Italia Redenta were none too hopeful. But on Italy seemed to depend the prospect of the recovery by Rumania of her lost territory. Should Italy wrest back the Trentino and Trieste, Rumania might very likely recover her territory of Transylvania.

A Secret Treaty

It was understood that a treaty existed under which Italy had promised to Rumania the restoration of Transylvania after the war on certain conditions. Germany and Austria were aware of this, but were not greatly alarmed, as neither felt that Rumania's assistance was necessary. What chance, it might be asked, had Rumania, on the one hand, of getting back her lost province with the aid of Italy or any other country, or, on the other hand, of fulfilling that aspiration with the aid of the Teutonic Alliance? Italy was at a deadlock with Austria, Austria was not willing to relinquish an inch of territory in return for Rumania's active support, and Germany would not bring pressure to bear on her ally in Rumania's behalf. The fact is, the Teuton Powers were beguiled, if not besotted, with their successes, or, at any rate, the successes of Germany, and could not see a cloud on the horizon.

Definite Entente Promises

Meanwhile Russia had been negotiating, and had made definitive and alluring promises to Rumania. They included the cession of the Bukowina, together with armed assistance in wresting Transylvania from Austria. As previously said, neutrality would bring Rumania nothing, save in the event of a Teuton triumph, when probably she would come still more under the Austrian yoke. Entry on the side of the Central Powers gave no promise of post-bellum advantage. On the other hand, the promises of Italy and Russia, or perhaps it should be said the Entente round table, were definite. And at length Russia was able to show her ability to bring them to fulfillment by sweeping through Bukowina and capturing the whole of that Austrian crownland.

It remained for Rumania to open the

way for Russia to bring about the downfall of Austria and of her other traditional enemy, Bulgaria, and at the same time to win back Transylvania. Moreover, simultaneously with Russia's success in the Bukowina came Italy's capture of Gorizia. Is it to be wondered at that Rumania came in on the side of those who were in the best position to enable her to realize her national aspirations?

Life in Bucharest

After one had spent a few days in the bright and handsome capital of that country—the city of joy or pleasure, as its name literally signifies—it was not difficult to realize that the sentiments of the people, the politicians, and of the army were decidedly pro-Entente, while interest in the fortunes of the Italian and French armies was considerable. The Rumanians pride themselves on their Latin origin, which is indicated in their name; their language has obviously a Latin foundation, and here and there in the country are Roman remains from the days of Trajan. The Rumanian capital may be likened to a small Paris or Vienna, with its prosperous population of over 350,000, its spacious streets and shady squares and boulevards, its palaces and other large public buildings, its baroque cathedrals and churches, its fine opera house and theatres, and its nocturnal gayety.

Much money was also being spent in backstairs intrigue by the representatives of nations which need not be named. The baser sort of politicians and publicists had been captured by this means, and announcements of Teutonic victories were made in grandiloquent fashion in some of the newspapers, which any one acquainted with Latin, or the French and Italian languages, had little difficulty in reading. My own mission was peaceful, entirely non-diplomatic and uncommercial; nevertheless I found myself the subject of persistent and unwelcome attentions and was "shadowed" everywhere I went. The hotels were filled with international spies who noted my going out and my coming in, and whom I could rarely shake off until I found myself in my own room at the hotel—then under German management. When at length it was recognized that I was merely interested in the medical and sanitary aspect of the war I was left more or less to myself.

Just then Germany was more concerned with Rumania as a country rich in corn and oil than as a potentional fighting factor. German agents were to be met everywhere endeavoring to negotiate the purchase of wheat, petroleum, cattle, horses, hides, poultry, eggs, cotton materials, and many other things which were scarce in Germany.

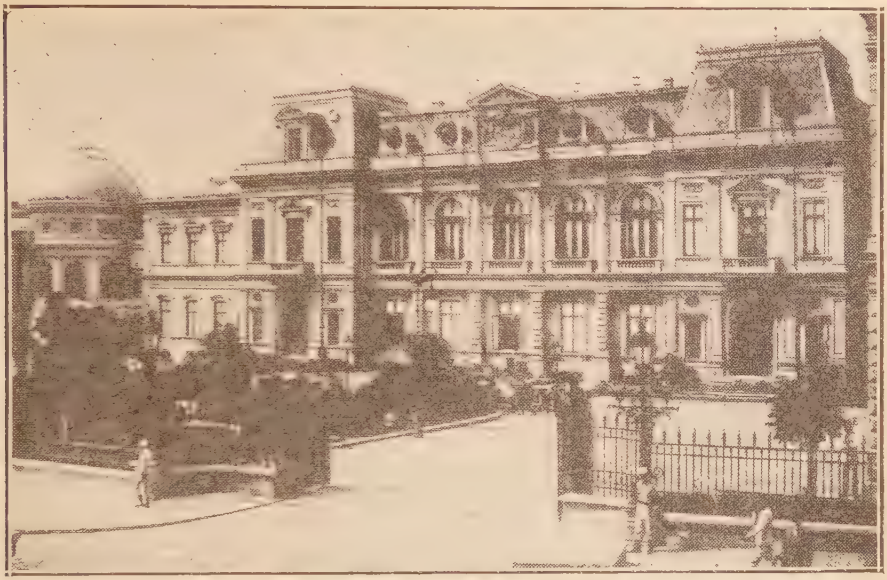
Cornering Rumanian Wheat

Russian agents were also busily buying, and so, too, were a few British, though Great Britain could not get delivery. But that did not prevent the Rumanian authorities from selling to British representatives a considerably greater quantity of wheat than was sold to Germany. The latter purchase, moreover, was held up by the fact that the British wheat monopolized a large number of the railway cars which were needed to transport the grain, sold to Germany, across the frontier. A straw will show the direction of the current; and this incident, which gave great annoyance to Germany, was instructive.

German agents were always ready to outbid other buyers and offered extravagant prices; there was a good deal of smuggling over the border, and a few Rumanian officials were blindly complaisant. But presently higher authority stepped in and prevented Teuton buyers from getting more than their share. This happened particularly in connection with petroleum. It was impossible to allege that Russia, which has its own extensive oldfields, stood in need of this commodity. Therefore Germany was getting practically the whole of Rumania's export of petroleum. But the Government intervened and placed an embargo on the article, giving as the reason that the country was being drained of oil which it needed for its own use. This was a serious blow.

German Interests Dominant

Not only were the Rumanian oilfields



ROYAL PALACE AT BUCHAREST, RUMANIA.

principally owned and worked by Germans, but many other industries of the country were under similar control. Rumania's public indebtedness is principally to Germany, and there were German banks at Bucharest and other cities and towns. Many hotels had German managers, with Teutonic staffs; in fact, Germany had much the same position in Rumania that she had secured in Russia and Italy. But it cannot be said that the Teuton elements of the population were esteemed or popular, and the disesteem in which they were held was due largely to their arrogant airs toward the local population. German agents boasted in the cafés and public places of what would happen when Germany had won the war, as she was certain to do, and they were disposed to threaten. This minatory tone was adopted by the German press in discussing the hold-up of grain purchases in Rumania.

For some weeks early in the present year German papers and magazines published and commented on the alleged orientation of the Rumanian Government toward military intervention on the side of the Quadruple Entente, and these papers were freely circulated in Bucharest. Sensational telegrams were given a place in the leading journals of Berlin, Cologne, Munich, and other cities, stating as an accomplished fact the dispatch by Germany and Austria of an ultimatum to Rumania. The news was only published to be contradicted the next day, but obviously it was intended to have an alarmist effect at Bucharest. It was modified to the extent of saying that the position was very grave, and that the Cabinet of Bucharest was on the eve of a decisive declaration.

Bratiano's Attitude

But the Prime Minister, Joan Bratiano, was not to be drawn. He remained calm and sphinx-like, professing no desire beyond that of keeping his country out of the war. Nevertheless the tone of hostility and menace on the part of the semi-official German press was maintained, and, as the "Correspondant" said, was evidently intended to intimidate the country. For instance, the Frankfurter Zeitung of Sunday, Jan. 30, contained a long telegram upon the attitude of Rumania. It was really a criticism, veiled but hostile, of "the kind of neutrality which finds favor in Rumania—a neutrality which delays decision up to the point when events render the decision more easy and also as little dangerous as possible." The article

concluded in these terms: "It is not necessary to theorize in order to understand what will be the decision of Rumania if the French and English in the South East and the Russians in the immediate neighborhood of Rumania realize some sort of a decisive success. Up to the present they have not achieved such success, and, to speak modestly, it is extremely improbable that they will do so."

All of which goes to show that Germany was counting on certain contingencies and that she was willing, if possible, to bully Rumania into following her fortunes. But Bratiano is not the sort of man to be bullied, and the King maintained then, as later, a strictly constitutional attitude, and did nothing to influence, or at any rate to circumvent, his Ministers.

German Press Threatens

One may also take note of the remarks of the Berliner Tageblatt with regard to the non-delivery of the wheat shipment referred to. "Rumania," it said, "has sold to the two Central Empires 50,000 carloads, or 500,000 tons, of wheat. But she has rendered the transport of these cereals extremely difficult, not to say impossible, since she has, on the other hand, sold 80,000 carloads, or 800,000 tons, to England. All the available Rumanian cars have been loaded with grain for that country. It is true that they have not been dispatched, that they cannot get out of Rumania, but the immediate consequence of this last sale is that there are no cars for the transport of grain into Germany."

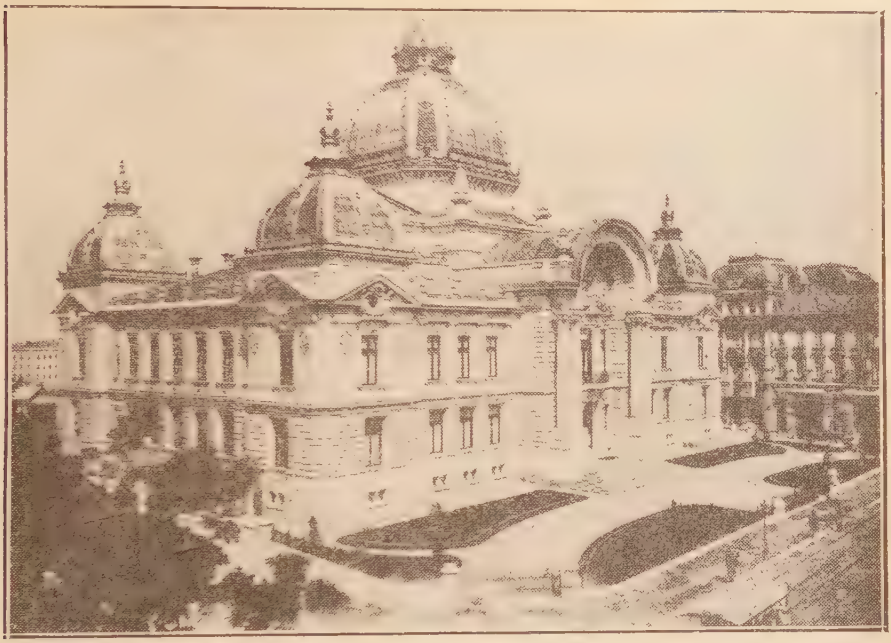
The same paper, after having allowed it to be understood that the sale of grain to England might well be fictitious, and entered into merely in order to prevent Germany from receiving what she had bought, went on to speak on the military situation as follows: "While not actually ordering mobilization, the Rumanian Government maintains under arms four-fifths of the army. The greater part of these troops and of heavy artillery are concentrated to the south along the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier, and on the north on the Austro-Hungarian border, while the troops on the Bessarabian (Russian) frontier have not received any reinforcement. The position merits on the part of the Central Powers the most serious attention, for the Quadruple Entente declares that it will have Greece and Rumania on its side at the moment of the great offensive which is preparing on all fronts. It would thus be as well for the two empires to oblige Rumania to change its attitude. They have the means." Whether or not they had the means, they did not succeed in frightening Rumania or compelling her to change her attitude.

Rumania Collects Guns

While Rumania stated that she intended to maintain neutrality unless compelled to defend herself from aggression, she was receiving substantial war supplies from Russia, Germany, and other countries; in fact in the matter of purchasing arms and ammunition she maintained strict neutrality. Austria, Japan, Great Britain, and other countries all helped to swell her stocks of big and little guns. Before the war and in its early stages she had received large quantities of Krupp guns and Mannlicher rifles from Germany; also payment from Germany later for wheat and other supplies in guns and shells, a fact which has greatly annoyed the press of that country, which now talks about perfidy. Germany, having taken the initiative in showing that she considers all fair in war, is scarcely in a position to reproach Rumania or any other country with that sin.

But, while Russia, Japan, and Germany were thus filling Rumanian arsenals, she herself was busily occupied in manufacturing munitions, until her army was able to enter the field in a state of thorough equipment. The fact indeed is clear that Rumania, like Italy, came into the war when she was ready to do so, and it may be added she came in on the signal of that country, the gesture being Italy's formal declaration of war against Germany.

Looking back at things as I saw them in Bucharest, there was almost ostentatious esteem manifested for the French, Italians, and Russians in of-



NATIONAL BANK OF BUCHAREST, RUMANIA

ficial and political circles. As for the Court, the Queen's sympathies were openly pro-ally, quite as much as the Queen of Greece's sympathies were pro-German. Moreover, it was said that Queen Marie had at least as much influence over her husband as Queen Sophia has over hers. Her parentage would account for her sympathies, and she is proud of the fact that she is the daughter of an English Prince and a Russian Princess of the house of Romanoff. This beautiful and brilliant woman received with marked favor Russian and British officers and envoys as well as representatives of other allies of the Entente who on occasions attended her Court. On the other hand, her intercourse with German and Austrian representatives was formal, and her attitude toward them correct but cool.

A Visit to Queen Marie

The day after my arrival at Bucharest I paid my respects at the royal palace, a Romanesque and handsome building. Together with a Court official, who had accompanied me from my hotel, I was ushered into a lofty and handsome salon, in which were a few fine portraits, including a characteristic oil-painting of the late Carmen Sylva in national costume, and another of her husband, King Carol, in uniform. We were told that her Majesty would be with us shortly, and I do not exaggerate when I say that a little later I found myself in the presence of one of the handsomest and most queenly women in Europe.

It is not polite to talk about a lady's age, even if it be recorded in the Almanach de Gotha. Suffice it that although her Majesty has several children, including a grown-up son who is a keen and capable officer in the army, she looks a young woman, and is radiantly beautiful. Above middle height, of superb figure and carriage, with regular but mobile features and glorious eyes, she is "every inch a Queen," and it was easy to realize that she is, as I had often heard, the most popular woman in Rumania, more beloved even than was Carmen Sylva herself. She referred to the objects of my visit, and asked me what institutions I had seen or intended to visit, what opinions I had formed

with respect to the army medical and Red Cross establishments, and how they compared with others I had seen elsewhere.

A Fortunate Remark

The Queen seemed pleased when I said that the Russian sanitary department and Red Cross establishments were among the best in Europe. I described to her the wonderful hospital trains given by the Czar, Czarina, and other members of the Russian royal house, and added that so far from Russia having anything to learn from other European countries, in certain respects she could give them points. I had not realized when I spoke that the Queen is half Russian herself, her mother being the daughter of the Czar Nicholas I. But her gratification at my remarks was manifest, and I was subsequently enlightened as to the reason.

Questioning me as to the general health of the various armies of the Entente, she paid a high tribute to English nursing, and said she had secured a few English nurses for hospitals in which she was interested, and wished she could get more, while she would be glad if American nurses and doctors would also turn their attention to Rumania. The tone of her Majesty's conversation suggested that she knew that before long Rumanian hospitals would be needed for wounded men; indeed, there was little reserve in her references to the possibilities of the future. Apart from an occasional thoughtfulness in tone, the Queen's vivacity was remarkable, and she seemed to radiate high spirits. Though far from lacking in dignity, her manners and speech occasionally bordered on the unconventional. Her English was colloquial, with barely a trace of foreign accent.

"You are to see the King, of course?" she asked. I replied that I should have that honor if his Majesty would deign to see me. "But, of course," replied the Queen, "what are you here for if not to see the King?" To this I did not venture a reply. An attendant appeared at some signal and received an order from the Queen in a low tone. "The King will be here very soon," she said, and went on with the conversation.

View of King Ferdinand

Shortly afterward his Majesty appeared, and received me graciously. Rather tall, slender, and erect, with aquiline aristocratic features, pointed beard and mustache, thick hair worn à la brosse, and turning to gray, he looks soldierly and kingly, which not all Kings succeed in doing. He, too, spoke English, but more slowly than his consort, his remarks being carefully prepared in his mind before he spoke them. Like the Queen, he was interested in sanitary questions affecting the army, and gave me details which showed that he regarded such matters scientifically. The Queen repeated to him what I had said about Russia, and his Majesty paid a tribute to the organizing ability of Prince Alexander of Oldenburg, head of the Russian Sanitary Department of the Army, and added questions with respect to Russian medical administration.

His Majesty struck me as a grave and courteous gentleman, with a definite viewpoint of his own. I subsequently learned from the official who accompanied me that the King is a man of firmness and force of character. He fully recognizes the position and responsibilities of a constitutional monarch, whose first duty is to safeguard the interests and advance the national aspirations of the people, in accordance with the advice of their representatives. He has been heard to say: "I am a Rumanian first and all the time. I am no longer a German Prince. I have many near and dear German relations and friends, but I have no German ties or entanglements. Those who refer to me as a Hohenzollern Prince might as well call me a Bourbon or Hapsburg Prince. I am neither one nor the other. I am a Rumanian and King of Rumania."

Rumanian Preparedness

When the crucial moment came for him to decide he maintained his constitutional attitude, summoned his Council of Ministers, and acted as they advised; and, the die being cast for war, he at once went to the front and assumed

command of his army, of which he is officially Inspector General. At its full strength, including all reserves, it totals over 800,000 men, and it is well drilled and well armed. For a long time past more than half the army has been on frontier and garrison service, and in strict and constant training, with plenty of field duty. As the German papers stated, they have been stationed on certain frontiers and outposts, and when war was declared were ready, to the last cartridge and button.

The soldiers may not be veterans, in the sense that the Serbs and Bulgars are, but they are well set up and well drilled, the cavalry arm being particularly fine, scarcely second to the Cossacks. To a man, they all receive preliminary training between the ages of 19 and 21, while the full period of service is twenty-five years, covering seven years in the regular army, twelve in the reserve, and six in the militia. The fact that they will fight side by side with Russian troops, which will pass through Rumania to the southern border in order to face Bulgaria, has led to the Rumanian Government adopting the same restrictions with respect to strong liquor which were decreed by the Czar at the outset of the war. The Rumanian peasant or soldier is not such a drunkard as was the mushik, but enforced abstinence will be all to his advantage.

Peasants Are Prosperous

Since the war began there have been erroneous statements with respect to Rumania which call for correction by the submission of facts. It has been said, for instance, that the country suffers as the result of its land laws. Few agricultural countries have escaped this aspersion, and few deserve it less than Rumania. Certainly the revolt of 1888 was agrarian, and was fomented by Moldavian peasants, who, on visiting the capital, were disappointed at not receiving a promised allotment of land. But the peasantry as a whole are a prosperous and contented lot, and the productiveness of the soil and the good tillage are proved by the heavy crops of wheat and maize. Rumania is also a large dairying and egg-producing country. Her total grain exports amount to about $200,000,000 annually.

There are large agricultural syndicates or co-operative societies all over the country, having for their object the purchase of machinery by installments, also implements and seed, as well as the marketing of the members' produce in order to avoid the intervention and profit of the middleman. Besides that great trade waterway, the Danube, Rumania has about 2,500 miles of railway, which tap the agricultural districts, touch all the strategic points, and radiate to the frontiers.

The Jewish Question

Something remains to be said about the Jewish question in Rumania, as that also seems liable to be misunderstood and magnified. Rumania's difficulty, or it might be said the difficulty of the Jews, is not as great as it is in Russia. But they are deprived of many elementary rights of citizenship which must be extended after the war, if the inclusion in Rumanian territory of Transylvania and Bukowina is to be justified. In the latter countries the Jews possess rights and privileges which are not accorded to the Jews of Rumania and Russia. The fact that the Russian authorities are commencing to give the Jewish question consideration is hopeful, and when the final terms of peace come in for consideration the matter will have to be dealt with in its entirety. Civilization and justice will be content with nothing short of extending the same rights to the Jews of Russia and the Balkans as those which are enjoyed by them in the United States and Great Britain, and which are not withheld from them by the Central Powers. On the whole the entry of Rumania into the war augurs well rather than ill for the Jews of that country.

Honorable Neutrality Impossible

By Take Jonescu

Leader of the National Democratic Party in Rumania

M. Jonescu, foremost of the pro-Entente statesmen of Rumania, made a historic address last Winter in the Chamber of Deputies, urging his countrymen to enter the war on the side of the Allies. After many months, Rumania has followed his counsel. The more significant portions of the speech in question, printed below, now have historic interest.

THOSE who lived in the time of Jesus Christ had no idea of how the history of humanity was to be affected by the coming of Christianity. During the barbaric invasions nobody took into account what transformations they involved. Nobody knew that therefrom might result the death of civilization for a thousand years. If people had realized the meaning of these things they would have made better defense against them. At the time of the French Revolution people had no idea of the tremendous consequences it was to bring, of the far distance they would reach. Today, gentlemen, I think we are confronted, not with an ordinary war which will simply involve a certain changing of frontiers, with things after that very much as they were before. We are faced by a catastrophe involving the whole of the human race; we have before our eyes the declining twilight of one world, preceding the dawn of another and a new.

And note, gentlemen, how grave is the problem with which humanity is faced today! You see Italy, instead of accepting a gratuitous increase of territory, throwing herself of her own free will into the horrors of war. And it is not alone the people of Europe who are throbbing with excitement today. Have you never asked yourselves what these new nations are doing in the great conflict—the young republics founded by the Anglo-Saxons across the ocean? Why is it that we see Canada, Australia, New Zealand enrolling from 7 to 8 per cent. of their populations as volunteers for the front? Is it for love of the motherland?

Sentiment does not move humanity to such a degree as that. How is it the conscience of the United States of America has become uneasy? Out of love for England? Nothing of the sort, gentlemen. To attack Great Britain has always been recognized as a safe and popular note by orators in the United States; it is known as "twisting the British lion's tail." Why, then, is it disturbed, this democracy of a hundred million souls, engaged in making the most glorious experiment imaginable; the creation of a civilization without prejudices, with no class distinctions, with no monarchy, no militarism, no hindrance of any sort—a civilization based solely on the nationalist sovereignty carried to its extremest limits?

This entire movement can have but one explanation, namely, that we are confronted with a transformation of the human race, a transformation which expresses itself in the form of a general massacre. It is a struggle between two worlds, and we shall see which of the two shall succeed in obtaining the mastery. Were it otherwise this war would not be possible, and it would not be waged with the fury that distinguishes it from all others.

Gentlemen, the truth is that in this war, which was most certainly provoked by the Germans, we see the last attempt made by a single people to secure for itself a universal hegemony.

If the German soldier were to win today the first result would be that the same military force, which is the greatest in the world, would also be the greatest naval force, and there would be no more independence, no more liberty for any one in the world, not even for the great American democracy. If ever the day should come when one and the same State had domination not only on land but also on sea—the day on which the Roman Empire should be reconstituted in conformity with the affirmation once made by the Emperor William that the

time would come when all men would be happy to call themselves German, just as formerly one exclaimed joyously, "Civis Romanus sum," then the free life of each one of us would be at an end.

Well, and what is the basis of this attempt that is being made? Is it founded on some higher state of civilization? Is it justified by a superiority of such a nature that it should have the right to dominate the whole world, with the rest of us content to run behind the conqueror in his triumphal car?

Is there a single hypothesis among all the hypotheses forming the basis and the poetry of science; is there one of all the discoveries which have contributed to the progress—the material progress—of modern life; is there one among all the ideas that have roused the world to enthusiasm; is there one of all the creations of art which would be lost if we were to remove Germany's contribution? No, gentlemen, the treasure possessed by the human race would remain intact, a little reduced, to be sure, but in no wise diminished in quality. It would remain as it was before. What is there in the assets of Germany to set against the extraordinary productions of our neo-Latin civilization? One thing alone there is that is characteristic in Germanic culture, and that is its political organization, which to us is a puzzle.

How is it possible to reconcile an ultra-modern economic organization with a political organization dating from the Middle Ages? How reconcile a teaching so generalized, a material well-being so highly developed, with a political system which enables one man to declare, "My will is the highest law," or, "I owe my power not to the assent of the German people, but solely to the Divine mission with which I have been intrusted on earth"?

Such are the characteristics of German civilization, of the far-famed Kultur. And, gentlemen, that springs, unhappily, from the manner in which the unity of Germany has been formed.

If this German unity had sprung from the Liberal movement of 1848 a great new nation would have been added to the existing Liberal nations of Europe. But German unification is the product of Prussian "caporalism," with regard to which a very intelligent Teuton holding a high position remarked to me five or six months ago: "You are right, all you say is true; there is nothing more antipathetic than Prussian 'caporalism,' but it is invincible, and we are forced to accept it just as we accept the Deluge or the locust, just as we accept, in fact, all the ills that Fate may send us."

But, gentlemen, that is not the fact. While M. Diamandy was speaking of the battle of the Marne some one replied that it was just an engagement like any other. To which I retort: It was not a battle, it was a historic moment, it was the proof that even the brute force of "caporalism," in a State in which one man can proclaim that the highest law is his own will, may be vanquished by the armies of a democratic republic wherein abuse of liberty was mistaken by fools for moral decline and loss of virtue.

And if such is the meaning of the war now raging, how can it be supposed that it can end with the customary peace, the sort of peace in which so many gold-laced, decorated plenipotentiaries will discuss a lot of nothings around a green cloth? Can one imagine that it will end like a duel with button-tipped foils, in which the swordsman hit exclaims, "Touche!" and after shaking hands and putting the weapons in their case the two adversaries go off and drink to each other's health!

No, gentlemen, today it is a war of nations rather than a war of armies; the conscience of all the races is awakened; this war must and will go on until one of the two sides shall have been crushed in such a manner that the victor shall be able to impose his rule upon the vanquished. No other peace will be acceptable to the nations.

If Germany is victorious her rule will be the rule of the mailed fist, the reign of a single people chosen by God; if the others win—and they will—the law they will impose will be the law of justice, in order that the whole world may enjoy the benefits of civilization.

Such is the problem. But you will ask me: "What! Is Germany to disap-

rear?" Who can imagine any such thing? It is Austria that might and should vanish away.

Austria ought to have disappeared long ago. When she has vanished from sight a general sigh of relief will be heard; every one will be glad that at last she has paid the price of centuries of wickedness, for you may search the pages of her history through and through and you shall not find that she has done good to any one of any sort, while many and many have been the sufferers from her treachery and her brutality. What would I not give to any one who should point out to me a single good action ever done by this monarchy?

And things being as they are, gentlemen, can you doubt on which side victory will rest? I forget who it was said just now that it was childish to introduce the idea of morality into international politics.

How slight must be his acquaintance with the philosophy of history. Individuals, like peoples, pay the price of the offenses they commit against morality. In the one case punishment follows immediately, in the other case it is delayed, but there would be no order in the universe, life would be without value were it not that we have the conviction of the existence of a moral law above us.

And if, gentlemen, the problem is as I see it, if the events through which we are passing are as I have attempted to describe them, how can one talk of neutrality? Is there a single State throughout the world which will not be affected, which will not be transformed by the results of this war? No, gentlemen, there is not one. But note this difference: There are some States which will suffer from the consequences of the war without power to have their say, because they let their sword rust in its scabbard; others there are which, while suffering no less severely from the effects of the conflict, will at least have a hearing; their utterance will either be that of the conqueror, who decides, or that of the vanquished, who, having done his duty, may rightly claim the respect of the victor.

Jonescu's Later Comment

In the light of the foregoing speech, the following statement by Take Jonescu after Rumania had declared war is of added interest:

Rumania's entry into the war is simply the outcome of the entire history of the Rumanian people. A Latin colony established astride the Carpathians between the Black Sea and the Tisza, the Magyar invasion had separated us into two. In spite of centuries of political separation, the intellectual life of all Rumanians has been one and the same, and in every epoch the national aspiration in the two sides of the Carpathians has been for union and a single independent State.

Never before this war has the principle of nationality, the corollary of national sovereignty—that is to say, the right of every people to live according to its own genius—been declared as the foundation of political right in Europe. This principle was first declared by immortal France, but it has been English statesmen of this present epoch who have given it its definite consecration. So, too, are the British people for this principle. Yet more than any conquest do they value being champions of right and liberty. I know no greater good fortune than to be able to assist in the realization of this national ideal while serving at the same time the cause of civilization and permanent future peace. Such is the case of the Rumanian people at this moment.

For two years I never ceased maintaining that if Rumania had nothing to claim for herself she owed it to her own feeling of dignity and honor to draw the sword on the side of the crusaders for the right. The creation of a great Rumania, which will convert us into a State of 14,000,0000 inhabitants, is not only a Rumanian but a European interest. We must put Germany into such a position that she will find it materially impossible to start again that tragedy of armaments à outrance which fatally led to this monstrous war.

We must put between Germany and the Orient, which she covets, States sufficiently strong and representing mili-

tary worth sufficiently great to be able to resist all intrigues and sufficiently distant from the German spirit to be by the nature of things soldiers of civilization against German stupidity. Magna Rumania will fulfill these three conditions. With our amazing racial fecundity, we shall have in forty years between Tisza and the Black Sea a State of 25,000,000 inhabitants, and for France, England, Russia, and Italy this will be some recompense for their enormous sacrifices.

The whole nation has received the declaration of war with a satisfaction that is marked with the greatest dignity. Nothing could prove better how necessary and inevitable war was. Our armies have seized all the passes of the Carpathians with extraordinary rapidity, yet that has turned nobody's head, for the Latins of the Danube have a sense of measure and self-command.

You will read in the official communiqués of the fighting on the Dobrudja frontier. There, too, we are defending a cause that is not only our own, but also that of the Allies, and I might say of Europe. In order that the Turk shall be driven from Europe it is necessary, first of all, to subdue Bulgaria, or rather her rulers, who are the real cause of Bulgaria's madness. In my belief it is the duty of Europe not to repeat the mistakes of last Autumn, but to bring to bear upon the Balkan front sufficient forces to solve the Bulgarian problem. In any case, in dealing with a primitive people like the Bulgarians, a display of force is the first requirement.

As for the ultimate victory of the Allies, that has been as clear to me as sunlight for a long time past. Today, more than ever, the possibility of our common victory is definitely guaranteed, not only by our military superiority, but also and in especial degree by our moral strength.

Text of Rumania's Declaration of War

RUMANIA'S reasons for entering the great conflict on the side of the Entente powers were stated in her declaration of war on Austria-Hungary, issued on Aug. 28. Following is the text of that document, which took the form of a note handed to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister to Rumania, at the close of the historic meeting of the Crown Council in Bucharest, where the die was cast for war:

The alliance concluded between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, according to the statements of those Governments, had only a conservative and defensive character. Its principal object was to guarantee the allied countries against attack from the outside and to consolidate the state of affairs created by previous treaties. It was in accordance with these pacific tendencies that Rumania joined this alliance.

Devoted to the development of her internal affairs and faithful to her resolution to remain as an element of order and equilibrium on the lower Danube, Rumania never has ceased in her devotion to the maintenance of peace in the Balkans. The last Balkan wars, by destroying the status quo, imposed upon her a new line of conduct, but her intervention gave peace and re-established the equilibrium.

For herself she was satisfied with the rectification of her borders which gave her the greatest security against aggression and repaired certain injustices of the Congress of Berlin, but in pursuit of this aim Rumania was disappointed by the failure of the Vienna Cabinet to take the attitude Rumania was entitled to expect.

When the present war broke out Rumania, like Italy, declined to associate herself with the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary, of which she had not been notified by the Vienna Cabinet.

In the Spring of 1915 Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary. The Triple Alliance no longer existed and the reasons which determined Rumania's adherence to this political system disappeared.

Rumania remained in the peace group of States, seeking to work in agreement in order to assure peace and to conserve the situation de facto and de jure created by treaties. Rumania then found herself in the presence of powers making war for the sole purpose of transforming from top to bottom the old arrangements which had served as a basis for their treaty of alliance. These changes were for Rumania proof that the object she pursued in joining the Triple Alliance no longer could be attained and

that she must direct her efforts in new paths, especially as the work undertaken by Austria-Hungary threatened the interests of Rumania and her national aspirations. Consequently Rumania resumed her liberty of action.

The neutrality which Rumania imposed upon herself in consequence of a declaration of war made independently of her will, and contrary to her interests, had been adopted as the results of the assurances that Austria-Hungary, in declaring war against Serbia, was not inspired by a spirit of conquest or of territorial gains. These assurances have not been realized.

Today we are confronted by a situation de facto threatening great territorial transformations and political changes of a nature constituting a grave menace to the future of Rumania. The work of peace which Rumania attempted to accomplish, in a spirit of faithfulness to the Triple Alliance, thus was rendered barren by the very powers called upon to defend it.

In adhering in 1883 to the group of Central Powers, Rumania was far from forgetting the bonds of blood constituting between them a pledge for her domestic tranquillity, as well as for the improvement of the lot of the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary. In fact, Germany and Italy, who reconstituted their States on the basic principle of nationality, could not but recognize the legitimacy of the foundation upon which their own existence reposed.

As for Austria-Hungary, she found in the friendly relations established between her and Rumania assurances of tranquillity both in her interior and on our common frontiers, for she was bound to know to what extent the discontent of her Rumanian population found echo among us, threatening our good relations.

For a period of thirty years the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary not only never saw a reform introduced, but, instead, were treated as an inferior race and condemned to suffer the oppression of a foreign element which constitutes only a minority amid the diverse nationalities constituting the Austro-Hungarian States.

All the injustices our brothers thus were made to suffer maintained between our country and the monarchy a continual state of animosity. At the outbreak of the war Austria-Hungary made no effort to ameliorate these conditions. After two years of the war Austria-Hungary showed herself as prompt to sacrifice her peoples as powerless to defend them. The war in which almost the whole of Europe is partaking raises the gravest problems affecting the national development and very existence of the States.

Rumania, from a desire to hasten the end of the conflict and to safeguard her racial interests, sees herself forced to enter into line by the side of those who are able to assure her realization of her national unity. For these reasons Rumania considers herself, from this moment, in a state of war with Austria-Hungary.

Proclamation of the King of Rumania to His People

King Ferdinand issued the following proclamation to his people on Aug. 28:

RUMANIANS! The war which for the last two years has been encircling our frontiers more and more closely has shaken the ancient foundations of Europe to their depths.

It has brought the day which has been awaited for centuries by the national conscience, by the founders of the Rumanian State, by those who united the principalities in the war of independence, by those responsible for the national renaissance. It is the day of the union of all branches of our nation. Today we are able to complete the task of our forefathers and to establish forever that which Michael the Great was only able to establish for a moment, namely, a Rumanian union on both slopes of the Carpathians.

For us the mountains and plains of Bukowina, where Stephen the Great has slept for centuries. In our moral energy and our valor lie the means of giving him back his birthright of a great and free Rumania from the Tisza to the Black Sea, and to prosper in peace in accordance with our customs and our hopes a dreams.

Rumanians! Animated by the holy duty imposed upon us, and determined to bear manfully all the sacrifices inseparable from an arduous war, we will march into battle with the irresistible élan of a people firmly confident in its

destiny. The glorious fruits of victory shall be our reward.

Forward, with the help of God!

FERDINAND.

To the army the King addressed the following Order of the Day:

Soldiers: I have summoned you to carry your standards beyond the frontier, where our brothers are waiting for you impatiently and with hearts filled with hope. The memory of the Great Voivodes Michael the Brave and Stephen the Great, whose remains lie in the earth which you are going to set free, call you to victory as men worthy of the victors of Razboeni, Capugareeni, and Paehna. I have summoned you to fight side by side with the men of the great nations to which we are allied. A desperate struggle awaits you. We shall bear these hardships manfully, and with God's help victory will be ours. Show yourselves worthy of the glory of your ancestors. In the centuries to come the whole race will bless you and sing your praises.

The First Use of Asphyxiating Gas

By JOSEPH REINACH
French Journalist and Author

Germany, with all the other powers, signed this declaration of The Hague:

"The contracting parties agree not to use projectiles which have for their sole aim to spread asphyxiating or deleterious gases." The ink was hardly dry on the paper when German chemists received instructions, secret but precise, from the Imperial and Royal Government, while all other peoples, civilized or even half-barbarous, held themselves bound by their word.

The abominable felony, which had been long prepared, was committed for the first time on April 22, 1915, in an attack against the division of General Putz in the neighborhood of Langemarck, Belgium, a yellow smoke, coming from the German trenches and driven by the north wind, suddenly swept down on our lines. Marshal French's report said:

"The effect of the poisonous vapors was so violent that all action was made impossible over the whole ground occupied by the French division." Hundreds of men fell asphyxiated, writhing in frightful pain. Others, stupefied and staggering, coughing streams of blood, fell back in all haste out of the zone of the gas; they abandoned thirty cannon. There had not yet been, in all history, so infamous a victory. There shall not be one to cost the victors dearer.

Had the English been the victims, instead of being only the witnesses, of such treachery, they could not have experienced more horror. Necessarily, it released our allies and ourselves—the chemistry of war was created. Several hundred English chemists set to work, coolly, resolutely, patiently. To those who saw them at their work they were the executioners of justice. The German lines, which extend more than sixty miles in Belgium and France, facing the English lines, know now what it costs a people to become the accomplices of a Government of treachery, ferocity, and crime. There is sometimes even human justice. There may be pity for the individual. No one in the world will have pity for the army and nation—for they have chosen to stand and fall with imperial felony. Honor, after their fashion, and profit they may have had from it—but not victory. And they must pay for it. Two hundred dead German soldiers in one row, dead from English gases, tell the rest.

Bulgaria's Part in the European War

By Radoslav Andrea Tsanoff

A Native of Bulgaria, now Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas

Professor Tsanoff is a Ph. D. of Cornell University. Since 1912 he has lectured on the Balkan situation in New York and New England as well as in Texas. The tragic Summer of 1913 he spent in his native land, and in August of that year the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent him on an informal mission to London.

THE European war, if not in its ultimate implications, is at least in its immediate provocation a Balkan conflict—a conflict for Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean dominion. It should not be forgotten that the Serajevo outrage was the initial casus belli, and its inevitable connections with Bosnia and Herzegovina and the road to Saloniki, with the Berlin Congress and the Sick Man of Europe, with the Drang nach Osten politics on the one hand and Peter the Great's "testament" concerning Constantinople on the other, suggest the underlying causes of the present Russo-German conflict, with which the Anglo-German and the Franco-German conflicts are chronologically, but not logically, associated.

FERDINAND I.,
Czar of Bulgaria

In this conflict for the Eastern Mediterranean and for Balkan dominion the century-old enemy of Balkandom, Turkey, has ranged her arms on the side of the Austro-German alliance. Only the day before yesterday rivers of Balkan blood spilled themselves in a war the avowed object of which was the expulsion of Islam from Europe. Yet Bulgaria is today fighting in league with her oppressor of half a thousand years, the Turk—fighting in opposition to Russia, which liberated her from the Turk less than forty years ago. Now, even if this course were inexcusably base, still it would demand explanation. Nations do not stoop to ingratitude for no cause whatever. Before praising or condemning Bulgaria's step we must first of all understand its motives. And to this end a very brief survey of Bulgaria's immediate past is indispensable.

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Bulgarian Nation, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea, and from the Black Sea to the Lake of Ochrid, reaching the climax of a death struggle to shake off the ecclesiastical oppression of the Greek Patriarchate and the political-economic tyranny of the Turk. The first struggle ended successfully with the recognition by the Sultan of a national Bulgarian Church in 1870; the second revolt, for political independence, after claiming thousands of martyrs, led to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and to the treaty of San Stefano, which reconstituted an independent Bulgaria, including practically the entire Bulgarian folk. But Western Europe feared that an independent Bulgaria would become Russia's pawn in the Balkans, that the Czar would use Bulgaria as his road to the Medi-

terranean instead of the one through Constantinople and the Dardanelles, which had been closed to him after the Crimean War. At the Berlin Congress, accordingly, England, Germany, and Austria dismembered the Bulgar land that had just awakened to freedom after 500 years of bondage. In the end, one section of Bulgaria was given freedom, another was accorded partial autonomy, a third was definitely assigned to Rumania, a fourth to Serbia, while the fifth, comprising Macedonia and Western Thrace, was actually handed back to the Sultan.

In spite of the political obstacles with which she was confronted, however, little Bulgaria made a cultural endeavor which today challenges a parallel. During the quarter century from 1887 to 1912, for instance, she multiplied her railroad mileage almost nine times; her telegraph service trebled; her postal service increased twentyfold; her imports doubled; her exports quadrupled; for every vessel that entered and cleared her ports in 1887 there were thirty in 1912. But her greatest effort was directed in the line of public education. In 1880 Bulgaria was as illiterate as any country could well be. In 1910 one-tenth of her population attended the public schools. The illiteracy of the Bulgarian Army, which was 70 per cent. in 1887, has been so reduced that the younger regiments of Bulgars are less than 10 per cent. illiterate. There are as few Bulgars who cannot read and write in the regiments formed today as there were men who could read and write in the regiments formed thirty-six years ago. The Greek Army is 30 per cent. illiterate, the Rumanian over 64 per cent., and the Serbian population over 11 years of age shows an illiteracy of almost 79 per cent.

Forty-five years ago everything ever printed in the Bulgarian language could have been assembled on one library table. Today Bulgaria has over 350 periodical publications; the world's literature may be read in Bulgarian translations, and several Bulgarian writers have seen their works translated in many European languages. Open the International "Who's Who in Science" and you will find that Bulgaria contributes as many names as all the other Balkan States put together. In the Balkans Bulgaria has become the home of genuine ethnic and religious tolerance; with a truly representative electoral system; with labor-protection laws such as many States in America cannot yet boast; a country economically solid and democratic, five-sevenths of her sons owning the farms they till. What more could Bulgaria desire?

Only this, and this above all: The liberation of those Bulgars whom the Berlin Congress had handed back to the Sultan. This aim inspired the bloody Macedonian insurrections; it led Bulgaria into the Balkan Alliance and the war of 1912. The history of the Balkan war needs no rehearsal here. Suffice it to recall that Bulgaria found herself confronted by the main Turkish Army, crushed it decisively, drove it back to the very gates of Constantinople, and for half a year held it there in check.

But the victory whereby Bulgaria had liberated the Balkans from Turkdom fanned the old envy of her allies. In refusing to relinquish the "uncontested zone" in Macedonia and to arbitrate about the "contested zone," Serbia broke here treaty of alliance with Bulgaria; Greek cunning conspired with Rumanian cupidity and Turkish rancor to overwhelm Bulgaria and to rob her of almost all the fruits of her war of liberation. By the treaty of Bucharest, August, 1913, Bulgaria lost 1,000,000 Macedonian Bulgars to Serbia and Greece and 286,000 of her prosperous Dobrudja citizens to Rumania. The Fall of 1913 found Bulgaria diplomatically isolated, territorially robbed, and to all appearances crushed into abject helplessness.

Yet such has been the irony of fate that, within one brief twelvemonth after the Bucharest Treaty, Serbia's dream of empire involved her in a conflict threatening her very existence as an independent State. The course of the great war, its military and its diplomatic history, has disclosed several striking developments in the Balkans. It has accentuated with increasing clearness the importance of Bulgaria's position. In a

small way, hers is the same advantage which Germany and Austria enjoy in Europe and which has given them the name of the Central Powers. No Balkan State could make a move without reckoning with Bulgaria. The geographical position which had proved Bulgaria's undoing in 1913, when her neighbors, surrounding her on all sides, succeeded in isolating her, proved a tower of strength to her now that her neighbors either were engaged or planned to be engaged each in a different direction. The policy of Rumania and Greece necessarily depended on that of Bulgaria. Again, Bulgaria, which touches both of the neutral Balkan States, is likewise the only European neighbor of Turkey.

The strongest trump in Germany's hand has been her central position, the fact that she held the inner line, allowing the transferance of troops at will from one front to another. In this chain of military coherence, one link was missing. This needed link was Bulgaria. Germany needed the raw resources of Turkey; Turkey needed German guns, ammunition, and equipment. Only through Bulgaria could Berlin communicate with Constantinople overland.

On the other hand, the Entente's greatest source of weakness was the absence of communication between east and west. To remedy precisely this situation the forcing of the Dardanelles was thought imperative. The success of the Dardanelles expedition would have achieved two ends—with one stroke it would have severed Germany from Turkey, and so frustrated the menace to England's dominion over Egypt and India, and also established oversea communication between Russia and her allies. Here again the importance of Bulgaria's position was paramount. With the help of a Bulgarian army striking directly at the Turk, the Anglo-French fiasco in the Dardanelles could easily have been transformed into a triumph; with a benevolently neutral Bulgaria refusing to allow the transportation over her railroads of German ammunition for Turkey, the armies of Enver Pasha would soon have been exhausted, for all ammunition sent by way of Rumanian Constanza was liable to attack by the Russian Black Sea fleet. With a Bulgaria friendly to Germany, however, the Anglo-French expedition faced a Sisyphean task. Bulgaria held the key which could either unlock the Constantinople gates for the Entente or lock them to Germany. The fact that of all the neutral States Bulgaria alone possessed both a Black Sea coast and an Aegean coast gave her a position of inestimable value and made her sympathies precious beyond belief to both hostile coalitions. One doubts if the most astute of diplomats could have anticipated the gain in power which Bulgaria acquired by securing in 1913 the strip of coast line on the Aegean.

But, once the European war had begun, neither Germany nor the Entente appreciated the importance of Bulgaria's position any better than did the Bulgarian people, Government, and Czar. Ferdinand's manifesto of Oct. 14, 1915, declares: "Exhausted and worn out, but not vanquished, [in 1913,] we had to furl our flags and wait for better days. The better days have come much sooner than we had reason to expect." In the Fall of 1913 Bulgarian emissaries were waiting in cold European anterooms, begging for recognition of the ethnic and political justice of their cause. In the Fall of 1914 emissaries of the European powers were in Sofia, returning Bulgaria's calls.

In modern history there is scarcely an equally dramatic instance of poetic justice. Sofia, the geographic heart of the Balkan peninsula, once more became its political centre of gravity. Once more Bulgaria beheld the possible realization of her national ideal, her one ambition. And this one ambition of all Bulgars was and is: That political Bulgaria become coextensive with ethnic Bulgaria. This means today the restoration to Bulgaria of the Macedonian districts of which Serbia and Greece robbed her, and of the Dobrudja region which Rumania extorted from her at the treaty of Bucharest. Only the at least partial attainment of this national idea could justify the spilling of Bulgarian blood in this war. Bulgaria, accordingly, asked herself this question: Would the liberation of Macedonia and Dobrudja be more likely of attainment if she abandoned her

neutrality than if she remained neutral? And in case she did enter the war, which of the two hostile groups could more sincerely and more reliably assure her of the realization of this national ideal?

It has always been England's policy to crush her most dangerous Continental rival by using for that purpose the allied forces of that power's Continental enemies. A hundred years ago Great Britain used Germany and Russia to crush France. Sixty years ago the Russian Czar became the great danger to civilization, and Britain used Europe's armies to crush Russia. The last few decades have registered sufficient German progress and vitality to make Germany the immediate source of Britain's alarm. It may be that the more astute British statesmen still realize that Russia, their present ally, is their inevitable future enemy, but for this moment Britain is entirely anti-German. She not only seconded Russia's move toward Constantinople, but herself tried to batter open for Russia the Dardanelles gates, as if to scratch out from the British creed that article for which the Light Brigade charged at Balaklava.

On this doubtless fascinating chessboard of war tiny Bulgaria unfortunately appears merely as a pawn, and so it happens that, while for Britain Russia is the distant and Germany the immediate danger, for Bulgaria the case is exactly reversed. Germany's immediate aim is economic dominion over the Near East, and that immediate aim need not preclude—indeed, it may demand—a strong and friendly Bulgaria to guard the German caravan's flank. But Russia's immediate aim is political mastery over Constantinople and the Dardanelles. This means Adrianople and Thrace, and how much more of the Black Sea coast it does or may mean the Bulgar mind finds it very uncomfortable to contemplate.

Thus, realizing with increasing clearness that in the present conflict England had left the destinies of the Balkans in the hands of Russia and that Russia was there the decisive factor, Bulgaria saw that fighting on the side of England meant really fighting for Russia. The great question for the Bulgars, therefore, early resolved itself into this: Was it to Bulgaria's interest to fight for Russia? And, since Bulgaria's relation to Russia is a deeper relation than one of interest, a second more momentous question arose: Was Bulgaria morally bound to join Russia?

The entire history of modern Bulgaria registers a constant effort on the part of the Bulgarian people to remain grateful and loyal to the great Russian Nation, their liberator, without yielding to the machinations of the Russian Government. The interest which imperial Russia has taken in Bulgaria, however, has always been measured by its expectation of cowing or bringing Bulgaria into ultimate submission. This Russian policy is quite easy to understand if one looks at things from the point of view of Russian imperial expansion. Constantinople and the Dardanelles are Russian ambitions far more properly than even Antwerp is a Germanic ambition, and a Russian expansionist may well shed tears at the way in which Russia's outstretched arm is forever being balked from reaching the high seas—in China, in Persia, in the Near East. But can Bulgaria grieve that the Russian appetite has not yet been satisfied at her expense? Any nation must needs look at a world conflict primarily from the point of view of its own self-preservation, and this is the way in which Bulgaria has looked at this war.

The geographic position of Bulgaria made her naturally a possible bridge of Russian advance on Constantinople; the geographic position of Serbia, on the other hand, made her a wall of protection for Russia against the Austro-German advance on Saloniki. Bulgarian loyalty was thus a necessary part of Russia's plan of "benevolent assimilation"; but Serbian loyalty was essential to the very security of Russia in the Near East. Now the fact that the Serb, toward the end of the century, was courting Viennese favor and was fast becoming Austria's economic vassal, worried imperial Russia. Consequently the Belgrade tragedy of 1903 resulted in an entire change of things Serbian. The Russian Minister at Belgrade replaced

the Austrian as commanding adviser. As Serbia chose to be Russia's tool instead of Austria's, Russia proclaimed this guardian of her own imperialistic interests the guardian of Slavdom's interests in the Balkans. Of necessity Russia's Balkan policy now demanded the subordination of Bulgarian to Serbian interests. The bridge of advance could be neglected, but the wall of defense was carefully kept in repair and fortified.

And then came the Balkan Alliance—a distinct trump card in Russia's hand, for through it Russia expected to acquire diplomatic mastery at Sofia and Athens as well as at Belgrade. Bulgaria's obstinate independence alone blocked the success of this Russian plan. Her whirlwind campaign against the Turk riveted the world's attention on herself. The Balkan Alliance, which Russia had construed as an anti-Austrian coalition and which she regarded as an addition to her own forces, was transformed by Bulgaria's victories into a distinctly Balkan union, friendly perhaps, but certainly not subservient, to Russia. When Bulgaria single-handed inflicted on the Turkish armies at Lule Burgas a defeat more crushing than any the Turk had suffered in all his wars with Russia, the Czar's Government realized that Bulgaria, which had been independent in her weakness, was not likely to become servile when grown strong.

It need not be stated baldly that Russia thereupon ruined the Balkan Alliance. Certainly the great Russian people viewed with genuine sorrow the Serbo-Bulgarian friction. But just as certainly imperial Russia watched Serbia's initial treachery grow and take shape as envy of Bulgaria's victories nourished it, and she tolerated this treachery. Russia watched Serbia repudiate her treaty of alliance with Bulgaria, a treaty which the Russian Czar himself had sanctioned, watched her seize the Bulgar land of Macedonia and terrorize its Bulgar natives, make a new alliance with Greece and Rumania to destroy her Slavic ally, cause the tragic war of 1913, and rob Bulgaria at the Treaty of Bucharest. Were the interests of Slavdom paramount in the eyes of Russian diplomacy, it should have moved heaven and earth to avert such a Slavonic catastrophe. But in 1913 Russia forgot the Slavic cause, and Slavic Bulgaria was once more dismembered, this time with Russia's consent, if not with Russia's connivance. It was over Russian pontoons that Rumania crossed the Danube to invade Bulgaria in 1913.

Time speedily brought its retribution. Within less than a year Russia and Serbia themselves were fighting a battle of life and death. And then Russia called on Bulgaria, in the sacred name of Slavdom, to fight her enemies, to save her ward Serbia from destruction. But how could Bulgaria be appealed to in the name of Pan Slavism, when this is not a Pan Slavistic war? Russia's own allies oppose the Pan Slavistic idea no less than do her enemies, while millions of Slavs are actually fighting—and fighting willingly—on the Teutonic side. Bulgaria experienced the deepest sorrow at such a Slavic tragedy, but surely neither her Slavic ideals nor her own political interests threw her on Russia's side.

And what ideals or interest could draw her to the help of Serbia? Serbia claimed she was fighting to liberate her kinsmen from the Austrian yoke, yet she herself exercised in Bulgar Macedonia a reign of terror and tyranny such as no Austrian, no Turk, or Russian ever exercised anywhere, as any one may convince himself by reading the "Report of the International Carnegie Commission." For over a year, while Rumania, brought by the logic of events to recognize the folly of her immediate past, was making overtures to Bulgaria for the return of Dobrudja, while even Turkey came to terms with Bulgaria, Serbia, gasping in the throes of death, fought with one hand to "liberate" the Austrian Serbs, while with the other she tortured the Macedonian Bulgars.

From Bulgaria's point of view any talk of moral ideals in this war is futile claptrap. It is part of the campaign of both sides to call themselves champions of liberty and saviors of civilization. Actually this war is a gigantic clash of

the most sordid interests imaginable. In such a conflict of interests, then, Bulgaria also had to seek her own national interests, nor sacrifice them on the altar of passion and impulse. To Britain and France, who spoke of the principle of nationality, Bulgaria recalled the Treaty of Bucharest, the blackest violation of that principle. Russia's pleas for Slavdom Bulgaria answered by offering to forget Russia's crucifixion of Slavdom in 1913, if Russia showed herself ready to vindicate her sincerity in 1915. To maintain her despotism in Macedonia, Serbia was using some 60,000 troops. Bulgaria told the Entente: If you are really fighting for justice and the rights of small nationalities, compel Serbia to restore Macedonia to us. This step would begin the correction of the worst political crime in Europe, the Treaty of Bucharest. It would release 60,000 Serbian troops to be employed where they belong, toward Bosnia and Herzegovina. If you undo now the work of the Treaty of Bucharest, Bulgaria will join your side.

But the Entente either would not or could not compel Serbia to relinquish the Bulgar-inhabited regions of Macedonia. Instead, Serbia kept importuning the Entente to allow her to invade unmobolized Bulgaria. Bulgaria was thus brought to realize clearly that she could expect from the Entente nothing at all commensurate with the sacrifices demanded of her, since the composition of the Entente's powers necessarily called for the support of Serbia's ambitions. The Entente offered Bulgaria, in exchange for her army, a portion of Serb Macedonia—that is, in case Serbia should obtain Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and a few other Austro-Hungarian provinces. To match this Entente proposal Germany offered Bulgaria all of Serb-ruled Macedonia in exchange for Bulgaria's benevolent neutrality; and in case she joined actively the Teutonic cause the Bulgar-inhabited districts in the Timok and Morava valleys, which the Berlin Congress had awarded to the Serb. To join the Entente under such conditions would have been suicidal folly for Bulgaria.

And then, in the Fall of 1915, the Austro-German drive through Serbia began. That drive was bound to reach Macedonia, which both European coalitions recognized as Bulgarian by right. For Bulgaria to oppose this German drive meant to defend Serbia, the State which had robbed her, without any hope of adequate restitution. To contemplate idly the Teutonic advance would have been a criminal neglect of her own most cherished interests. Yet the Entente sent an ultimatum demanding that she break relations with the Central Powers. Instead she entered the field against Serbia, and thus found herself opposing the Entente.

Has Bulgaria been astute in her choice? Time alone will tell. Needless to say, her belief in Germany's ultimate victory was an important factor in determining her decision. Two brief months in 1915 sufficed for Bulgaria to complete her military task in Serbia. The Anglo-French expedition sent to Saloniki is still where it was the first week of fighting, and late reports made it likely that, after having taken time to sow, reap, and gather her crops, Bulgaria will still be able to anticipate General Sarrail's forces and to change the long-prophesied allied offensive into a defensive.

With military prophecies, however, the present writer is not concerned. It is idle to speculate whether Bulgaria will win in the end. Far more important is it to reach a judgment as to whether she deserves to win. Was Bulgaria's decision morally worthy? It was and is motivated by her determination to free once for all her oppressed kinsmen. But in so doing Bulgaria helps Germany's cause? True enough, but if Germany's cause is no better than that of her foes it is hard to see how it is any worse. Between the two hostile coalitions one may make a military choice, as Bulgaria has already done; but a moral choice cannot be made. It seems scarcely necessary to recount here Germany's iniquities, as they have been made abundantly familiar to us all. But perhaps those who still believe that the Entente is fighting for the principle of nationality should remember that in October,

1915, Réné Viviani pronounced in the French Chamber the Entente's guarantee of the infamous Treaty of Bucharest. And when the case of Belgium is cited it must not be forgotten that for the past twelvemonth the Entente has been making of Greece a second Belgium. That Greece has not made armed opposition nor risked inviting Belgium's fate may be a reflection on Greece's self-respect, but it certainly does not alter the case as far as the Entente is concerned.

In a word, Bulgaria sees in this war the conflict for world-supremacy of two selfish coalitions, and, if she finds herself on the side of the Central Powers, it is not because she hates England and France and Russia, and loves Germany and Austria, but because in this particular situation Germany appears to be both readier and abler to permit small Bulgaria to realize, not her place in the sun—Bulgaria has no such celestial ambitions—but her humble station on our long-suffering Mother Earth.

Bulgaria's Claim on Macedonia

By a Bulgarian Diplomat

THE Bulgarian Prime Minister frankly and openly declared to an American correspondent last Fall, before Bulgaria went into the war, the wishes and aims of Bulgaria. He said that Bulgaria wanted Macedonia, and that whoever gave it to her would have her on his side. The Allies, from fear of offending Serbia, refused to hand over Macedonia to Bulgaria and order Serbia out of it. They only promised to satisfy the Bulgarian demands after the war, due regard being paid to the compensations in territory that Serbia might get from Austria.

The Serbians also pretended to make concessions to Bulgaria, but after the war, and on conditions inacceptable to the Bulgarians. After the sad experience Bulgaria has had with Serbian treaties and promises she is not to blame if she refused to accept any such "wild goose chase." They knew well enough that after the war the Serbians would have played the same trick that they played in the Balkan war, namely, refuse to evacuate Macedonia.

It is not to be supposed that any one of the Allies, after an exhausting war of two, three, or four years, would have been willing to drive them out of Macedonia, but would have proposed a compromise between the two countries. A compromise would have been unfavorable to Bulgaria, for the Serbians being in possession of the country would have had in their hands the bigger end of the stick. Hence Bulgaria would either have had to submit to what Serbia was willing to cede to it or to fight again for her rights. In the latter case all Europe would have been against her, for every one would have considered her as a disturber of the peace.

Another consideration which influenced the conduct of Bulgaria was, no doubt, the fact that when Germany and Austria decided to invade Serbia and open a way for themselves to Constantinople Bulgaria would have had to oppose them or to allow them a free passage through her territory. In the former case she would have suffered the fate of Belgium, in the latter case she would have incurred the displeasure and enmity of the Allies. The Allies would have been in no position to succor her against an Austro-German drive.

The whole question of how Bulgaria should regulate her conduct between the two warring parties depended upon a satisfactory solution of the Macedonian question. The Bulgarians regard Macedonia as theirs by all the rights which a nation can advance for the possession of a country. These claims are based upon the following considerations:

1. The Christian population of Macedonia up to the Shar Mountains is overwhelmingly Bulgarian. This has been

testified to by all impartial travelers (English, French, Russian, German, &c.) who have visited the country.

2. The people of Macedonia have always called themselves Bulgarians and their sympathies have always been with Bulgaria. There are thousands of them here in the United States and they all openly declare that they are Bulgarians and not Serbians. We have in Bulgaria over 100,000 Macedonians who, during the Turkish régime, fled for refuge into Bulgaria. We have Macedonians as politicians, teachers, merchants, Government functionaries, &c. Over 300 officers in the army are from Macedonia, and some of them rank as Generals and Colonels. In Serbia you will not find even 100 Bulgarians who have taken refuge there, for Serbia for them has always been an alien country.

3. The San Stefano treaty of 1878, concluded between Russia and Turkey after their war, has drawn officially the boundaries of the Bulgarian element in the Balkan Peninsula. That treaty was drawn up by Russia and not by Bulgaria, and it includes almost the whole of Macedonia. The Bulgarians swear by that treaty and demand that the wishes of the late Czar Liberator of Russia should be executed.

4. Serbia never claimed Macedonia before 1892, and it was only in order to compensate herself for the loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina that she began her intrigues and propaganda in Macedonia.

The Berlin treaty of 1878, which supplanted that of San Stefano, provided for Macedonia, as it did for Armenia, some sort of an autonomous government. This provision of the treaty has not been put in practice because, besides the Turks, the Serbians and the Greeks were opposed to autonomy in Macedonia. Why? Because they know perfectly well that under an autonomous administration, under the guarantee of the European powers, where people would be free to express by their votes their opinions, the Bulgarian element will decidedly come to the front, and that everybody will see that Macedonia is a solid Bulgarian country.

The writer of a recent editorial says that Bulgaria " went to war for no reason except the brazenly announced desire for plunder." Is the desire of France to regain Alsace-Lorraine, of Italy to get the Trentino, or of Serbia to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, a " desire for plunder"? Just as much right as these countries have to their respective claims, so much has Bulgaria to Macedonia. In claiming Macedonia, Bulgaria takes her stand upon the principles for which, we are told, the Allies are fighting, namely, the liberty of the small nationalities to dispose of their destiny as they think best, and the right of peoples to say under what Government they choose to live.

Bulgaria's Lost Claim: An Answer

By a Student of History

FOR a correct understanding of the merits of the Serb-Bulgar controversy on the subject of Macedonia and the points raised by " A Bulgarian Diplomat," a brief review of the history of the Balkan Peninsula until the accession of the Turk rule and a glimpse into the principal events that preceded and followed the emancipation of Bulgaria and the Turkish-Balkan war of 1912-13 are necessary.

In the first part of the seventh century the dwellers of the Balkan Peninsula consisted of the Greeks, Illyrians, whom we now designate as Albanians, and the Rumanians, who are largely settlers drawn from various parts of the Roman Empire upon the conquest by Trajan of Dacia in 105. These historical facts serve to show that the Turks, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Montenegrins are ethnologically alien to the Balkan Peninsula. In about 638 a group of Serbs and Croats, whose original home was along the Carpathian

Mountains, were invited by the Emperor to Constantinople, where he arranged to employ them against the Avars. Eventually they settled in the Macedonian district and established a powerful kingdom, (with occasional lapses,) which was utterly destroyed by the Turks in 1389.

In about 660 a nomadic people, originally from the steppes of Asia, in the vicinity of the River Volga, reached the Balkan Peninsula, and settled in Maesia. These Nomads were of the same Ughur or Finnish stock from which the present Turks, the Finns, and the Hungarians sprung.

They were Bulgarians. Here they established a tremendous empire and extorted tribute from the Greeks and Serbs; but they also lost their independence to the Turks in 1389.

With the decline of the Bulgar power in the first part of the eleventh century, the Macedonian district passed successively under the rules of Bonifae, Marquis of Monserrat, Byzantium, and Serbia; and the Turks conquered it from the Serbs in 1389 and held sway over it until 1913. The widespread state of anarchy and massacre that ravaged Bulgaria in 1876-7 was the immediate and driving cause of the war of Russia against Turkey. Czar Alexander, in his famous manifesto, issued on April 23, 1877, declaring war against Turkey, said: "Our desire to ameliorate the lot of the Christian population of Turkey has been shared by the whole nation, which now shows itself ready to bear fresh sacrifices to alleviate the position of the Christians in the Balkan Peninsula." In this war for the liberation of Bulgaria little Serbia fought on the side of Russia. The treaty of Berlin confirmed the provisions of the treaty of San Stefano dealing with Bulgaria, except that it made Bulgaria a tributary principality to the Sultan instead of an independent State, and it also severed Eastern Rumelia from the Bulgaria of the San Stefano treaty and placed it under the political and military rule of the Sultan; it, however, was united to Bulgaria in 1885.

The Turkish misrule in Macedonia, particularly during 1903-8, was retaliated by bomb and dynamite outrages in which the Greek, Bulgarian, and Serb bands participated, both against the constituted authorities and against one another. It is a matter of history that the Revel program of 1908, agreed upon between the King of England and the Emperor of Austria, was to sever the Macedonian provinces from the domination of Constantinople and make them into an autonomous State. It was at this psychological moment that the Young Turk Party, to thwart the proposed disruption of Macedonia from the Sultan's rule, demanded the restoration of the Constitution of 1876, which Abdul Hamid granted. The Young Turk rule, a most doubtful experiment, brought no relief to a long-suffering people, and its hopeless incompetency was emphasized by the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the overthrow by Bulgaria of the Turk suzerainty, the reaction of 1909, and the Turco-Italian war. These evidences of the collapse of the Young Turk rule, succeeding each other in quick order, furnished Pashitch of Serbia and Venizelos of Greece an excuse to form the Balkan League, whose prime purpose was to liberate the co-religionists and co-nationalists of the contracting parties from the Turk's yoke.

The treaty of the league stipulated for concerted action against a common enemy, but it did not map out the respective territorial shares of the members of the league in the event of the success of the proposed campaign. The treaty also contained the all-important provision that, in the event of any disagreements arising among the members of the league with reference to any subject or point under said treaty, such disputed subject, or point, including division of conquered territory, if any, should be referred to the Czar of Russia, and his finding should be binding upon the appellants.

On Oct. 12, 1912, the Balkan League began a successful war against Turkey. Under the treaty of London of May 30, 1913, Bulgaria acquired all Thrace to the Enos-Media line, together with parts of Macedonia to the west of Bulgaria. Ferdinand of Bulgaria disapproved the arrangement made by Dr. Daneff (his

plenipotentiary at London) and demanded a larger share in Macedonia. This Serbia declined to give, but offered to refer the controverted subject to the Czar, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of the league. Ferdinand indicated his readiness to accept the Serbian offer, provided the Czar would announce or make known in advance the nature of his decision, which was manifestly an unfair and inadmissible attitude. Whereupon Ferdinand took a trip to Vienna in the month of June, 1913, and entered into a treaty with Austria, which treaty provided that Bulgaria would attack Serbia and that in the event of the defeat of Bulgaria, Austria would come to her rescue.

Bulgaria treacherously attacked Serbia and Greece and received deserved severe punishment at the hands of her betrayed partners of yesterday, while simultaneously Rumania threatened Sofia. Bulgaria acknowledged defeat, but Austria was restrained by Germany from entering the Balkan controversy. Consequently, Bulgaria submitted to the treaty of Bucharest, under which her total gain in territory was reduced to 5,000 square miles, whereas Greece acquired 18,700 and Serbia 16,000.

From the foregoing it would appear that Bulgaria has only herself to blame for her unenviable moral and material position, and that Serbia has not been guilty of any bad faith, such as is alleged by the Bulgarian diplomat. The Bulgarian claim of title to Macedonia does not derive its sanction and force from any of the untenable and hypothetical grounds and considerations urged by the Bulgarian diplomat, nor is it founded on any unfulfilled agreement or treaty. As a matter of expediency and fairness, in all probability, Bulgaria should have been given a part of the Serbian Macedonia, because, while Serbia has potential opportunity for expansion northward, Bulgaria can have elbow room only in Macedonia and in Thrace. But in view of the perfidy of Bulgaria, which caused the destruction of a substantial portion of the manhood and womanhood of Serbia, and which prolonged the world war probably by one year, it is difficult to see how Bulgaria can justly expect now to receive any compensation in Macedonia at the expense of Serbia.

A Romantic War Story

The following story of a lost baby Prince is vouched for by a Petrograd correspondent:

Prince Cyril Gedroic is an officer in the Austrian Army, and joined his regiment in August, 1914, leaving his wife and baby at his castle near Brody. During the first great Austrian retreat the Princess fled, and in the general confusion her baby was left behind and lost. A Russian officer found the infant alone in a ditch some miles from Brody. He picked it up and sent it to Russia to be cared for. No one knew the infant was a Prince and heir to huge estates, but Baroness Natalie Ostroff adopted it and took it to her home at Tiflis, in the Caucasus.

Recently the story of the foundling was published in a Russian illustrated paper, with a photo of the child. A Russian prisoner taken by Prince Gedroic's regiment happened to have in his pocket a copy of the particular issue and, by chance, Prince Gedroic was the officer who examined this prisoner. Glancing casually over the paper, the Prince recognized his lost baby.

Diplomatic representations through Sweden ensued, and the little Prince Vladzis Gedroic, aged two, was soon on his way back to Austria under the care of two nurses and a special courier.

Greece—The Neutral With No Friends

By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides

The author of this article, a Greek journalist, has just returned to America after several months' study of the situation in Athens and other Balkan capitals.

GREECE'S position in the European war has been difficult from the outset. The conflict, as every one knows, started from Serbia, and Serbia was up to a certain extent the ally of Greece. But that alliance, it was argued, was strictly Balkanic in its character, had for unique purpose to prevent an undue aggrandizement of Bulgaria at the expense of Serbia and Greece, and never took into account the possibility of a European conflict, which might closely affect the territorial interests of the two allied countries.

At the outbreak of the great war, Greece made this plain to Serbia, and a perfect understanding between the two Premiers, Venizelos for Greece and Pashitch for Serbia, was soon reached. Greece, according to this understanding, was not to send any of her troops against Austria, but would keep an eye on Bulgaria; besides this, Greece also undertook to help Serbia in ways other than military; thus she offered her ally the use of the Port of Saloniki, put her merchant marine at the disposal of Serbia for the transport of any ammunition and supplies needed by the Serbian troops, and finally did everything in her power to facilitate the Serbian struggle.

Central Powers Offended

Now, this is more than any neutral could do without risking his own interests. Germany and Austria had every reason to be dissatisfied with the neutrality of Greece, for it was openly favorable to the Entente, as often declared by the Greek Government, not only when presided over by Venizelos, but even when under the guidance of Gounaris and Zaïmis, who have never been so strongly for the Entente as the statesman from Crete.

Greece, according to the Teuton estimate, has been the backer of the Serbian campaign from the very beginning, when the Allies, hard pressed on other fronts, could do little for their Balkan ally.

Few people will deny today that Greece has done for Serbia what no other neutral, with the possible exception of the United States, has done for the Entente; this was so partly from political considerations and more because of the nation-wide sympathy felt in Greece for a brave friend fighting against the common foe. For thus were Austria and Germany regarded by Greece, because they coveted Saloniki, because they aspired to Balkan dominion, and because they had given unqualified support for years past to Turkey and Bulgaria, the two traditional enemies of Hellenism.

German Propaganda

Germany and Austria, never having given a token of sympathy to Hellas, knew what the Greek feelings were toward them at the outbreak of the war. They were perfectly aware that sentiment was entirely with the Allies in this war so far as Greece was concerned, and accordingly they could never look at what happened down there in any other light than one of hostility and contempt.

Nevertheless, in such a conflict as this it was essential for the Teuton coalition not to let Greece side openly and militarily with the Entente; an effort had to be made to swing Greece to the Central Empires, and this was attempted by means of an official propaganda, at the head of which was placed Baron Schenck —some called him Baron Check—official representative of the German Wolff Agency. Greece looked at this propaganda in the same humor as America looked at Dr. Dernburg. Nevertheless, its activities became apparent when a

KING LUDWIG III. OF BAVARIA

Latest Photograph of the King of Bavaria.
(Photo from Press Illustrating Company.)

GENERAL VON SAKHAROFF

Lieut. Gen. V. V. von Sakharoff Is in Command of One of the Russian Armies Now Facing Hindenburg on the Eastern Front.

certain number of Athens newspapers started a campaign against the Allies.

This was soon after the King refused to let the country take part in the expedition of the Dardanelles, and when Venizelos resigned for the first time. From that moment the Entente Allies began looking on Greece with suspicion. The workings of the German propaganda brought about the effect earnestly desired by Teuton diplomacy; Greece remained a neutral—a benevolent neutral toward the Entente, it is true, but nothing more.

Greek People Displeased

Venizelos, the man in whom the Entente had absolute confidence, was not in power when this German propaganda began taking a more serious aspect; Gounaris was openly denounced as being pro-German, King Constantine's name was introduced in the controversy, and Greece for the first time impressed the diplomats of the Allies in Athens as actually swinging to Germany and Austria.

The people, on the other hand, knew one thing—that they were misrepresented, as far as their sympathies were concerned. Therefore they seized the first opportunity presented to them at the general election of June 13, 1915, when they gave Venizelos and the Liberals 180 Deputies in a total of 316. On the strength of this majority Venizelos took charge of the Government, and for some time he was busy allaying the suspicions of the Entente Allies as to the attitude of the Greek people. Things were better up to the day when Bulgaria mobilized her army and subsequently attacked Serbia. Greece immediately ordered a similar measure, and was ready to join in the war as the ally of Serbia, when again this proposal was rejected by the King and the neutralist party, who thought that the Greco-Serbian treaty did not apply to this particular instance; Venizelos fell again, just one year ago, Zaïmis succeeding him.

According to a previous understanding, Zaïmis was to work in Parliament with a Venizelist majority, but a slight incident one night in the Chamber between Venizelos and the Minister of War brought about the resignation of Zaïmis, and the appointment of the Skouloudis Ministry, wherein all political parties but that of M. Venizelos were represented.

The Allies Suspicious

If the Allies needed any further proof of what they regarded as Greek hostility, the second overthrow of Venizelos, in both instances a majority leader in Parliament, was more than enough for the purpose. Greece immediately was considered a country where allied interests were not safe; added to this feeling was the small allied expeditionary force in Saloniki, which had come there at the bidding of Venizelos, when he, as Premier, thought that Greece was going to attack Bulgaria, and therefore asked the Entente Allies to help the Greek troops with 150,000 men, which, according to the Greco-Serbian treaty, Serbia was bound to give Greece, should the later move against the Bulgars. Now Greece was not going to war, and the Allies had nearly 50,000 of their troops isolated in Macedonia, pursued by the Bulgar and German forces, and viewed with distrust by a mobilized Greek Army of 300,000, which was suspected as being the tool of a pro-German Government.

In these circumstances the Entente ceased to consider Greece a friendly neutral; the occupation of Greek ports, forts, and islands, the embargo on Greek shipping, the search on Greek vessels even when plying in territorial waters, the seizure of Greek mails, including the domestic mail, the forcing of military law on Greek territory, the seizure of the Consular representatives of the Teuton coalition in Greek cities, and finally the blockade of Greek ports, and the upheaval of the Skouloudis Ministry—all these events of recent months are enough to show that Greece paid more dearly for her neutrality than any other nation in Europe.

Some Commercial Abuses

While other neutrals made money out of the European war, Greece, with the exception of her merchant marine, has

been a persistent loser all the way through. A few individuals no doubt made money by exploiting their sympathies for one or the other of the belligerent groups. For instance, one has to be an out and out Venizelist in order to be able to import this or that commodity. The British Legation's Official Commercial Bureau in Athens will not consider any petition which comes from a party known for its anti-Ententist sentiments. This may be all well and good; the merchant who for one reason or another comes out flat-footed against anything the Allies stand for may well be deprived of the facilities afforded by the mistress of the seas to her friends and supporters, irrespective of what international law and The Hague Conventions say. But the system as applied in Greece has opened the gate for many abuses; Ententist sentiment has been so closely connected with the Liberal Party that none but the Venizelist is considered a Simon Pure friend of the Allies.

It is here, then, that the abuse comes in; Venizelos cannot take charge of the commercial interests of his political friends; he is too busy a man for that; he therefore allows the Liberal Club to attend to that end of his political game. This Liberal Club is in a way a miniature Tammany Hall, and its sole purpose is to afford every facility to the friends of the party who need political help in their different transactions with Government offices; in the case of foreign imports into Greece, the British Legation as a rule is satisfied with any importer shown to be in good standing with the Liberal Club, as that is taken to mean that the man is a Venizelist, and therefore an ardent supporter of the Entente.

A Favored Trade Faction

One can imagine what happens between the various competing merchants, who may be stationed in the opposed political camps. Naturally, the one plays the other on the score of political sentiment; Venizelist fights anti-Venizelist in the struggle for the much needed permit to bring imports into Greece, and as it happens always on such occasions, the ultimate consumer pays the penalty for a system which gives one set of people all the chance to get rich, while it deprives the other of the very means of livelihood. Commercial freedom once abolished, the country pays highest prices for everything that comes from abroad, and this means almost every commodity, as Greece produces little in the way of foodstuffs, clothing, coal, or machinery.

In the case of Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and Rumania, there was the alternative of getting from Central Europe what Britain and her allies, or America, could not supply; such an alternative did not exist in Greece. Therefore, her difficult position. With a merchant marine envied by countries much larger and wealthier than herself, Greece in many instances suffered the trials of Tantalus, and found, much to her surprise, that in this world war she was the only European country without friends. Of course her neutrality is to blame for this; she came out on the first day of the war as a neutral benevolent to the Entente, and thus lost every chance of friendly consideration from the Teutons; she objected to fighting in the Dardanelles and in Macedonia with the Allies, and discovered that her benevolent neutrality was a bad substitute for active cooperation with the Entente.

The only way open to Greece since Rumania's move is to enter the war in order to win her previous position in the favor of the Allies. A national necessity makes it imperative for her to attack the Bulgar and his allies. At this writing, therefore, the world is daily expecting the news that Hellas has declared war upon the Central Powers.

Popularity of Venizelos

What Venizelos did in the five years he served as Prime Minister of Greece has made him the most popular of all political leaders that country ever had. Faith in what he thinks, in what he says, and in what he proposes is so great with a large class of the people that it can only be compared to a child's faith in his father's thoughts and actions. For this

reason you will meet in and out of the realm an astonishingly large number of Greeks who say, when asked for their political views and opinions:

"I am for Venizelos simply and entirely; I do not want to discuss his program; I do not want to think that he may be mistaken; I am for him, no matter what he thinks, what he says, or what he expects to do."

When speaking with such Greeks you immediately realize that no force of argument will shake them; moreover, they refuse to listen to any argument contrary to the opinion they have formed of their leader, and that is the end of it.

Venizelos knows this. He knows also that the Liberal Party, which he formed on his arrival from Crete six years ago, is more than a political group; Liberalism and Venizelism have something of the religious element in them. For the equivalent of this movement one has to come here to America, and learn what the Progressive Party stood for at its first appearance four years ago.

The Cretan statesman, backed by the entire Greek people, condemned and attacked what he termed the "favlokratia" or the "rule of the incompetent," which had made Greece the plaything of politicians and the least considered factor in the Balkan situation. Venizelos sprang into the political life of Greece as the outcome of a revolution and was quick enough to seize the opportunity to put the country on its feet. Following on the steps of this movement came the two Balkan wars, with the subsequent Greek successes. The results of those memorable victories left a profound impression on the Greek people. Greece, considered a decadent nation even by her friends, had shown her ability to live and go forward to a brilliant destiny; a new faith in the country's moral as well as material resources took the place of the enthusiasms of the past, and the whole nation was reborn after 1913.

His Labors for Greece

Venizelos now tackled the problem of extensive internal reforms, tending mainly to a consolidation of the new position of Greece in the Balkans and in Europe generally. To this end, peace, and a rather long peace, was necessary, and Venizelos prayed and worked for it. It was thus that he tried to revive the Balkan league, with the help of Serbia, Rumania, and even Bulgaria, notwithstanding the fresh memories of the second Balkan war. While Turkey was bent on a campaign of extermination against the Greek populations of the empire, the Cretan statesman busied himself in finding some way whereby the Greco-Turkish differences could be settled without a new war, although he was preparing for such an emergency through the purchase from America of the battleships Mississippi and Idaho, since renamed Lemnos and Kilkis.

All these efforts were reduced to nought by the outbreak of the European war; a new situation was thereby created, and new possibilities began to face Greece. Hope for the maintenance of Balkan peace vanished when Turkey entered the conflict. What, then, was Greece to do? Venizelos took it for granted that Turkey could not survive her war against Russia, Great Britain, and France; he looked to the dismemberment of the Osmanli Empire as the only logical and inevitable conclusion of the European conflict in the Near East, and only thought of the means by which Greece might help the Allies in the accomplishment of their task in that part of the world. This had been his program in the beginning of the great war, and this is his program today. It is true that many events have happened to change the original aspect of Greece's intervention in the war, but for Venizelos the outstanding fact lies in his belief that, come what may, Hellenic interests can never be anywhere but at the side of those of the Entente.

Greece's Natural Enemies

The average Greek knows this; no matter where his political affiliations lie, he knows that Greece cannot put her fate in the same balance with Turkey, Bulgaria, Austria, and Germany. Turkey for one has always been in the way of everything Greek; Bulgaria has never ceased to be another Turkey in a modified form; Austria and Germany have always been the friends and protectors of Turkey to

the detriment of the most sacred interests of Hellenism. Austria helped delay Greek independence from 1821 to 1827 by continually assisting Turkey; Germany reorganized the Turkish Army, which dealt to Greece the cruel blow of 1897; furthermore, the German and Austrian commercial agent was the only competitor of the wideawake Greek in the Balkan peninsula from the Danube down, and all over Asia Minor.

These facts are so well known in Greece that you cannot even discuss them, because you will find no one to have a contrary opinion. It has been said that an educated class in Greece favors Germany; nothing could be more inexact than this argument. It is true that a large number of Greeks who studied in the German universities and technical colleges have acquired a thorough knowledge of German methods and ambitions; but, curiously enough, the Greeks who know Germany better are those who fear more her preponderance in the Balkans; they know that a German victory in the Greek peninsula will forever seal the doom of Greece.

The King's Position

Venizelos, for one, declared after the beginning of the European war that Greece ought to fight immediately on the side of the Entente. Had King George been on the throne, Greece would have been in the game long ago; but Constantine had other notions regarding his constitutional duties and responsibilities; he considered the whole matter in the light of a proposition, not only political but military; he weighed the Venizelos arguments on one side and the military considerations on the other and found the former wanting; he gathered about himself in his quality of Generalissimo of the Greek Armies his General Staff, and took counsel with them, and the result was that all of them agreed that Greece's participation in the war, both in March and in October, 1915, would have resulted in the catastrophe that overwhelmed both Belgium and Serbia.

The men who expressed this opinion were the leaders of two victorious campaigns; no one would have doubted their ability in technical matters or their patriotism. The soldiers who fought and won under those leaders, and who are the Greek people itself in its best expression; the men who saw their King and their officers in battle and who knew how deep was their love for the mother country, never for a moment thought that any of them could turn traitor to the Hellenic cause.

No one can assume that Venizelos is a patriot and that the King is not; no one can place absolute faith in the political ability of Venizelos and deny a military ability to the King and the officers of the Greek General Staff.

Now the guns are roaring this side of the Hellenic frontier, while French, British, Serbian, Italian, and Russian troops face the Bulgar-Teuton coalition, and Rumanian armies are fighting in Transylvania. The hour of Greece struck when Rumania intervened in behalf of the Allies.

A Mathematical War Jest

Jugend, the German comic weekly, has a curious little jape headed, "How long is the war going to last?" The question, it says, is the one topic of conversation everywhere. It gives the answer, working it out thus:

"Seventeen French villages have been won back by the English in the course of a week; nevertheless, 2,554 remain yet to be taken. A 150th part of the work of victory has thus been done. It will, therefore, be no less than two years eleven months and two weeks before France is freed of the last Boche.

"But this is by no means the only war aim of the Allies; Germany herself must be beaten and smashed down. Now Germany has, according to the last census, (excluding the towns of over 100,000 inhabitants,) 5,328 communes, so that for their capture it would take six years one week and six days. The war must, therefore, be reckoned as taking eight years eleven months and six days from the beginning of the British offensive to the end, i. e., when the peace negotiations begin."

The Moslem Revolt in Arabia

Proclamation by the Sherif of Mecca

AMONG the far-reaching effects of the European war must be included the schism in the Moslem world caused by Turkey's joining the Central Powers. The Grand Sherif of Mecca, Chief Magistrate of the holy city of the Mohammedans, announced his independence of Ottoman rule last June, and, supported by Arab tribes, captured the Turkish garrisons of Mecca and several other cities, proclaiming a definite rupture between orthodox Mohammedans and those represented by the Committee of Union and Progress, which is now in power in Turkey.

The Grand Sherif, who holds the holy places of Islam, and who is thus the present ecclesiastical master of the situation, has issued a long proclamation denouncing the Young Turk leaders of the Ottoman Empire, notably Djemal Pasha, Enver Pasha, and Talaat Bey, all stanch supporters of Germany and among the most powerful figures in Turkey. Enver Pasha is generally credited with the chief responsibility for Turkey's joining the Central Powers. Djemal Pasha is commander of the Turkish forces in Syria and is reported to have adopted severe measures to suppress the Arab revolt.

Following is the full text of the proclamation of the Grand Sherif of Mecca. If Arabia should continue to replace Turkey as the ruling power of the Mohammedan world, this will be a document of historic importance:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

This is our General Circular to all our Brother Moslems.

("O Lord, do Thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for Thou art the best Judge.")

It is well known that of all the Moslem rulers and Emirs, the Emirs of Mecca, the Favored City, were the first to recognize the Turkish Government. This they did in order to unite Moslem opinion and firmly establish their community, knowing that the great Ottoman Sultans (may the dust of their tombs be blessed, and may Paradise be their abode) were acting in accordance with the Book of God and the Sunna of his Prophet, (prayers be upon him,) and were zealous to enforce the ordinances of both these authorities. With this noble end in view the Emirs before mentioned observe those ordinances unceasingly. I myself, protecting the honor of the State, caused Arabs to rise against their fellow-Arabs in the year 1327, in order to raise the siege of Abha, and in the following year a similar movement was carried out under the leadership of one of my sons, as is well known.

The Emirs continued to support the Ottoman Empire until the Society of Union and Progress appeared in the State and proceeded to take over the administration thereof and all its affairs, with the result that the State suffered a loss of territory which quite destroyed its prestige, as the whole world knows; was plunged into the horrors of this war, and brought to its present perilous position, as is patent to all.

This was all done for certain well-known ends, which our feelings forbid us to dilate upon. They cause Moslem hearts to ache with grief for the Empire of Islam, for the destruction of the remaining inhabitants of her provinces—Moslem as well as non-Moslem—some of them hanged or otherwise done to death, others driven into exile. Add to this the losses they have sustained through the war in their persons and property, the latter especially in the Holy Land, as is briefly demonstrated by the fact that in that quarter the general stress compelled even the middle-classes to sell the doors of their houses, their cupboards, and the wood from their ceilings, after selling all their belongings to keep life in their bodies.

Maligning the Prophet

All this evidently did not fulfill the designs of the Society of Union and Progress. They proceeded next to sever the essential bond between the Ottoman Sultanate and the whole Moslem community, to wit, adherence to the Koran and the Sunna. One of the Constantinople newspapers, called Al-Ijtihad, actually published an article maligning (God forgive us!) the life of the Prophet, (on whom be the prayer and peace of God,) and this under the eye of the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire and its Sheik of Islam and all the Ulema, Ministers and nobles. It adds to this impiety by denying the Word of God, "The male shall receive two portions," and decides that they shall share equally under the law of inheritance. Then it proceeds to the crowning atrocity of destroying one of the five vital precepts of Islam, the Fast of Ramadan, ordering that troops stationed in Medina, Mecca, or Damascus may break the fast in the same way

as troops fighting on the Russian frontier, thereby falsifying the clear Koranic injunction, "Those of you who are sick or on a journey." It has put forth other innovations touching the fundamental laws of Islam (of which the penalties for infringement are well known) after destroying the Sultan's power, robbing him even of the right to choose the chief of his imperial Cabinet or the Private Minister of his august person, and breaking the Constitution of the Caliphate of which Moslems demand the observance.

In spite of all, we accepted these innovations in order to give no cause for dissension and schism. But at last the veil was removed, and it became apparent that the empire was in the hands of Enver Pasha, Jemal Pasha, and Talaat Bey, who were administering it just as they liked, and treating it according to their own sweet will. The most striking proof of this is the notice lately sent to the Kadi of the Tribunal at Mecca, to the effect that he must deliver judgment solely on evidence written down in his presence in court, and must not consider any evidence written down by Moslems among themselves, thus ignoring the verse in the Surat-al-Baqara.

Murder and Profanation

Another proof is that they caused to be hanged at one time twenty-one eminent and cultured Moslems and Arabs of distinction in addition to those they previously put to death—the Emir Omar el-Jazairi, the Emir Arif esh-Shibaba, Shefik Bey el-Moayyad, Shukri Bey el-Asali, Abd el-Wahhab, Taufik Bey el-Basat, Abd el-Hamid el-Zahrawi, Abd el-Ghani el-Arisi, and their companions, who are well-known men. Cruel-hearted men could not easily bring themselves to destroy so many lives at one blow, even if they were as beasts of the field. We might hear their excuse and grant them pardon for killing those worthy men; but how can we excuse them for banishing under such pitiful and heart-breaking circumstances the families of their victims—infants, delicate women, and aged men—and inflicting on them other forms of suffering in addition to the agonies they had already endured in the death of those who were the support of their homes?

God says, "No burdened soul shall bear the burden of another." Even if we could let all this pass, how is it possible we can forgive them confiscating the property and money of those people after bereaving them of their dear ones? Try to suppose we closed our eyes to this also, feeling that they might have some excuse on their side; could we ever forgive them desecrating the grave of that pious, zealous, and godly man the Sherif Abd el-Kadir el-Jazairi el-Hasani?

Shelling the Temple

The above is a brief account of their doings, and we leave humanity at large, and Moslems in particular, to give their verdict. We have sufficient proof of how they regard the religion and the Arab people in the fact that they shelled the Ancient House, the temple of the Divine Unity, of which it is said in the Word of God, "Purify My house for those that pass round it," the Kibla of Mohammedans, the Kaaba of believers in the Unity, firing two shells at it from their big guns when the country rose to demand its independence. One fell about a yard and a half above the Black Stone and the other three yards from it. The covering of the Kaaba was set in a blaze. Thousands of Moslems rushed up, with shouts of alarm and despair, to extinguish the flames. To reach the fire they were compelled to open the door of the building and climb on to the roof. The enemy fired a third shell at the Makam Ibrahim, in addition to the projectiles and bullets aimed at the rest of the building. Every day three or four people in the building itself were killed, and at last it became difficult for the Moslems to approach the Kaaba at all.

We leave the whole Mohammedan world from East to West to pass judgment on this contempt and profanation of the Sacred House. But we are determined not to leave our religious and national rights as a plaything in the hands of the Union and Progress Party. God (blessed and exalted be He) has vouchsafed the land an opportunity to rise in revolt, has enabled her by His power and might to seize her independence and crown her efforts with prosperity and victory, even after she was crushed by the maladministration of the Turkish civil and military officials. She stands quite apart and distinct from countries that still groan under the yoke of the Union and Progress Government. She is independent in the fullest sense of the word, freed from the rule of strangers and purged of every foreign influence. Her principles are to defend the faith of Islam, to elevate the Moslem people, to found their conduct on the holy law, to build up the code of justice on the same foundation in harmony with the principles of religion, to practice its ceremonies in accordance with modern progress, to make a genuine revolution by sparing no pains in spreading education among all classes according to their station and their needs.

This is the policy we have undertaken in order to fulfill our religious duty, trusting that all our brother Moslems in the East and West will pursue the same in fulfillment of their duty to us, and so strengthen the bands of the Islamic brotherhood.

We raise our hands humbly to the Lord of Lords for the sake of the Prophet of the all-bountiful King that we may be granted success and guidance in whatsoever is for the good of Islam and the Moslems. We rely upon Almighty God, who is our sufficiency and the best defender.—The Sherif and Emir of Mecca.

EL HUSEIN IBN ALI,
25th Sha'ban, 1334, (June 27, 1916.)

Does Russia Mean to Keep Her Promises to Poland?

By Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy

Eminent Russian Publicist

[Translated from the Russkoye Slovo of Moscow for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

At the beginning of the war our public attention was entirely absorbed by the question of the war's significance and its idealistic aims, and we gave little thought to the resources required for its prosecution. We put too much faith in some one whose duty it should have been to take care of that. Later, when that some one proved himself unfit for the position he occupied, when the resources provided by him proved inadequate, the attention of the entire public was directed toward the creation of those resources, and we may now look back on the stretch of road behind us with a feeling of profound satisfaction. The victories of Brusiloff's armies are indubitably also the victories of the Russian people. Without that great upheaval of social forces which occurred in our midst these victories would have been impossible.

Thanks to our successes the question of the war's aims, which seemed to have retreated into the background at the time of our defeats, is again forging to the front. The danger of the collapse of our campaign or the loss of Russian territory, to all appearances, no longer exists. But there is a worse danger facing us—that of losing the spiritual motive of the present war. Nor is it the lesser danger because it lurks within and does not appear upon the surface of events.

Do we recall the feelings with which we approached Lemberg for the first time? That was a bright, spiritual exultation due to a great patriotic and liberative war. We fought not only for the safety of Russia, but for the salvation of other nationalities as well. Russia seemed to us surrounded by the brilliant halo of a liberator. We went forth with the conviction that her defeat would mean the inevitable enslavement of the European nations and her victory their political renaissance.

Is it necessary to speak of those bitter disenchantments which soon followed? They did not result from our military defeats, they occurred much earlier, immediately after our first victories. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon their causes, for these are universally known. They became possible, first of all, through the construction put on the aims of the war by others than ourselves, by men who failed to rise to the heights of the situation. Hence the attempts to reduce to nil the manifesto of the Grand Duke. Should these efforts be repeated and prove successful, the moral meaning of the great war would thereby be lost, and that loss would create for Russia new dangers.

Our victories bring us again to face a series of important national problems. I will not speak of how they were solved before; but I think it necessary to point out a solution which appears to be the only just and expedient solution.

Our advances in Galicia make imperative some kind of an immediate disposal of the Ruthenian problem. On our attitude toward that problem depends the durability of our conquests in Galicia. In the interests of Russia's greatness it is necessary that we acquire in the persons of the Galicians friends and not enemies, so that their union with Russia may become a blessing, not only for Russia but for Galicia as well. What must we do to achieve such results?

Obviously, we must guarantee the population of the conquered territory full inviolability of their centuries-old order and mode of life and religion, all this independently of whether we regard the Galicians as Russians or as foreign-

ers. If they are Russians, then we must regard their national characteristics with still deeper respect. In that case their native tongue should be considered Russian, their culture Russian, and these should be carefully preserved as valuable variations of our own.

Our militant nationalists judge exactly to the contrary. From their point of view the Ruthenians, if they are Russians, must not study in their native tongue nor profess the faith of their fathers. The same Russian nationalists who, to some degree, recognize the rights of the Poles to an independent national culture, deny such rights to the Ruthenians on the ground that they are Russians. There is a crying paradox in such an attitude toward the Ruthenians. It is indeed absurd, after recognizing them as part of our own nationality, to proceed, on that ground, to find in their dialect and customs the expression of a foreign and hostile national spirit.

It is not difficult to imagine what fruit this paradox may bear in practical politics. If the Russian conquest is to result in the cessation of study in the Ruthenian schools, if it is to become a menace to their very existence, we shall acquire an enemy in every Ruthenian pupil, and in his parents. Even our sympathizers in Galicia will receive the impression that Russian rule means for them not a union with Russia but a heavy foreign yoke. No anti-Russian propaganda can cause us greater harm than a policy in regard to education and religion that would inspire in Galicians the thought that for the guarantee of their religion they must look to Austria, not Russia. If a policy of Russianization is odious as applied to foreigners, then as applied to "Russians" it is also absurd.

The Galicians must be convinced that Russia's aim in Galicia is not to destroy but to protect their national institutions. The official Russian language should be introduced in their schools as a new modern subject only. The dominant language should remain Ruthenian. If we make it our goal to bring about a complete union between Russians and Galicians, we must imbue them with the conviction from the very beginning that to become Russian does not mean giving up their religious rites and national customs, but preserving them.

Along with the Galician-Ruthenian question there also appears again the Polish question. * * * We already know from the newspapers that the Government intends to confirm the promises made to the Poles in the manifesto of the Commander in Chief and in the renowned declaration of Premier Goremykin. Both Russians and Poles are impatiently awaiting the appearance of the new announcement by the Government. But it is not sufficient to make new promises, they must be made in such a manner as to inspire confidence. And for this purpose it is necessary, first of all, that there be no difference between words and acts.

Both Russians and Poles understand but too well that the Commander in Chief's manifesto was at root contradictory to the old methods of Russia's administration of Poland. If there be given no solemn proof that the manifesto means the abolition of those methods, its moral effect will be equal to zero. Everybody remembers the celebrated orders of Minister N. A. Maklakoff and the circulars of Taube, [Russian Governor of Poland.] They were interpreted as meaning that the Russian civil administration did not hold itself bound by the manifesto of the Commander in Chief, only aiming to turn it into a dead document.

The most rigid of measures will be required to prevent the repetition of such acts. If the Russian Government is really resolved to grant Poland an autonomous government it should from the very beginning change the personality of the administration in Poland. The return of the former administrators, who have by their acts broken or nullified the pledges made in the manifesto, is now morally impossible, especially after the reforms inaugurated in Poland by the Germans. If we want to prove by deeds that we intend to give Poland more, and not less, than Germany gave her, we should appoint instead of Russians men of Polish extraction to the

administrative posts in Poland. Such a step follows logically from the idea of an autonomous Poland. By both Russians and Poles it would naturally be regarded as the touchstone of our sincerity.

If we actually desire to free Poland, and not to replace the German yoke with a still heavier Russian one, we must commence as I have indicated. In order that the Russian Army be met joyfully in Poland, it is necessary that its return shall not signify the return of the former administrative Russianizers with German names. We must show that these Russianization traditions have once for all been dropped into the past. We must do this not for the sake of Poland, but for the sake of Russia herself.

To complete our victory over Germany we must not allow her to tear out of our hands the banner of liberation. We must show by deeds to the Poles and the entire world that Poland can receive real national freedom from Russia alone.

Canada and the War

By Spencer Brodney

ALTHOUGH the only self-governing people of the British Empire which had a hand in the making of the war was that inhabiting the United Kingdom, the "dominions beyond the seas,"—the autonomous communities of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland—were just as much involved as if their respective Governments had themselves declared war. One must realize this fact to appreciate what the British Empire means — the most loosely bound together of all empires, and yet, as the war has so vividly illustrated, extraordinarily cohesive when its unity is threatened. All the self-governing dominions—it is now regarded as contemptuous to call them "colonies" — have each and all gone to the assistance of the mother country of their own free will, without so much as a word of exhortation from the Government in London. But for common allegiance to the Crown, the dominions might be regarded more truly as allies, thus swelling the long list of those against whom the Central Empires are fighting.

Of Britain's allies within her own empire, on which we are proudly told the sun never sets, two—Canada and Australia—vie for first place in the extent of the aid they have rendered and continue to render. For the moment we are concerned with Canada's contribution, which consists not only in men, but also in that mobilization of resources which equips the fighting man, provides him with the lethal weapons of his trade, and finances the whole business of warfare.

Take, first, the number of men who have volunteered for active service. The latest available recruiting figures show that by the 1st of September, 1916, 361,693 men had been enrolled. Of this number a certain proportion is in the preliminary training stage in Canada, where, incidentally, one of the training camps, namely, Camp Borden, in the Province of Ontario, has up to date cost $1,000,000 to build and equip. After their local training the Canadian troops go to England, where their course of instruction is completed by being assimilated to the methods and discipline of the British Army. The numbers at present in training in Canada and England, respectively, are suppressed by the military censorship, so that it is impossible to tell how many have actually gone to the front.

A hint that the Canadian soldier is the real thing according to English ideas may be gathered from the reports of a recent review held by Lloyd George, the first in his capacity of successor to Lord Kitchener as head of the War Office. This was an inspection of a Canadian division of between 15,000 and 16,000 men. They were in full service

uniform, and included volunteers from all parts of the Dominion. Everything was in perfect campaigning order, down to the field kitchens, from which savory odors were wafted as the procession passed the saluting base. Lloyd George, in his speech to General Sir Sam Hughes, the Canadian Minister of Militia; Major Gen. Dave Watson, who is in command of the division, and the officers and men, was at his most eloquent in expressing admiration of the men and in recalling the prowess of their fellow-Canadians who at the second battle of Ypres saved Calais: "Just as the Rocky Mountains hurl back the storms of the West, so did these heroes in the battle of Ypres break the hurricane of the German fury. Amid the flames and poisonous fumes of Gehenna they held high the honor of Canada and saved the British Army."

At the beginning of 1916 the Prime Minister of Canada pledged the Dominion to raise its contribution in men to 500,000. But eight months after this announcement more than 138,000 were still required to make good the promise. On this score grievous disappointment is being felt among patriotic British Canadians, who point out that for the whole month of July only 8,552 recruits were enrolled, while for August the number dropped to 7,246. If enlistment proceeds at the same pace, it will take a year and a half for Canada to raise her half million of men, and by then the war might be over.

The causes of this slump in recruiting are twofold. In the first place, a young country in which the needs of industrial development are urgent, and which for that reason has constantly to augment its population by subsidized immigration, can ill afford to lose a single man. While the God of War is demanding more and still more victims in the trenches, the manufacturers of munitions, the farmers, and the railways are clamoring for supplies of labor. This difficulty has recently led to important conferences between the Government and representatives of the employers and of the labor organizations. In the hope of finding a method of maintaining productivity and at the same time providing men for the firing line, the suggestion has been made to adopt on a wholesale scale the solution arrived at in Great Britain, namely, the replacement of men as far as possible by female labor. But this solution is not so easy in Canada, which, unlike the mother country, has no large surplus of women.

The other causes of the slackening of enlistment are to be found in the attitude of the French Canadians, which has led to a certain amount of recrimination on the traditional nationalistic lines. The figures show that if the population east of the Ottawa River had yielded proportionately as many recruits as the rest of Canada the promised half million would by now have been almost reached. Instead, Quebec, the French-speaking province, has contributed only about one-fourth of what would in other circumstances be its quota. An outsider might wonder, even if French Canadians still cherish their old feelings against the English-speaking population, why, seeing that France is Britain's ally, they nevertheless hold back. An answer to this question is supplied by Henri Bourassa, who is a grandson of Papineau, the famous rebel leader, and who is the mouthpiece of French-Canadian sentiment. In an article published in the French Canadian journal, Le Devoir, which has recently excited a vigorous controversy, Mr. Bourassa says in part:

> The number of recruits for the European war in the various Provinces of Canada and from each component element of the population is in reverse ratio to attachment to the soil and to the traditional patriotism arising therefrom. The newcomers from the British Isles have enlisted in much larger proportions than English-speaking Canadians, born in this country, while these have enlisted more than the French Canadians. The Western Provinces have given more recruits than Ontario, and Ontario more than Quebec. In each Province the floating population of the cities, the students, the laborers, and the clerks, either unemployed or threatened with dismissal, have supplied more soldiers than the farmers.
>
> Does this mean that the city dwellers are more patriotic than the country people, or that the newcomers from England are better Canadians than their fellow-citizens of British origin born in Canada? No, it simply means that in Canada, as in every

other country at all times, the citizens of oldest origin are the least disposed to be stampeded into distant ventures of no direct concern to their native land. It proves also that military service is more repugnant to the rural than to the urban population.

There is among French Canadians a larger proportion of farmers and fathers of large families than among any other ethnical element in Canada. Above all, the French Canadians are the only group exclusively Canadian both collectively and individually. They look upon the perturbations of Europe, even those of England or France, as foreign events. Their sympathies naturally go to France against Germany, but they do not think they have an obligation to fight for France any more than the French of Europe would hold themselves bound to fight for Canada against the United States or Japan or even against Germany in case Germany should attack Canada without threatening France.

English Canada contains a considerable proportion of people still in the first stage of national incubation. Under the sway of imperialism a fair number have not yet decided whether their allegiance is to Canada or to the empire, whether the United Kingdom or the Canadian Confederacy is their country. The newcomers are not Canadian in any sense. England or Scotland is their sole fatherland. They have enlisted for the European war as naturally as Canadians, French, or English would take up arms to defend Canada against an aggression on the American Continent.

Thus it is rigorously correct to say that recruiting has gone in inverse ratio to the development of Canadian patriotism. If English-speaking Canadians have a right to blame French Canadians for the small number of their recruits, the newcomers from the United Kingdom, who have supplied a much larger proportion of recruits than any other element of the population, would be equally justified in branding the Anglo-Canadians with disloyalty and treason. Enlistment for the European war is supposed to be absolutely free and voluntary. If that statement is honest and sincere, all provocations from one part of the population against the other and exclusive attacks against the French Canadians should cease. Instead of unjustly reviling one-third of the Canadian people—a population so remarkably characterized by its constant loyalty to national institutions—those men who claim the right to enlighten and lead public opinion should have enough good faith and intelligence to see facts as they are and respect the motives of those who persist in their determination to remain more Canadian than English or French.

In reply to Mr. Bourassa, British Canadians assert that the war is not a "foreign event" even from the French-Canadian standpoint, because their liberties and privileges, equally with those of all citizens of the Dominion, as well as those of their motherland, France, are at stake on the battlefields of Europe. It is also alleged by Mr. Bourassa's critics that because of distrust of the France that harried the Catholic Church the French-Canadian priests have thrown the weight of their influence into the scales against any effort to help France. On the other hand, however, should be set down Cardinal Begin's instruction issued a few weeks ago to the Catholic clergy of Quebec to help recruiting. Whatever the merits of this controversy may be, it is recognized on all sides that the attitude of the French Canadians makes it impossible for the Dominion Parliament to enact a compulsory service law, as has been done by New Zealand, following the example of the mother country, and as Australia proposes to do by national referendum.

Despite the difficulties of sending to Europe as large an army as desired, Canada is proud of her contribution of over 360,000 men to date. Still more is she proud of her newly discovered capacity to help in the provision of munitions and the equipment and maintenance of her representatives at the front. When the war broke out Canada had as little idea of supplying shells and other military requirements as the proverbial pig has of flying. But today 3,000,000 loaded shells a month are being delivered to the order of the British War Office, while additional large orders are being executed for the Russian Government. The Imperial Munitions Board in Canada is paying out more than $35,000,000 a month to Canadian manufacturers on the delivery of shells. It is said that only three of the great industrial corporations of the United States now handle more business on the American Continent than the board.

The Canadian manufacturer is not only producing loaded shells, but is also providing the rifle and entire equipment of every Canadian soldier. Where the part of the Dominion ends and the British Government begins by maintain-

ing him on active service, Canada steps forward and assumes responsibility for settling the bill, so that from first to last the cost of Canada's army will be borne by the Canadian people. Nor has Canada's share in the war been confined to the military side, for, according to an Admiralty statement, ten submarines have been constructed in Canada and sent across the Atlantic to join Britain's undersea fleet.

In the early part of the war the supply of munitions was handled by a Shell Committee appointed by the Canadian Government. When, at the end of 1915, this committee was superseded by the Imperial Munitions Board it had entered into contracts with the British War Office to supply $340,000,000 worth of munitions, so remarkable had been the ability of Canadian manufacturers to adapt themselves to the requirements of the hour. They have made this change in a very short time and yet demonstrated that they could turn out an article as satisfactory as any in the world, and, what is still more surprising, at a much lower price than was thought necessary. According to J. H. Sherrard, on his retirement from the Presidency of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in June, 1916, "Canadian firms are producing shells today, after one year of experience, at one-quarter of the Woolwich Arsenal cost." (Woolwich is the most important cannon and shell making centre in England, and is part of the army establishment.)

More than 400 Canadian firms are engaged in manufacturing shells, their component parts, and other warlike material. The number of persons employed is at least 250,000, while there is also a legion of administrators, inspectors, and clerks occupied with incidental matters. The industrial development which the war has stimulated in Canada is indicated in this year's annual report of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, in which the President, Sir Edmund Walker, says: "If the outstanding contracts are filled and the war continues throughout 1916 it seems clear that during 1915 and 1916 there will have been spent in Canada for war supplies considerably more than $500,000,000. We have learned in meeting the sudden demand upon our industrial capacity to do many things which should count in our future. We have learned to shift our machinery rapidly to new uses, to make objects of a more complicated character, which allow less margin for bad workmanship, to smelt copper, lead, and zinc; indeed, to do many things which before the war did not seem possible in the present stage of our development." Add to this that the grain acreage has been increased to such an extent that Canada is now, after the United States and Russia, the greatest wheat-producing country in the world; and, further, that instead of going outside Canada for money, the Dominion has for the first time in its history financed itself by domestic loans.

Great Britain may well congratulate herself on the practical loyalty and usefulness of the greater Britains beyond the seas, the allies whose growth has been made possible largely by the policy of endowing them with the self-governing rights of nationhood. Of these allies among the "colonial nations" none has proved more valuable than the Dominion of Canada.

The Catholic Church and the War

By Norman Murray

Publisher, Montreal, Canada.

"And while men slept the enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat and went his way."

THE great European war which started in August, 1914, and is still going on with increased fury in September, 1916, has opened the eyes of many people to dangers of whose existence they little dreamed before. Outside of the military clique in Germany, few people in other countries were aware of the ambition for world power which the Prussian Junkers cherished. Another great surprise in store for many who believed in human progress was the policy of frightfulness and terrorism with which the war has been carried on. No one outside of Germany suspected that ruthless war would be made by airships and under-water craft on defenseless noncombatants and even on neutrals.

Another great surprise in store was the indifference and apathy of the Roman Catholic part of the population of the British Empire. The situation in the Catholic portion of Ireland and in Quebec is almost identical, with a little to the good in favor of Catholic Ireland in the matter of recruiting for the British Army. The population of Quebec is about half that of Ireland, with about the same proportion of Catholics and Protestants in each—three Catholics to one Protestant in Ireland, and about four to one Protestant in Quebec.

In Ireland the statistics under the voluntary system give 75,000 recruits from the 1,000,000 of the Protestant population and 25,000 from the 3,000,000 Roman Catholics. In the two largest provinces in Canada the population is for Ontario 2,500,000 and for Quebec 2,000,000. The recruits thus far have been 150,000 from Ontario and 37,000 from Quebec. If Quebec had done as well as Ontario the recruits would have been about 120,000 instead of 37,000. Of the 37,000 men recruited in Quebec, about 7,000 were recruited from the 1,500,000 French Catholic population and the 30,000 were recruited from the 500,000 of the other race. To keep up the same proportion as the other sections of the population French Canadian Catholics would have to contribute 70,000 instead of 7,000. It appears that Catholic Ireland has done at least 30 per cent. better than Catholic Quebec.

Ireland was on the eve of getting the home rule that it was clamoring for for so many years when the war started. The strongest argument that had been used by the anti-home rulers was that with home rule Catholic Ireland would not only start a policy of persecution against the Protestant minority, but could not be trusted in case of war with other powers. Home rule advocates, on the other hand, maintained that with home rule Ireland, as a part of the British Empire, would be as loyal as the other parts of the empire. The recent rebellion in Ireland, however, has shaken the faith of many former sympathizers with home rule in England and Scotland and other places, and it is very doubtful if the Home Rule bill, passed before the war started, will be approved after the war by those in England and Scotland who voted for it before.

In Quebec the Catholic Church has special privileges that no other Church has in Canada, and still she does not seem to be satisfied. She is authorized by the treaty made at the conquest of Canada to collect tithes from her own adherents. Since the war started—and especially since the declaration of war by Italy against Austria—a violent anti-recruiting campaign has been carried on by a section of the adherents of that Church without interference by the Dominion Government. It is suggested by some that the leniency shown to this faction, while strong measures have been taken against others for less heinous

offenses of the same character, is due to the fact that the present occupant of the Ministry of Justice was educated by the Jesuits.

The strangest feature of the whole business is that the party now in power, known as the Tory or Conservative Party, had made an alliance at the time of its election with the extreme ultramontane party. While the Canadian hierarchy is said to have advised its people to do their part like their fellow-countrymen by enlisting in the imperial army, this advice seems to have no effect whatever, while the anti-recruiting party seems to be carrying the province. It has been suggested that the Church is playing a double game, and that, while it openly proclaims its loyalty, it is secretly working the other way through the confessional and otherwise.

In this connection we must try to examine the policy of the head organization of this extraordinary institution. The Church of Rome aims at world power; it claims to be the only supreme agency between God and man on earth. It never favored the rise of any strong political power that it could not control. Its antagonism to the policy of France and Italy in recent years is well known. It still wishes to get the City of Rome and the Lost Provinces under its control. The ultramontanes in Quebec have openly declared that they would not favor the crushing of Austria—their last hope for the restoration of the Pope's lost temporal power—between the upper and lower millstones of Russia's Greek Church and what they call infidel Italy.

What will happen after the war is a very interesting question. For over two hundred years after the overthrow of the power of the Church of Rome in the British Isles, Roman Catholics had practically no political rights at all. The laws against granting them political rights were made by people who had been Catholics and had thrown off the yoke of the Church. Emancipation laws were passed by Protestants who imagined that by giving their Catholic fellow-citizens equal rights they could be depended on to take their part shoulder to shoulder with their neighbors to defend their country. All these expectations have lately been shattered by the extraordinary attitude of the major part of the Catholic population of Ireland and Quebec. It is true that a small number of them are doing their part nobly with the rest of their fellow-countrymen in defense of the empire, but unfortunately they are a very, very small section, and the heavy burden of the defense of their country, as well as ours, is laid upon the shoulders of the other portion of the population. Fortunately for the empire, however, when the total population of 400,000,000 is taken into consideration, this Catholic section that refrains from doing its share of this serious work is a very small section.

One redeeming feature in Canada is that English and French speaking Catholics are at loggerheads. The quarrel over the bilingual schools in Ontario, which the Quebec Catholics use as an excuse for refraining from taking their part in the war, is between the Irish and French Catholics, and is practically of no concern to other people at all. The Irish have lost the language of their own ancestors, and are now included among English-speaking people. Forgetting their own ancient language, however, and learning the English instead, has not made them more loyal in their co-operation in imperial matters with their English and Scotch neighbors, as some people foolishly imagined.

A strong effort has been made to recruit an Irish Catholic Regiment in Montreal. The movement started off with a great flourish of trumpets, with a Jesuit as chaplain, but it has been a complete failure after more than six months of strenuous work. The ranks have now been opened to Protestant sympathizers, and the recruiting still drags wearily along. Even some of the Catholic clergy have made strenuous efforts to induce their parishioners to rally and fill the ranks of their one and only Irish Catholic Regiment in Canada, but without avail. They had to try and fill it up with Protestants, as otherwise the movement seemed on the point of collapse.

The question now rises: Will people who refuse to take part in the defense

of their country have equal political rights with those who defend their country when the war is over? Will they have the same right to vote and have a share in making the laws with those who have offered their lives for the defense of the country? I think not. There is nothing sure in this world but "death and taxes." Catholics have often been warned that the only way to secure the continuation of the policy of equal rights was for them to do their share equally with their neighbors of other religious beliefs in times of crisis. As they have failed to respond to the call, if some of their former privileges are ultimately curtailed, they will have nobody but themselves to blame.

Canada's New Imperial Spirit

Captain Papineau's Letter

CONFLICTING racial and religious ideals in Canada, touched to passion by the war, have produced a bitter controversy centring upon the question of recruiting. An active anti-recruiting campaign has been carried on in Montreal since May, 1915, when Italy declared war on Austria, and the propaganda against Canada's part in the conflict has been pressed most vigorously by Henri Bourassa of Montreal, leader of the Canadian Nationalist Party and editor of the French newspaper Le Devoir. Some Protestants charge that this hostile campaign of the French Catholics has not been suppressed because of religious favoritism on the part of Mr. Doherty, the Canadian Minister of Justice. An open letter recently addressed to this official contains the following passage:

Henri Bourassa is playing the game that destroyed the Grand Old Roman Empire, as in the classical description of Edward Gibbon, "The empire declined as the Church rose in power." * * * Blackstone says that "all laws ought to be based on common sense," so it may be laid down as a political axiom that people who act the traitor during such a crisis as we are now going through "de facto" forfeit their citizenship and should be treated as traitors. At the conquest of Canada those of Mr. Bourassa's ancestors who did not wish to become British subjects were given the liberty of taking the first ship to France. This treaty is still in force, and Mr. Bourassa is in the difficult predicament of being loyal to neither Britain nor France. The only places in which his recent antics might entitle him to a welcome would be either the Vatican or Austria.

A letter written to Mr. Bourassa by his cousin, Captain Talbot M. Papineau, is genuine literature. Captain Papineau, a grandson of the French-Canadian Papineau who was proclaimed a rebel in 1837, is one of the younger lawyers in Montreal. A Rhodes scholar and an Oxford man, he obtained a commission in Princess Patricia's regiment in the first weeks of the war, and won the military cross in the trenches at St. Eloi. At the end of March, 1916, when the Canadian troops were suffering heavy losses, he wrote to his cousin, seeking to win him over to a cause which "had proved to be dearer to many Canadians than life itself." The letter begins by asking whether Canada should or could have stood apart from the empire when the war broke out, and supplies the answer:

By the declaration of war, by Great Britain upon Germany, Canada became *ipso facto* a belligerent, subject to invasion and conquest, her property at sea subject to capture, her coasts subject to bombardment or attack, her citizens in enemy territory subject to imprisonment or detention. This is not a matter of opinion, it is a matter of fact, a question of international law. No arguments of yours, at least, could have persuaded the Kaiser to the contrary.

Suppose Germany should win. Then Canada would either have to surrender unconditionally to German domination or attempt a resistance against German arms. Captain Papineau continues:

I can assure you that the further you travel from Canada the nearer you approach the great military power of Germany, the less do you value the unaided strength of Canada. By the time you are fifty yards off the German Army, and know yourself to be holding

about one yard out of a line of 500 miles or more, you are liable to be inquiring very anxiously about the presence and power of British and French forces. Your ideas about charging to Berlin or of ending the war will also have undergone some slight modification.

Suppose Great Britain won, without the help of Canada? Canada might still have retained her liberties, and might with the same freedom from external influences have continued her progress to material and political strength. But would you have been satisfied—you who have arrogated to yourself the high term of Nationalist? What of the soul of Canada? Can a nation's pride and patriotism be built upon the blood of others, or upon the wealth garnered from the coffers of those who in anguish and with blood sweat are fighting the battles of freedom? If we accept our liberties, our national life, from the hands of the English soldiers, if without sacrifices of our own we profit by the sacrifices of the English citizen, can we hope ever to become a nation ourselves? * * * If you were truly a Nationalist * * * you would have felt that, in the agony of her losses in Belgium and France, Canada was suffering the birth pains of her national life.

These arguments might not have convinced you at the beginning of the war. But now that Canada has pledged herself body and soul to the successful prosecution of this war, now that we know that only by the exercise of our full and united strength can we achieve a speedy and lasting victory, now that thousands of your fellow-citizens have died, and also many more must yet be killed, how in the name of all that you hold most sacred can you still maintain your position? * * * Could you have been here yourself to witness in its horrible detail the cruelty of war, to have seen your comrades suddenly struck down in death and lie mangled at your side, even you could not have failed to wish to visit punishment upon those responsible. You, too, would now wish to see every ounce of our united strength instantly and relentlessly directed to that end. Afterward, when that end has been accomplished, then, and then only, can there be honor or profit in the discussion of our domestic or imperial disputes.

Whatever criticisms may today be properly directed against the constitutional structure of the British Empire, we are compelled to admit that the spiritual union of the self-governing portions of the empire is a most necessary and desirable thing. * * * All may not be perfection—grave and serious faults no doubt exist—vast progress must still be made; nevertheless that which has been achieved is good, and must not be allowed to disappear. * * * The great communities which the British Empire has joined together must not be broken asunder. If I thought that the development of a national spirit in Canada meant antagonism to the spirit which unites the empire today I would utterly repudiate the idea of a Canadian Nation and would gladly accept the most exacting of imperial organic unions.

The remainder of the letter is an eloquent statement of the racial community of French Canadians with the French people, and a warning to M. Bourassa of the effect of his anti-war policy upon the future of his kinsmen.

Unfortunately, despite the heroic and able manner in which French-Canadian battalions have distinguished themselves here, and despite the wholehearted support which so many leaders of French-Canadian thought have given to the cause, yet the fact remains that the French in Canada have not responded in the same proportion as have other Canadian citizens, and the uphappy impression has been created that French Canadians are not bearing their full share in this great Canadian enterprise. For this fact and this impression you will be held largely responsible. * * * Already you have made the fine term of Nationalist to stink in the nostrils of our English fellow-citizens. * * * After this war what influence will you enjoy? What good to your country will you be able to accomplish? Wherever you go you will stir up strife and enmity. You will bring disfavor and dishonor upon our race, so that whoever bears a French name in Canada will be an object of suspicion and possibly of hatred.

Can you make me believe that there must not always be a bond of blood relationship between the Old France and the New? And France, more glorious than in all her history, is now in agony. * * * For Old France and French civilization I would have had your support.

And, lastly, a word of warning from those Canadians who "have faced the grimmest and sincerest issues of life and death":

I say to you that from those who, while we fought and suffered here, remained in safety and comfort in Canada, and failed to give us encouragement and support, as well as from those who grew fat with the wealth dishonorably gained by political graft and by dishonest business methods at our expense, we shall demand a heavy day of reckoning. We shall inflict upon them the punishment they deserve—not by physical violence, for we shall have had enough of that—nor by unconstitutional or illegal means, for we are fighting to protect, not to destroy, justice and freedom—but by the invincible power of our moral influence. Can you ask us then for sympathy or concession? Will any listen when you speak of pride and patriotism? I think not.

BULGARIA'S ROYAL CHILDREN

The Princes and Princesses of the Bulgarian Royal House: Boris, Heir Apparent; Cyril, Eudoxia, and Nadejda.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE

Owner of the London Times, Daily Mail, and Other English Journals, Whose War Correspondence Appears in this Issue.

The Civil Work of German Women in War Times

By Dr. Agnes von Harnack

Miss Agnes von Harnack is the daughter of Adolph von Harnack, Professor of Theology at the University of Berlin, who is well known in the United States through his scientific work, and who has had many friends here since his visit to the World Exposition at St. Louis is 1904. Miss von Harnack was the first woman in Germany to study at a university. She studied modern languages, especially English, wrote a thesis on German Romanticism, and took her doctor's degree in 1912. Since that time she has been Principal of a high school for girls. Besides her activity as a teacher, she is prominent as a social worker in the interest of the betterment of woman's position in Germany. Outside of these tasks she is continuing her literary studies and is a contributor to several scientific periodicals.

ALMOST immediately after the outbreak of the war, when people had in some slight degree recovered from the first overwhelming surprise caused by the rapid course of events, the one thought uppermost in every German mind was, "We must devote all our time and strength to working for the Fatherland!" This was comparatively simple for the men who had their appointed tasks. But the problem for the women, and it was of the utmost urgency to them, was very different and very difficult. The men were organized; each was a cog in a smoothly running machine directed by a trained engineer. The women, or the great body of them, were not organized. Each had to find her work and learn to develop her usefulness in co-operation with the others. Enthusiasm and willingness had to be directed into practical channels.

DR. AGNES VON HARNACK

The educated German women were united in one determination—that they and their sisters should not play the rôle women had played in previous wars—to wait, to endure, to suffer without murmuring, to look on hopelessly without being of help. Even in the Franco-German war of 1870-71 only a small number of women accompanied the troops as nurses, and while the women at home did much in a quiet way, their tasks were simple and individual. They were of no help to the nation. In 1914 women turned naturally to the Red Cross work, and during the first eight weeks of the war more than 23,000 girls and women in Berlin alone were trained for work in the field hospitals and ambulances. But their work and the work of nurses and women doctors at home, in the war zone, or at the front is not in my province; I wish merely to sketch briefly and in general terms the work of German women for the civilian population, their united efforts for the nation.

Early in August, 1914, the National Women's Service League, (Nationaler Frauendienst,) a powerful organization of public-spirited women which had branches in nearly every German town,

issued an appeal to all women who had had any training in political economy and social science to place their services at its disposal. These women were organized in local bodies and immediately assumed charge of the work of investigating applications made by the wives of soldiers for State aid. The league members soon learned local conditions, where distress and sickness prevailed, and where the care of children or other help was needed. Some idea of the magnitude of these labors may be derived from the fact that in Berlin alone more than ten million marks are paid out every month to indigent families of soldiers, and that practically all applications for aid are handled by the league. Everywhere the officials welcomed the league workers, since they not only relieved the overworked men, but their tasks were performed promptly and thoroughly. The soldier's wife or dependents found it much easier to deal with the league workers since they found in them a womanly sympathy that saved them from the embarrassment many of them felt.

Relief and advisory committees were formed for districts and presently became local institutions to which the inhabitants repaired for aid, for consolation, and for advice in dealing with domestic problems. The women and girls were tireless in their work and ready and able to meet the wide variety of demands made upon them. Every committee soon had its archives in which each case in its district was recorded, and only the experienced can know how many stairs were climbed, how many miles walked, how many questions asked, before even one case could be dealt with properly. In September and October alone the committees in Berlin delivered food certificates, milk and bread cards, and so forth, to a total amount of more than 130,000 marks.

But the committees' work is broader in scope than the mere giving of aid. Mothers and wives come with all their troubles. Not long ago a bewildered mother arrived in one of the Berlin committee rooms leading firmly by the hand an embarrassed but very obstinate-looking boy of 12. In the purest Berlin dialect the mother volubly explained to the young lady in charge that she could do nothing with the youngster; he was running wild and paid no attention to her and, since his father was at the front, she wanted the young lady to give the lad a "piece of her mind." Somewhat startled by this rôle of paterfamilias, the young lady nevertheless tried her hand at giving the boy a "piece of her mind" with such splendid results that the grateful mother frequently returns to pour out her thanks. The young lady has a painful impression that her eloquence has inspired the mother with a disciple's zeal, and that she is waiting another opportunity to hear how it is done.

Another branch of work undertaken by the league was the care of children, organized in a special central bureau. In operation, it is aimed to be as thorough as possible, beginning with the care of nursing babies. By personal talks with mothers, the knowledge of rational nutrition was spread throughout the empire, and personal attention was paid to as many children as possible. Success has crowned this work. In Berlin, for instance, in the hot Summer of 1915, the mortality of babies was reduced by more than 2 per cent. below the normal.

For older children, schools and homes were established. In one suburb of Berlin, for instance, the poorest district of the city, about a hundred children selected by the school doctor were taken every day after school to the large gardens placed at their disposal by the municipality. Here they received their meals and worked and played till evening out in the open air, or in stormy weather in big, airy rooms, and then were taken home under proper supervision. For periods of eight or ten weeks the children lived this healthy life, and the rosy cheeks and rugged health to be found in the schools now is due to this excellent work. In this, as in all the other branches of endeavor, volunteers are laboring cheerfully side by side with the paid workers.

The problem of finding work for those thrown out of employment by the war was one of the first undertaken by the league. The aim was to make every

individual, in so far as possible, self-supporting in order to relieve the burden on the State. The war caused an industrial paralysis in certain lines of industry; factories manufacturing ready-made clothing and articles of luxury simply closed their doors. The female workers were hardest hit. The league promptly obtained from the military authorities orders for sewing work of every description, and the innumerable sewed articles which the soldier needs, from the tent on his back to his socks, were soon being made by the women. Knitting socks became woman's universal occupation; every one knitted, old and young. In the workrooms of the league, however, knitting was a serious job and the source of a livelihood. Many women would have become State charges if it had not been for the league's knitting rooms. And an entirely new kind of factory régime was instituted in these rooms. During the working hours, and the occupation is a dull one, volunteers read books, played music, sang, and gave short, interesting, and instructive talks on matters of general and even of philosophic interest.

In this way the work was made not only interesting, despite the fact that from five to seven hundred workers were frequently crowded into one room, but of educational value.

The wage scale that was finally worked out by the league—a problem that was rendered most complicated because of the wide variety of age, skill, types, and diligence—excited the highest admiration of professional industrial experts because of its equity and soundness. Only when the labor market began to improve, the confidence of manufacturers in ultimate victory induced them to open their factories, and the people began buying once more, did the league's workrooms close. Meantime, many links of sympathy and mutual understanding had been forged in them between the working girls and the volunteer helpers of the league.

The basic principle underlying the work of the league is to make every applicant for aid, in fact, every one in whom the league is interested, in so far as possible self-supporting. The aim is to bolster self-respect and the feeling of personal responsibility so that any development of the begging habit may be nipped in the bud. There are, however, many cases in which applicants for relief cannot be expected to rely on themselves and their own unaided efforts, cases of hopeless poverty, of incurable disease, or in which all the normal activities of life had been disorganized by the war. And in such cases the response of the well to do has been most generous. The league has only to ask to get money or other assistance poured forth with a lavish hand. Sometimes zeal is excessive and has to be restrained. If it is necessary to provide clothing for a family, for a young man entering an apprenticeship, or for an expected child, the clothes collecting department is always prepared. Volunteer workers labor day after day sorting the steady stream of donations and directing their repair and alteration by skilled needlewomen and other workers. Inventiveness has free reign here, and when one examines at the end of the month the practical results it is almost impossible to realize that the pretty and serviceable garments had been developed out of unlikely material.

Educated women devoted themselves to the schooling of the children. While on the battlefield youthful blood flowed in streams and human life had become the cheapest of things, the women at home realized that their most important duty lay in healing youth, in educating it to capable manhood, and in nourishing it with everything valuable and beautiful which could be offered by knowledge and art.

A great number of schoolteachers had gone to the front. Women took their places, a thing hitherto unknown in Germany. Women teachers, candidates for degrees at the universities, even students were employed in boys' schools. Old schoolmasters shook their heads, but the work had to be carried on, and the women were ready and trained. To the satisfaction of every one, these women were completely successful in their work

and earned the regard and respect of their pupils.

Even to the girls' schools the war brought new tasks. By descriptions, by maps and charts, the positions of the armies were explained to the children; the many economic and political questions brought to the fore by the conflict were discussed and elucidated. Through the children, these discussions and explanations reached the parents and helped to educate the popular mind generally.

In addition, an effort was made to develop the feeling of national responsibility in the minds of the pupils. On almost every teacher's desk throughout Germany is a collection box in which the pupils deposit their savings. Every month these boxes are opened, and quite a little ceremony is made of the occasion. The children dispose of their collections as they see fit. Each class has its own particular work; one buys materials for presents to be sent to the soldiers at the front, another undertakes the care of a sick child and saves money with a view to sending its little protégé to a convalescent home, a third collects newspapers, a fourth provides a nearby hospital with games which the members of the class construct themselves. All this not only affords the children pleasure, but it has a real civic and educational value. The burden on the teacher is a heavy one, for she has to devise means of keeping the children interested and to act as guide and friend for them in their selected activities. The league opened in Berlin in the Winter of 1915-16 a State exhibition: "School and War." It was an impressive exhibit of the tremendous value of this work. By this work in the schools, the experiences of the war are engraved on the hearts of our children, and they will never forget its lesson.

In many houses throughout Germany the father is absent. To many he will never return. It would be culpable in the extreme to neglect the growing youth in these homes. The league is active in getting hold of girls and boys over school age who are enjoying a novel and dangerous freedom. Volunteer workers of the league, women of education and social position, are engaged in organizing boys' and girls' clubs and in keeping closely in touch with their charges, over whom they exercise a tactful care.

The civil work of German women, however, has not been confined to looking after the welfare of children and of soldiers' dependents, important as that work is. They have taken in hand the organization of their own domestic economy. In recent years it has been the fashion abroad to regard the German woman as pre-eminently the housewife, concerned exclusively with her kitchen, her children, and her church. In fact, in England and America the idea that German women were anything but housewives, cooks of skill and resource in producing food whose first quality was substantial, nutritive value, whose social standing was vested purely in the ability to keep house well and economically, received no credence.

As a matter of fact, for the last decade the German woman was paying attention to many other things than her house, and the housewife type was rapidly disappearing. German women were entering the professions, and the other forces of our modern social structure were forcing the housekeeping type into the background. Germany came more and more to live on imported goods. The war instantly changed that. Food could no longer be imported, delicacies were out of the question, the women had to learn to keep house and supply the table in a rational manner from Germany's own resources. It took a little time for the women to realize this, but when they did they acted quickly and successfully. The housewives throughout Germany were organized into guilds, sometimes associated with local institutions, sometimes as independent bodies.

The first task undertaken was a rigid training in economy. Nothing must be wasted! The war broke out just at the season of the fruit harvest, and immediately preserved fruit kitchens were improvised everywhere. Volunteers toiled over the stoves, putting up the rich fruit harvest, so that none should go to waste.

This was true not only of the small towns, but even in Berlin. In one of the capital's most beautiful and wealthiest suburbs, throughout August and September, every morning the heavily laden fruit carts from the Central Market in the city appeared at 8 o'clock. Beside the driver of the first cart sat two of the ladies of the suburb who went to the market every morning at 6 o'clock in order to procure the choicest fruit. The carts were unloaded in the yard of the schoolhouse and their contents carefully weighed. Then a crowd of young girls, with handcarts of every description, busied themselves distributing the fruit to the houses of the women who had agreed to put up preserves on that particular day. If there was any surplus, the ladies who bought the fruit and other volunteers prepared the preserves in the school kitchen. They were at their post every day while the harvest lasted. The preserves were collected weekly from the houses and stored in the schoolhouse. In three months this suburb put up more than 20,000 pounds of preserves, which were distributed among hospitals, hospital trains, and children's homes. The work was continued in the late Summer of 1915 and in 1916.

The organization of housewives did more than preserve fruit and vegetables. The public had to be taught how to live differently—not worse than in peace times, but differently. A people is most conservative where its eating is concerned. Men cling to food habits when all others disappear. And the task confronting the housewives was nothing less than teaching the nation to alter its food habits, its ideas of a menu, its eating custom. At first, the means tried was mass meetings in which lecturers expounded the new principles of dietetics, and speakers from the audiences described their experiences.

Many a woman who had never before even thought of addressing an audience found herself on the platform exhorting and advising her neighbors out of her own experience.

Meetings were not enough, however. Women came in droves, listened intently, applauded enthusiastically — and then went home and, after a brief struggle against the family tastes, gave up, and tried to adhere to the pre-war dietary. Rapidly, of course, the sale of many staples was restricted and the import of others ceased altogether, thus throwing the established menu into chaos. Then the housewives' guilds began practical demonstrations in neighborhoods, showing how the available foodstuffs could be best employed.

Cooking recipes were invented and experimented with, cooking evenings and cooking parties organized, and consulting and advisory bureaus opened throughout the country. The solution of the dietary problems is ascribable altogether to the work of the housewives' guilds.

The marked increase in the cost of living was due in no small degree to the activities of the middlemen, who bought low, held stocks in reserve, and then forced the selling price as high as they could. The housewives determined to overcome this situation by opening up co-operative retail shops, operated by volunteers, where good wares could be purchased at little more than wholesale cost. These shops presently controlled the food price situation in their localities, many of them in crowded districts taking in more than one thousand marks on a single afternoon. And these shops proved particularly valuable as a market for the fruits and vegetables grown by members of the housewives' unions.

For, early in the war, the policy of cultivating every scrap of ground was put into effect by the women of Germany. The organization of girl scouts and many large girls' schools undertook the cultivation of untilled tracts, and every day crowds of young girls and women could be seen marching under the guidance of a specially trained teacher to their fields. The product of these fields was turned over to the various relief agencies. The work itself proved of great health value to the volunteers, and many an anaemic society belle became husky at this work.

In the poorer quarters of the cities the task of public alimentation was carried out with detailed thoroughness. Popular

kitchens and so-called middle-class kitchens were opened, and the women in charge took care that these eating places and cooking places were made as bright and attractive as possible. Something dainty and appetizing was to be had for even the simplest meal.

In these kitchens perhaps more than in any other of the war institutions was the radical social benefit of the conflict on the domestic problems of the German Nation made most manifest. All classes worked together. The wealthy woman and the shopkeeper's wife found themselves side by side, giving the very best in them for a common cause, united in labor for the nation. A common purpose united them, and acclaim went to the individual who did the best work, no matter what her social status might be. In the relief committees of the National Women's Service League the wives of high officials and the wives of Social Democrats meet on a parity. Women from town and country, adherents of various religious beliefs, work hand in hand and realize in action the profound truth and wisdom of the Emperor's dictum: "I know no parties, I know only Germans."

These women see already in spirit the new Germany after this cruel and bloody conflict is ended. Their work is all for that future Germany of peace. Mothers, brides, and sweethearts, they know that in this new Germany many strong arms and clever minds will be lacking. Their thoughts, despite their work, wander perpetually to the resting places of the peaceful sleepers in France and Poland. Nearly every one of them has lost some one who cannot be replaced, but they have refused to permit themselves to lapse into inactive brooding and mourning. They remain steadfast in life, active to administer the legacy of the dead placed in their hands. They form an army of peaceful fighters against enemies which threaten all the nations of the world—against poverty, neglect of the young, an economic situation that inevitably brings in its train the root of destitution, bodily and mental exhaustion. Their weapons are altruism and purity, their gauge the dignity and well-being of the German Nation.

Hindenburg's Nightmare

[An Italian Cartoon]

—*From Travaso, Rome.*

After the honor of the Berlin nails comes the grip of the Russian pincers.

The Civilizing Influences of War

By Alfred Rosenblatt*

Professor in the University of Cracow

Oh, tra le mura che il fratricidio cemento eterne, pace e vocabolo mal certo. Dal sangue la Pace solleva candida d'ali. Quando?
—Carducci: La Guerra, Bologna, 1891.

CIVILIZATION and war appear—especially in the light of the present war—to present irreconcilable antitheses. Therefore the assertion that war has a civilizing significance seems to us to be a fantastic paradox. And, nevertheless, distinguished minds have seriously busied themselves with this problem and have historically demonstrated the civilizing influences of war.

Some twenty-five years ago there was held in Rome a great congress of the League for Peace, participated in by important scientists and prominent members of European Parliaments. Brilliant speeches against war were delivered, plans for eternal peace were discussed, resolutions demanding the settlement by arbitration of all international difficulties were framed and adopted, &c.

Shortly after this there appeared a poem dedicated to war by the well known Italian poet, Giosue Carducci, entitled "La Guerra," and ending in the strophe cited above, which is particularly fitting at present. In glowing words Carducci sings the praises of war and describes what mankind owes to it. Even the discovery of America may be credited to the warlike spirit of an adventurer, who, armed with sword and shield, sallied forth to conquer new lands for the Spanish Empire.

In this connection Lotar Dargun, late professor of German history and legal history at the University of Cracow, whose untimely death was a severe loss to science, took up the question of the civilizing influence of war in a public lecture, investigated it more closely, and presented the bright sides of war in a manner calculated to be of universal interest in the serious times through which we are passing, and to banish, or at least lessen, our grave anxieties regarding the consequences of the war.

The civilizing power of war was already recognized and discussed by old Lord Bacon of Verulam. The conquests of war and their meaning for the progress of humanity have also been discussed in detail by Herbert Spencer and the well-known sociologist, Professor Gumplowicz of Gratz.

Alexander Humboldt describes in "Cosmos" the civilizing effects of the Macedonian wars of Alexander the Great. He takes especial pains to point out that they opened an extensive and beautiful part of the world to the influence of a highly cultivated people; that through Alexander's conquests the Greek language and literature were spread abroad with beneficent effects, and, finally, that at the same time the making of scientific observations and the systematic elaboration of all the sciences, through the teachings and example of Aristotle, became clear to the intellect. He closes by declaring that the Macedonian expedition may be regarded as a scientific expedition in the truest sense of the word, and, indeed, as the first in which a conqueror surrounded himself with savants from every branch of science, with naturalists, surveyors, historians, philosophers, and artists. Even Aristotle exercised an indirect influence through the intellectuals of his school who accompanied the expedition.

The most prominent historian of the Roman Empire, Mommsen, says that the Romanization of Italy was only effected through Sulla's wars, and that this result was not too dearly bought by the streams of blood spilled in those wars.

* Specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Nord und Süd, the Berlin political and economic magazine published by Dr. Ludwig Stein.

The conquest of Gaul by the Romans was also a work of civilization of the first rank.

All the larger States have been organized as the result of wars. Among the Germanic peoples military organizations were at the same time governmental bodies. Thus war created the State and the State created civilization.

International law was also created by war, but the present war has unfortunately annihilated it.

We have to thank war for the founding and the development of cities and for their growth and strength. War forced the inhabitants of scattered districts to unite, to build fortified towns, and to organize places for defense against the dangers of war. The Princes' need of money, induced by the wars that they carried on, was often the cause of progress in the matter of public institutions and rights; that is to say, the sovereigns engaged in war needed money for the war and the cities furnished them with it in return for rights and privileges which made possible and also promoted the prosperity of the cities.

The greatest human blessings, religion and ethics, science and art, owe much more to war—as Professor Dargun points out—than would be believed without an investigation of the question. Through wars religion and ethics have found their way to all parts of the world.

Many branches of science receive their greatest advancement through wars.

In the first line comes geography. It is not necessary to prove that war requires a thorough and detailed study of the hostile country, thus promotes geographical and ethnical science, and contributes to the spread of this knowledge.

The great progress of modern technique stands in close connection with military technique. The mighty advance in the technique of fortification and the manufacture of arms promoted by war's needs has reacted in an animating manner upon all other branches of technical work and has aided invention. The mastery of the air by human beings and the unexpected development of the art of flying may certainly be traced indirectly to war. The extension of lines of communication, especially in the form of great and far-flung networks of railroads, is the result of the necessities of war. And the civilizing effects of railroad connections constitute a recognized and inassailable fact. The railroad unites even the smallest town with the great centres of culture, science and art, spreads civilization in every direction, brings individuals and nations closer to each other, and promotes industry and the welfare of the people. But a short time ago the American magazine, Popular Science Monthly, pointed out in a long article how in Germany all branches of science, of technique, of industry, and of trade worked hand in hand with militarism to their profit. Because militarism spurs inventors and investigators on to create things that it needs for its purpose, inventions are made that add life to all industries and enrich the entire nation.

The Germany of today owes its greatness and strength to the war of 1870-71.

That war offers many productive stimuli to art and literature is proved by the numerous masterpieces of art and literature that treat of warlike events; we shall only mention Homer's immortal "Iliad," Virgil's "Aeneid," the Nibelungen songs, Shakespeare's war dramas, the Maid of Orléans, Wallenstein, and all the magnificent battle paintings, &c.

Dargun closes his exceedingly thought-provoking exposition by contrasting the virtues of peace with the virtues which war brings to maturity. There are, says Dargun, certain virtues necessary for the maintenance of the soundness of the people, such as personal manly courage, the consciousness of duty and honor, discipline and the sense of order, consciousness of the worth of one's own personality, and the willingness of self-sacrifice for the common good, which attain their true value only in war. These virtues become weaker during periods of long-continued peace. The full inner worth of the nation is only developed in times of danger. The sentiments of all the members of the State are united and concentrated in the all-powerful feeling

of love for the Fatherland. Every one knows that the persons most dear to his heart are risking their lives for the common cause. Every one gladly and self-sacrificingly throws himself and all that he has into the mighty whirlpool of the war. The nation goes through a baptism of fire that works wonders and from which it arises strengthened a hundredfold, if it only holds out to the happy ending of the war.

Before closing we must find room here for the following observations regarding war and culture from the writings of a cheerful philosopher, (Weber's "Demokritos," 1863.) Wars made men better acquainted with each other and carried the products of nature from one quarter of the globe to the other; silk, fruit, sugar, tea, coffee, and rice from Asia; corn, tobacco, potatoes, Peruvian bark, &c., from America. Millions of potato eaters do not know how dear Mithridates made them for Lucullus. In fact, war seems to be an educator of nations; the Trojan war developed the culture of the Greeks, as the one with the Persians and the more remote wars of Sesostris with the nations of India developed the culture of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, and the Greeks and Carthagenians made the Romans become real Romans. The Crusades again gave the first impulse to the intellect of Europe, as was also the case with the Turkish and Italian campaigns; the Thirty Years' War brought light into religious thought, as the French Revolution did into politics and even into men's ideas of war itself. One year of war puts more geography and statistics into people's heads than thirty years of peace; long encampments and battlefields enrich the earth at least as much as the clouds of powder smoke clear the air, and we Germans owe to the French war the cutting down of the sorry polycracy that our idol Hermann would certainly have allowed to continue for a long time. In closing we wish merely to express the desire and hope that the present gigantic war, which unfortunately has changed the standards of civilization, will also have its good sides and achieve civilizing effects. Perhaps the greatest war the world has ever seen will also be of the greatest and most important civilizing significance.

Perhaps it will succeed in doing that which thus far all peace pamphlets, peace palaces, and peace congresses have failed to do—that is, bring the waging of war to a reductio ad absurdum and be the last of European wars.

The Destroyer

By CHARLOTTE TELLER

To reap his harvest,
Death has set them at each other.
Their curtains of red fire and their veils
of black smoke
Are his banners.
The hand that murdered the Archduke
Was a hand saluting the Great Monarch.
When he summoned his subjects,
They came
From the four corners of the earth,
And he was sure of his victory.
Do you read of defeat?
It is his triumph!
Do you read of victory?
It is he who has conquered.
Where they are making cannon
And its food,
He is there.
Where they are shaping bombs
In their laboratories,
He stands beside them.
When they search the plains for horses
That men must ride into battle,
His eye sweeps that plain before them.
He is the General of all the armies.
It is his cry that is heard at night—
The cry that torments their dreams.
His voice is in the throat of every one in
council
Who says:
"Let this war go on,
That we may win."
He is Master.

MAGAZINISTS ON WAR THEMES

Why Not Make Peace Now?

By Israel Zangwill

Novelist and Playwright

Replying to the criticisms of a fellow-author, Eden Phillpotts, upon his new book, "The War for the World," Mr. Zangwill presents the following argument for immediate peace negotiations on the part of the Allies, incidentally remarking that there is too general a tendency to twist an important text and make it read, "Cursed be the peace-makers, for they shall be called pro-Germans":

THE imaginary heresies against which my kindly critic misdirects his indignation are (1) that I hold we ought to let Germany run amuck at her pleasure; (2) that the immediate peace I propose would be an "inconclusive peace," nay, tantamount to a German victory. But, surely, when I say that Germany's militarism is her own affair, it is obvious I mean only the internal organization, which is her misfortune, and not that the external effects of this military mechanism can never become England's business. Would, indeed, that England had been "the England of our dreams," and had ridden about as a paladin, redressing human wrong. But a knight who stands idly by while Prussia robs Denmark of Schleswig-Holstein, while she tears Alsace-Lorraine from the bleeding flank of France, while she expropriates the Poles of her Polish province, and who only couches his lance when Belgium—his own buffer State—is invaded, who even ignores Germany's prior passage through neutral Luxemburg or Russia's subsequent passage through neutral Persia, surely partakes more of Sancho Panza than of Don Quixote.

I gladly concede—and particularly remarked in my book—that a chivalrous enthusiasm for Belgium animated our first volunteers. But that was the British people, and foreign policy is, alas! the domain of a few Machiavellian despots, who interpret our generous ardor for the small nations as humbling proud Persia in the dust and setting up poor little Russia on both sides of the Dardanelles. Mr. Phillpotts winces at my "pinpricks," but, inasmuch as the Archbishop of Canterbury will not hear of peace proposals because of our utter and unrelieved righteousness, a little pricking of such Christian complacency may be a necessary prelude to the re-establishment of peace on earth and the salvation of Europe.

For that is the real question. How much longer must the flower of England (and of Europe) be butchered and tortured? How much lower are Christianity and civilization to fall? That the question of peace is not agitating us day and night, that it is even boycotted or replaced by sterile Gallipoli investigations, that "true-born Englishmen" are discussing the eleven revues of London—this is a monumental example of what I have called "the levity of war politics." If any man can read the description cited by Mr. Galsworthy of the "hundreds of wounded men lying on contested ground and screaming all through the night" and not burn to end the war instantly by any honorable means, he must be a devil—or a munition manufacturer.

But is there any honorable means? Bloch, in his great work, "Budushchaya Voina," ("The Future of War,") prophesied that war's only future was deadlock, and already the critics who scoffed at my contention that Verdun illustrated the thesis are repeating that the Somme is a second Verdun. There are, indeed, thinkers who urge that a deadlock would be the best ending, since militarism would then be universally discredited. It would

have shot its deadliest bolt everywhere and effected nothing anywhere. But I do not even maintain that there is a deadlock—modern warfare is far more than the mere shock of arms—and my argument is unaffected, even if we get through on the Somme.

I do not urge that we should seek peace, but that we should grant it. For, from the paralyzed ports of Germany's extinguished world commerce, from her millions of hungry homes and widowed hearths, one wail for peace goes up. Where is the proud Prussia that set out to capture Paris in six weeks? That triumphal march has been turned to a funeral march. But we are told Germany still holds large slices of enemy country and will only make terms "on the basis of the war map." Well, look at the war map. The globe, I was taught at school, is three-fourths water. And we hold that water. Germany, whose future was to have been on it, stands high and dry, like a stranded hulk. And against her conquests in Europe we hold her colonies, territories far vaster and infinitely easier to hold.

It is the custom in chess when games have lasted overlong to adjudicate on the position and to declare a victory for black or for white. Why play out the great war game to the ghastly end, when the pawns are flesh and blood? Can even a German beholding the vast forces now concentrated against Germany imagine that playing it out can give her a victory? The formation of Prince Wedel's "League for an Honourable Peace" is sufficient answer—imagine Prussia sanctioning such a league in 1870! Why, the Germans had given up the hope of victory even by Christmas, 1914. Writing in those days from America, Mr. Jerome reported the conversation of a prominent financier in touch with German feeling: "The Allies could get all they wanted in reason now." (He was very insistent on the words "in reason.") "Why go on piling up ruin and misery for no object? You will not annihilate Germany. At the end of three years you will only obtain from her what she is willing to grant now. Why not take it now?"

That Germany will now accept any terms "in reason" is certain. Those who profess to doubt this must explain why they refuse to put it to the test. It would be so simple to go on fighting, if she asks too much. Is it that they fear we should then be provided with a standard by which to measure the ratio of our further sacrifices to our additional gains, and by which—when peace is signed a year or five years hence—to gauge if the prolongation of the war was far-sighted statesmanship or a gigantic gamble in life and treasure?

The Dawn of Doubt in Germany

By Friedrich Naumann

German Journalist and Author of a Noted Volume on "Mittel-Europa"

An extraordinary article on the weakening of German public opinion regarding the war was published by Herr Naumann in his weekly paper, Die Hilfe, on Aug. 17. *Following is a translation of the more significant passages:*

WHEN the war began everybody was convinced that now we must fight, for how could we let other peoples tear us to pieces? At that time everybody understood that this was a case of necessity, just as if we were threatened by a flood or a fire. But today there are people enough who no longer rightly know why we are still fighting. There really are these people.

I was visited lately by a soldier who, late in the war, was taken up in the Landsturm, and who now, as a grown man, has passed through his time of training in barracks. I know him well, and I know that by very reason of his calling he understands the way of thinking of the simple people. He said to me: "It must be explained to the people quite simply and intelligibly why they

are still fighting, because they do not know." I answered that two years are surely enough to make it clear to the thickest head. He, however, replied: "Two years ago all these people knew; but as they read the newspapers only irregularly, have little knowledge of geography, and have no training in historical thought, they, even at the beginning, grasped the general impression rather than the detailed events. Meanwhile, all that has for them returned to a state of flux and become obscure, and now they are mentally helpless in face of the sacrifices of the long war. Hence it becomes possible for the agitation of the Liebknecht type to find its way into the very army."

I then made further inquiries among men and women who, by constant contact, know something of the way of thinking of small people, and this is what I heard. Two years are a long time for the memory, especially when people's sufferings and experiences have been so manifold during this time. At the beginning people had no real idea what war is, but they were ready to conduct war. Meanwhile, death in the field and privations at home have become greater than any power of imagination had previously conceived. Hence the impression easily arises that one has been pushed into something which one did not really desire. The necessity of what is happening is questioned, and the longing that the abnormal state of things may cease dims the eyes to the inevitable character of events. To this is then added the old and eternal mistrust of the small for the great, and it is said: "Those people at the top need the war, and that is why we have to endure it."

And then what a marvelous picture of the beginning of the war takes shape in the brain! From the simple fact that the ultimatum to Serbia was dispatched by Austria, and that the formal declarations of war were dispatched by us to Russia and France, it is concluded that we produced the war. What everybody knew at the beginning of August, 1914—that the declarations of war were only a consequence of the threats of mobilizations pouring in upon us—passes out of sight, and only the formal course of events remains. To this is then added the unscrupulous campaign of agitation and of calumny by Germans of Germans, as if we had been the disturbers of the peace. One has seen fly-sheets which talk as if it depended on our Government whether it should will peace tomorrow or not. The burden of the trouble and want caused by the war is put upon the Government. Assuredly this hateful perversion is really believed only by few. But some of it sticks—as though the German Government were at bottom just as guilty as the English Government or the Russian Government—and a dull feeling gets abroad that all the peoples have been condemned to many sufferings by the mistakes and sins of those who rule them.

And there is something still further. Owing to the fact that we have been somewhat vigorous in hailing and celebrating our victories, many people who are weak in arithmetic have lost all sense of the fact that there are still great Russian, English, French, and Italian forces in existence. When, therefore, after two years the very greatest efforts have still to be made, it is as though we had been cheated of our bargain. People can no longer rightly believe that the present battles are inevitable battles of defense. They have rather the gloomy suspicion that a policy of conquest, over and above what is necessary, is being pursued. And here a positively disastrous effect is produced by certain documents in which great leagues and private persons express the lust of conquest. Only general ideas of their contents reach the great mass of the people; but, to the best of my belief, their existence is well known in every barracks, in every workshop, and in every village inn. The consequence of this conquest literature is the disappearance of simple faith in the defensive war.

Of what use to us is all the edifying talk about war aims, if the foundations of public opinion do not meanwhile remain absolutely firm? They are still firm, but more attention must be paid to them than has been the case hitherto.

Herr Naumann then advises that the

people should be taught that the present German occupation of enemy country is a great blessing for the Germans, and also that it is absolutely necessary, because the enemy occupies German colonies, Asiatic Turkey, Eastern Galicia, and also a bit of the Vosges. They should also be told that the war has to go on because the enemy still desires to attack and crush Germany.

What the Attitude of a Radical Should Be Toward the War

By Prince Peter A. Kropotkin

There has recently appeared in Russia a brochure entitled "Prince Kropotkin on the War." Excerpts from it are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Kropotkin is the leader of the theoretical anarchists and his earlier writings are widely known in America.

SERBIA was not the cause of the war, nor was German fear of Russia, but the fact that, with the exception of an insignificant minority, the class that is in control of Germany's political life was intoxicated by its former triumph over France and its rapidly developing military power on land and sea. This class considered it an offense to Germany that her neighbors had interfered with her desire to capture the rich colonies along the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, and in part of China; that they were in advance of her in planning to control the Adriatic, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and that they had prevented her from establishing her hegemony over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The rapid extension of Germany's home industries in the last forty years and the failure of a simultaneous growth in wealth among the peasantry, creating no market (such as exists in the United States) for manufactured products, made it possible for the enormous mass of the German proletariat to become infected with the same designs for conquest and to dream of the rapid development of a powerful capitalism through this conquest. As a consequence we have the German admiration for the idea of an all-powerful military State, the worship of the army, and the amazing unanimity of the people on these points.

Freedom of people? Ideals of peace? Progress? Nothing of the sort is inscribed on the banner of the German Empire. It promises only war, it is a guarantee for future conflicts only, for the subjugation of free nations, for a centralized military State wherein the entire life of the country shall be dominated by the military ideal, the ideal of which Wilhelm, who styled himself the "rod of God," is the incarnation.

Just try to imagine in reality what the triumph of Germany in the present war would mean:

The subjection of all Belgium, or at least the major part of it; in any case, the establishment of Germany in Antwerp and, in all probability, in Calais.

The forcible annexation of Holland to the German Empire.

The menace of annexing Switzerland, which would no longer be defended by France and Great Britain.

The addition to Germany of part of France, and, consequently, the appearance of a line of German forts within a few miles of Paris; the prohibition of French fortifications; an enormous, exhausting indemnity to be spent mainly on the further expansion of the German Army and Navy, (already Bismarck regretted that he had not exacted a $3,000,000,000 instead of a $1,000,000,000 indemnity.) The result would be the debasement of France to the position of a third-rate power; it would no longer dare to take any steps in the direction of social progress because of fear of Germany. Belgium has been in such a position all these years. France would

be in a like plight, and England also would fall to an approximately similar condition.

Now, when there are transports capable of accommodating several thousand persons, when submarines, aeroplanes, and dirigible airships are become part of armaments, England's immunity to German invasion is no more. Experts concede the possibility of such an invasion now, and should the Prussian helmet dominate the northern coast of France, an invasion of England would merely become a question of the convenient moment. The entire order of life and the further development of the country would have to adapt themselves to such a possibility, as was the case in France.

As to the consequences of Germany's triumph over us in Russia, one does not even like to think, so terrible would they be. What would become of the internal development of our country if on the Nieman, at Riga, and possibly in Revel, German fortifications on the order of Metz were erected—not for the defense of the captured territory, but for further offensive purposes? Fortifications from which armies fully equipped could be moved on Petrograd the first day after a war declaration?

On the whole, the triumph of Germany in this war would mean the enslavement of the entire European civilization by military ideals. Her triumph of 1870 had already given us forty years of such slavery with the arrest of universal progress. Her victory over France, Belgium, England, and Russia would give us now half a century or more of a similar retardation of progress throughout Western Europe and all the Slavonic world. * * *

To all who will not shut their eyes at the events transpiring around us, it is sufficiently clear why no one to whom the progressive development of humanity is dear, and whose mind is not clouded by personal attachments or by sophisms of official patriotism, should be in doubt as to the side one ought to take. One should not remain neutral, as neutrality in the present case means support of the iron fist.

The vast majority of the people understand this, and on all sides we hear the words: The Allies will win, and this struggle will be the last European war. The rights of all nationalities to free development will be recognized, the federation idea will be applied in remaking the map of Europe. The ugliness of war and the failure of armed peace to prevent war have clearly demonstrated that a period of general disarmament is approaching. The union among the advanced nations, which is being enhanced since the arrival of a common danger by the extraordinary united efforts of all concerned, will inevitably leave its traces on every nation. The foundations of a new life in all the strata composing the modern State are already being laid. * * *

In all the activities of the anti-militarists, the opponents of war, there was a fundamental error. They thought that by their propaganda against war they could prevent it in spite of the fact that all the causes that make war inevitable were still in full force.

They wrote that the cause of modern war is European capitalism and its accompanying phenomena. They believed that a general strike in all the countries about to enter into a war would render the expected conflict impossible.

But by some kind of miracle all the tremendous powers of capitalism and its dependent forces vanished, crumbled away and became paralyzed at the outbreak of the war. And they vanished not only in France but also in that other country—Germany—the country which saw in the conquest of part of France, in the weakening of her, and in the annexation of her colonies, a "necessary step" toward the development of Germany's own capitalism!

A patent incongruity was, then, the result. And I now ask myself if the majority of the anti-militarists ever realized fully the organic bond seen by them between war and European capitalism. Did they not attach too much importance to the evil will of individuals? * * * So long as there are States the peoples of which are ready, in expectation of personal benefits, to

support a movement for conquest, war cannot be averted by preaching. Those anti-militarists who, in the name of opposition to all war, refuse to support either of the warring sides, are, in my opinion, making a serious mistake. They have omitted from their view one thing—the present war is creating new history. It introduces to all the peoples new conditions of social reconstruction. And when this reconstruction shall have begun, it will pass by those men who had refused to act at a time when the fortunes of the century were being decided on the fields of battle.

The end of German hegemony, the disintegration of the Austrian Empire, the dawn of a new life for the Slavonic peoples, a united Poland again contributing her own national creations to the treasury of science and art—all this and much more may be expected from this war.

When old Garibaldi called together in 1870 his old and new comrades and went to fight for the French Republic against Germany, he did not seek world aims to justify his action. He did not overestimate the import of the war. But he saw in France liberty struggling against autocracy, and considered it his duty to come, as he had always done, to the defense of the former against the latter. * * * Right and progress were on the side of France. To you and many others all this is not enough. You doubt. You want to know definitely if this war will be a war of liberation. But this question cannot be answered in advance. All depends on its conclusion and the circumstances incident to it. Only one thing is certain. If Germany is victorious, then the war will not have been a war of liberation. It will bring on Europe a new slavery. * * * It is necessary that the whole German Nation shall see in reality into what an abyss of destruction and moral degradation its Kultur, wholly devoted to conquest, has hurled it.

The Faculty of Wonder Dulled

By Winston Spencer Churchill

Former First Lord of the British Admiralty

Following is an excerpt from a recent article in the Sunday Pictorial of London:

THE limitations of man's intellect do not govern the scale of his affairs. He does what he can; he comprehends what he can, and the rest happens. When Armageddon burst over Europe probably no single brain achieved a complete and rightly porportioned view of the cataract of events. The first weeks and months of the general war escaped to a large extent from human control. The forces liberated were unmeasured; the consequences of their exercise unforeseeable. * * *

The chaos of the first explosions has given place to the slow fire of trench warfare; the wild turbulence of the incalculable, the sense of terrible adventure have passed. For nearly two years the armies of Europe have dwelt close together in opposing ditches, fed by lavish floods of human life and broadening streams of shot and shell, tormenting each other by ever-growing and improving agencies of death; and behind them their countries have transformed the infinitely varied activities of modern civilization into the three comprehensive institutions of the barracks, the arsenal, and the hospital.

The progress of the war is no longer to be measured by the battles or the positions of the contending fronts, but mainly by the economic and political reactions which the long and ever more tightly drawn strain is producing in the various nations.

Every man, every woman, every workable child is gradually being fitted into the war machine.

A sombre mood prevails in Britain. The faculty of wonder has been dulled; emotion and enthusiasm; excitemnet is

bankrupt, death is familiar, and sorrow numb.

The world is in twilight; and from beyond dim flickering horizons comes tirelessly the thudding of guns. A hard, frost-like surface of gayety sparkles in the cities; and anxiety turns to thoughtlessness or to apathy for relief.

The beloved figure of son, father, brother, friend descend from trains on flying visits, recreating around them for a little precarious space the happiness of far-off days before the war. A few hours of safety and comfort, a vivid interlude of home and pleasure, and then back, as a matter of course, as a commonplace experience, to the slow fire which with intensifying fierceness consumes the flesh and sears the hearts of peoples.

Now one understands how men lived through the periods that seem so terrible in the history books, and went about their business, and joked and ate their dinners, and filled their theatres. Now, too, one understands how our forefathers, with shoulder bended to the burden, with searching eye fixed upon the enemy, preserved through the perils, the difficulties, and the blunders of a thousand years the life and honor of Britannia's isle.

The Changed Ideals of the Belligerents

By V. Kershentseff

Russian Author and Journalist

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the Severnia Zapisski, Petrograd.]

THE further into the past the first days of the war retreat, the dimmer grow the idealistic watchwords which originally lent a spiritual glory and lustre to the patriotism of the warring nations. From under the sumptuous cover of words there emerges sharply the dry skeleton of materialistic and selfish ambitions.

The long war has become to the world an every-day affair, and this is depriving it of the epithets with which it was formerly described, such as "liberating," "civilizing," "altruistic," &c. The problems of the war have grown complicated, and changed its face. After two years we look at events with different eyes.

Who will now undertake to prove that this is a war against militarism? It is this war that has helped the development of militarism in a maximum degree. It is this war that has communicated the militaristic disease even to such a country as the United States. Can there be any doubt that victory will be achieved by that group of nations which shall have its military organization developed to the highest perfection? By a perfect military organization we mean not only the purely technical militarism, but the total of the economic, political, and technical factors comprising the military organization of a State. Not only the skeptical historian of the world war, but the ordinary citizen as well, will arrive at the conclusion that a certain group of nations was victorious because it had demonstrated its ability to solve international problems through armed force. Who will assert that such a conclusion will be a blow to militarism? Will it not be just the other way?

The war, it was said, was being waged in the name of freedom, equality, and even fraternity.

Looking back at the past months, who can confirm this thesis with facts? Who will deny the evident truth that in all the warring countries the tide of conservatism is rising? The best example is furnished by the freest country in Europe—England. Step by step the Liberal Party is giving way before the encroachments of a strengthened conservatism. The principle of voluntary military service is abandoned. The press is muzzled. The theory of free trade is found antiquated. The rôle of the House of Commons is growing secondary. Even the habeas corpus principle has to be

defended by special leagues and funds, just as in the period of dark reaction at the end of the eighteenth century.

In what country is similar retrogression not to be noticed? The war started in the name of defending the rights of small countries and nationalities. Therein lies the great irony of it. Particularly to the small countries and nationalities has it been disastrous. It has proved that the time for small nations is past, that world history has entered a stage where units will consist of coalitions of nations, bound politically and economically. Not only small nations, but even individual large nations, cannot longer exist outside of the coming powerful political combinations.

"This war will be the last. After it will come eternal peace." This theory, popular a year and a half ago, seems at present, more than at any previous time, but a subtle or naïve irony. Of course, in Europe a temporary weariness of war is possible, especially because of the financial disorganization and economic chaos, but even in the case of such a calm there will be military problems on hand. The beginning of the peaceful period that is to come after the war will also mark the beginning of a new war, a commercial, tariff war. In itself not bloody, it may cause another bloody conflict; and it will fall most heavily on the shoulders of those who bear the chief burden of the present catastrophe.

Human Nature and the War

By Principal L. P. Jacks

Dean of Manchester College, Oxford, and Editor of the Hibbert Journal

Dr. Jacks has contributed to a recent issue of Land and Water an incisive article, in which he says:

IN the two years during which the war has been in progress a number of men, women, and children, roughly equal to the total population of London, has been killed. Perhaps five times as many have been wounded, making with the killed a total not far short of the population of Great Britain. What it has cost in material wealth to accomplish this result would be hard to say; probably $75,000,000,000 is well within the mark.

For what end has this been done?—to repeat the question of Little Peterkin. It has been done in order to settle a type of quarrel which, had it broken out between six reasonable men with some sense of humor, instead of between six great "powers," with no "power" of understanding each other, would have been settled in a quarter of an hour.

Looking at the matter in this way most people would agree that we are in the presence of something essentially irrational. Reason is said to be the prerogative of man. The war—not the word, not the idea, but the thing in its concrete horror—is a strange comment on the prerogative.

Suppose we were to cut the war out as a single chapter in the history of man's doings on this planet and set ourselves to deduce from this chapter a theory as to the nature of the beings who did these things. Or suppose we were suddenly endowed with a power of vision to see the war, not through the medium of statistics or newspaper reports but as a living fact in all the length and breadth and detail of its dreadful truth—and then, with that vision fresh before us, set ourselves to write out a testimonial to the character of man, to be delivered to the angels or to the inhabitants of some other planet on which the human race had applied for a situation. Should we not come to the conclusion that man is thoroughly and hopelessly insane? Should we not warn the angels against having anything to do with a race of lunatics so dangerous?

We have come to this—that about

three hundred million human beings on this side and two hundred million on that are now engaged in trying to inflict upon each other the greatest possible amount of death, mutilation, and material loss, and have so far succeeded as to kill or wound forty millions and to destroy $75,000,000,000 worth of wealth at the very least. As a test case of what man is, and what he is capable of, we shall look in vain for any single episode or revealing action that will tell a more eloquent tale about man—that is, if we are to judge him by what he does rather than by what he says, as surely we ought to do. We could not hesitate as to the conclusion to be drawn from such premises. To conclude that human nature is brutal, or wicked, or selfish, or cruel would not be enough. Human nature, we should have to say, is plainly mad. Insanity and not reason is the prerogative of man.

A friend of mine who has reflected deeply on the war, and written about it more wisely than any other Englishman, remarked the other day: "During the early months of the war I often had the feeling that I was in hell already—in fact, that we were all in hell together without knowing it. But that feeling has passed away. I now believe that I am in Bedlam—which perhaps is only a particular province of hell." That feeling is widespread, though vague and undefined. Even our soldiers at the front, keen as they are to do their duty, often speak in their letters of the "mad business" on which they are engaged. * * *

From these conclusions there would seem to be no escape—if we accept the view that human nature is really responsible for what is going on. But, I hasten to say, human nature is not responsible for it—and venture to think that until this is realized the profoundest political lesson of the war will be missed. Human nature has been dragged into this business against its will, its intelligence, its instincts. A "spell" has been put upon it.

To charge the horrors of the present time to the brute passions of man's nature, to his want of right-mindedness or of self-control, is to commit a libel on man and to let the real sinner go free. In human nature there is nothing whatever which could lead, under any conceivable circumstances, to such orgies of bloodshed and mutilation as the slopes of Verdun and many other places have recently witnessed. Human nature is from first to last in revolt against the whole proceeding. It is not human nature which does these things, but State nature—a very different thing. To love one's native land and be willing to die for it is one thing, perhaps the noblest in man; to love a soulless machine called "the State" is another, and I for one have never met a human being in England or anywhere else who was capable of so unnatural a passion.

Modern States are not human. They are stupid monsters without conscience, without soul, without feeling. As to intelligence, they lack even that modest amount of it which would enable them to understand one another. Not understanding one another, and unable to do so, their mutual relations are like those of a number of icebergs floating on the same sea, which may at any moment be flung into collision by the drift of invisible currents. It is the paradox of the world's history that the great States formed by the combined intelligence of their members have so little intelligence in their relations with one another. The human nature which is in each member of the State, and stands on the whole for right-mindedness and neighborly relations, disappears in the total combination of all the members, and a vast agglomeration comes into being, of which the outstanding feature is that it lacks a soul.

There are many who regard the war as betokening the need for a radical change in the nature of man—in his ideals, his habits, his passions. And certainly this would be a sound inference from the facts if human nature were really responsible for the war—only in that case I think we should have to go further and demand the total extinction of man as unfit to live on the planet, on the same principle that we demand the extermination of a mad dog. But believing as I do that responsibility for

the war rests elsewhere, I see no need for any radical change in human nature, nor do I think that it is going to take place. What human nature needs is not a radical change but a fair opportunity, an opportunity for expressing itself not only in the relations between man and man, where it has already established some kind of rational order, but in the relations between States which, as things now are, constitute a mere Bedlam world.

What does need changing is State nature, for State nature is the cause of all these woes. We have been under a monstrous delusion about the State—almost hypnotized by the word—and it is the mission of the war, among other things, to bring this home to our intelligence. For two generations and more the pundits of the western world have been groveling on their bellies before this abstraction, this monster, this idol. It is a worship made, so far as modern times are concerned, in Germany, and it is worthy of its origin. We have been taught that the evolution of the State is the culminating achievement of man's rationality and of his goodness. And so no doubt it might be if a different kind of State from any that is now in existence had been evolved. But of the actual States now in being nine-tenths of what the philosophers teach about the rationality of "the State," of its quasi-divinity, are not only untrue but the flat opposite of the truth.

Whatever the State may be, these States are not something higher than the individual, but something vastly lower than any individual. There is not one of them in which the human interests of its constituent members is not at the mercy of that brute, inhuman, Bedlam world which is constituted by the relations of the various States with one another. There is not one of them which, when standing in the presence of its neighbor States, can be said to represent human nature in its intelligence, in its affections, or even in its passions. For, as we have seen, they do not even understand one another. The lions roaring to each other in the forests, the starlings chattering on the tree tops are at a higher level of mutual comprehension than are "the States" of civilized Europe. And the proof is that when a quarrel arises which half a dozen sensible men could settle in ten minutes over a pipe of tobacco, these "great powers" have no resource but to tear one another to pieces in a manner of which the lowest of the brute beasts are quite incapable. Are they not stupid monsters? The very monkeys must despise them.

A proposal has been made to insure perpetual peace by a new piece of machinery—a federation of all the States controlled by a World Parliament. It is a proposal which leaves me cold. It reminds me of the reason once given by an Irishman as the crowning argument in favor of home rule. "When we get a united Ireland and a Parliament of our own, faith we'll have some fine quarrels." Were such a federation constituted out of such States as at present exist in the world it would split into two parties over every question submitted to its decision, and would quarrel at once, and quarrel always. The picture so often presented of all the States combining automatically to keep in order any member of the group which might threaten to break the peace is a fiction, which would be replaced in reality by powerful and balanced parties, plotting each other's overthrow and ready to attempt it, if need be, by force of arms. The federation of the world would be a cockpit of civil war. Before any such form of internationalism can be successfully attempted a preliminary step must be a complete change of nature in each of the combining States.

Italian Socialism and the War

By Ivanoe Bonomi
Minister of Public Works in the Italian Cabinet

Signor Bonomi, a Moderate Socialist, recently contributed to the Messagero of Rome an article of which we here give the substance.

THE Italian Socialist Party is the only one among those of the great nations of Europe that persists in an obstinate campaign against the war. In order to make a true analysis of this curious fact it is necessary to adopt the historical method, that is, to bring into relief the special character of Italian socialism and of the human material of which it is formed.

Official Italian socialism, in contradistinction to socialism in other countries, is in large part agricultural. It recruits its adherents especially in the country, and more definitely in the rich agricultural country that from the hills of the Placentino and of Monferrato slopes down along the banks of the Po to the sea, touching Padua and Venice on the north and reaching as far as Ravenna and Forli on the south.

Of course, the larger industrial cities also contain many soldiers of the socialist army, but the working class population of the cities is not a fertile field for the anti-war propaganda.

In Milan as in Genoa, in Turin as in Bologna, socialism, now occupying important political positions, is no longer the master of the street. Its undisputed rule is found in the country. In the rich Valley of the Po it is absolute master. In the fields socialism does not allow the preaching of any doctrine different from it own, which is against the war, against those who have brought it on, against those who carry it on, against those who see any value in it.

He would commit a grave error who would affirm that misery afflicts this population and is the cause of all this. The richness of the soil and of agricultural industry permits the wage worker easily to obtain in the Valley of the Po increases that the peasants of the south stare at in surprise and envy.

Intellectual conditions have also made progress in line with the material gains. There is no longer an agricultural proletariat there enslaved by ignorance and superstition and at the mercy of the bosses. There we find citizens, nearly all of whom read the newspapers, are interested in politics, capture the local administrations, and send Socialists to the Chamber of Deputies.

The mind of the farmers is fertile soil for the propaganda of official socialism. Up to the present the country districts of Italy have been absent from our history and our life. Roman society was an urban society. Our communes reinvigorated the Latin spirit and put the districts surrounding the cities under the committees ruling in the cities during the period of our national revolution. The country districts were hostile and indifferent while our national unity was being constituted.

Italy appeared to be divided into two different peoples—the bourgeoisie and the artisans in the cities, and the peasants in the country. The cities fomented the insurrections and spread the desire of liberty through the masses of the people. The country remained faithful to the idea of immobility and to tradition. The cities accomplished the revolution; the country endured it. Only during the last few decades have the slow influence of economic environment and the educating effect of the schools been able to bring together the two different peoples that had encountered each other at the gates of our cities.

City and country have now become Italy, and the moral unity of our race is being cemented today with blood upon the Alps. But in the Valley of the Po the development of the agricultural populace into a nation followed a peculiar course. The soul of the peasant, innocent of every sentiment of patriotism, could not help but accept the socialist

message without resistence, the only doctrine descended to him up to today.

All this is neither a justification nor a condemnation. It is the verification of what causes the present sorry propaganda of official socialism, and it accuses our national revolution of having neglected the country districts.

A Silent Revolution in England

By the Editor of The Round Table

DURING the last two months a change has come over the people of England so noteworthy, and yet so silent and indefinable, as to deserve attention in these pages; for no outside observer could discover it for himself from our newspapers, nor could he easily interpret it from the external demeanor of the population in street or train or office.

It is a change of which most men and women are aware within themselves and of which, if they are observant and sensitive, they are conscious also in those around them, but which few care to acknowledge, still less to analyze, for to do so would stir the depths, and that the Englishman dislikes.

This silent revolution is the reaction upon Britain of the great advance. * * * It is a change which is strangely compounded of the spirit of hope and the spirit of sacrifice—of the sense of coming victory and the ache of personal loss. We know now that the empire and what it stands for are saved, that the old country will "carry on" for generations to come. But we know, too, that for tens of thousands life has henceforth lost much of its personal meaning, that there are gaps in the home circle which will never be filled, and that life will be a lonely pilgrimage to the end.

Personal affections and ambitions have made way for a bigger cause. Life seems wider and more impersonal. Our fellow-countrymen seem nearer to us. Rank and class seem to count for less. All have suffered alike and all have served alike, and all have the same world to live in and to repair—a world that seems lonely at times beyond all bearing, yet is lit up with the flame of sacrifice and the undying memory of those who are gone.

Many have discovered for the first time what every foreigner sees, and what every Briton from across the oceans knows, that the British are not a nation as the French are a nation, because the revolution of social equality has never yet been made.

The great mass of the nation are fighting even now not for an England which is themselves, but for an England which inherits noble traditions and fine qualities, but which is separated from them by the impalpable barrier of caste. This separation, which has added bitterness to every political and economic dispute, has been wonderfully bridged in the trenches. There is a growing sense that it must be bridged at home.

Social superiority and privilege must give way to common humanity and common sacrifice. In future we must be a more united and a more equal people than we have been in the past.

The effects of these tendencies are still obscure, but they are already to be seen in the program of the work allotted by the Government to the Reconstruction Committee, presided over by the Prime Minister. The subjects that are being inquired into by that body, working through a number of carefully manned sub-committees, cover a very wide range of social and economic interest.

The two most important of these are certainly education and the organization of industry. It has already been announced that a committee presided over by Lord Crewe, the new President of the Board of Education, has been appointed to review the whole question of national education in the light of the war. The industrial inquiry, it may be imagined, will be on a similarly comprehensive scale.

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

"Inasmuch as Ye Have Done It Unto the Least of These—"

This is the story of one ordinary man—Frank Ghiloni—and of how the diplomatic machinery of three great nations was kept in operation for a year and a half to save him from injustice. The citizenship laws of Italy and the naturalization laws of the United States are in conflict at one point, and this conflict forced the son of a humble Italian immigrant into the European war against his will. That the Government of 100,000,000 people should go to his rescue, compelling the Governments of two other nations of 36,000,000 and 50,000,000 people to take cognizance of this obscure individual's rights as an American citizen, is a lesson in the meaning of true democracy.

AN official volume of diplomatic correspondence is hardly the place to look for a romance, but occasionally one can be extracted even from these dry reports. The third White Paper of the United States Government on the European war, recently issued, embraces all the correspondence with belligerent Governments relating to neutral rights and duties for the year ended with June, 1916.

The correspondence covering the military service case of Frank Ghiloni relates to the question of dual nationality and develops a real human interest episode. It opens with a cablegram from Secretary Bryan to Ambassador Thomas Nelson Page at Rome, dated Jan. 13, 1915, informing the Ambassador in effect that Frank L. Ghiloni, born at Marlborough, Mass., Aug. 4, 1885, is under arrest at Barga, Italy; that his father had been naturalized in 1886, and that Frank had been a clerk in his father's store.

No reply being received, Secretary Bryan again cabled the Ambasador on Jan. 21, urging promptness, and on Jan. 22 received formal acknowledgment, stating that steps were being taken to obtain the young man's release. On March 25 Secretary Bryan again cabled inquiring the status of the case, and the Ambassador replied next day that his requests for the release of Ghiloni had not been acted on. On May 6 Secretary Bryan again cabled for information. On May 18 Ambassador Page replied that the Italian Minister of War declined to exempt Ghiloni from liability to military service.

On June 18 Secretary Bryan cabled Ambassador Page protesting against this decision. He said Ghiloni had resided ten years in Italy during childhood, but had returned to the United States at the age of 12, and lived here continuously until June, 1914, when his physician had ordered him to Italy for his health. His father had been naturalized when Ghiloni was less than 1 year old. Mr. Bryan pointed out that, according to our laws, Ghiloni was born a citizen of the United States; that he was domiciled in this country when he became of age in 1906; had evidently made practical election of American nationality, and was visiting Italy only for a temporary purpose. Ambassador Page cabled on June 11 that the Secretary's message had been presented to the Foreign Office with a request for early action.

On July 20 Robert Lansing took up the case and sent a long cablegram to Mr. Page, asking an early decision in the Ghiloni case. He repeated that Ghiloni was born a citizen of the United States; that he chose American nationality, and that this choice "should be recognized in cases of persons born of dual nationality, whether or not the municipal laws of the countries concerned prescribe definite modes of election. This Government has no desire to intervene in cases of persons who were born in the United States of Italian parents, but were domiciled in

Italy upon attaining their majority, are still domiciled there, and have evidently elected Italian nationality."

Aug. 13 Mr. Page reported that Ghiloni was under arms, but that his case was being investigated. On Aug. 27 Mr. Page cabled that the Foreign Office sustained the Minister of War, holding that Ghiloni, "even if he had during his minority lost his Italian citizenship, in consequence of the naturalization obtained in the United States by his father, the fact would not have exempted him from military service in Italy under Article XII. of the Civil Code."

On Sept. 4 Secretary Lansing asked further news of Ghiloni, adding: "His friends are importunate." Mr. Page cabled at once that as Ghiloni was said to be in poor health, it was hoped he would be exempted from military duty on this account. On the 5th he reported, however, that the Italian War Office refused to release Ghiloni because he had been born prior to his father's naturalization.

State messages on this case continued to pass under the Atlantic during October, but Ghiloni's release was definitely refused by the Italian military authorities.

In the meantime the young man was wounded and taken prisoner by the Austrians and was interned in an Austrian prison camp at Mautheusen. Acting Secretary of State Polk on Jan. 8, 1916, cabled the facts in the case to Ambassador Penfield at Vienna, directing him to inform the Austrian authorities that Ghiloni was an American citizen, though this was not conceded by Italy, and asked that he be released and returned to this country.

On Feb. 18 Secretary Lansing again cabled Ambassador Penfield to emphasize the fact that Ghiloni was "born an American citizen, was impressed into the Italian Army, and was serving against his wishes. His mother is seriously ill because of his plight."

Mr. Penfield cabled on March 14 that the Austrian Ministry inquired what guarantee could be given that Ghiloni "will not bear arms against monarchy or allies during present war in case of his release." The Secretary of State asked what guarantee would be required, and again called attention to the records showing that Ghiloni was impressed into the Italian Army and did not volunteer.

Secretary Lansing also cabled Ambassador Page on March 23, calling attention to the Italian law on citizenship promulgated June 30, 1912, which provides that "an Italian citizen born and residing in a foreign nation which considers him to be a citizen of its own retains still Italian citizenship, but he may abandon it when he becomes of age." He asked whether "this provision is not applicable to persons born in the United States of Italian parents, provided such persons were domiciled in this country upon attaining their majority, and evidently elected American rather than Italian nationality."

On March 27 Ambassador Penfield cabled that Austria would not release Ghiloni "except under assumption that American Government first cause Italian Government to recognize Ghiloni's American citizenship; otherwise, after being discharged he might again be compelled by Italy to perform military service against Austria or her allies."

Secretary Lansing cabled on March 31, asking the release of Ghiloni upon his sworn statement that he would return to the United States immediately and not leave this country during the continuance of the war.

On April 25 Secretary Lansing asked whether Austria would release Ghiloni on the assurance of the United States Secretary of State that a passport would not be issued to him to leave the United States during continuance of the war.

Ambassador Penfield cabled May 5 that Austria agreed to release Ghiloni on his affidavit that he would not again bear arms against Austria or her allies; that he would be repatriated by way of Scandinavia, Holland, or Germany, and that a guarantee should be given by the United States that the Entente Powers should not seize Ghiloni and compel him to do military service.

On May 8 Ambassador Penfield was authorized to agree to the first two conditions for the release of Ghiloni; the

United States, however, could not give an absolute guarantee as to the third. It did not believe Ghiloni would be seized by the Entente Powers, did not recognize their right to do so, and if he were seized would demand his immediate release.

On June 19 Ambassador Penfield cabled that Ghiloni had been released and delivered to the American Embassy, and that he would return to the United States via Scandinavia. Forty-one official transatlantic messages, with the assistance of fate, had at last availed to snatch one man from the maelstrom.

A Perilous Escape by Sea

Two Siberian petty officers, prisoners of war in Germany, made a daring and successful escape across the Baltic into Denmark, whence they were sent to Petrograd. There they told their story to a correspondent of the Novoye Vremya, who wrote the narrative here presented to readers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE two Siberians, Gregory Dalmatoff and Alexander Ralnikoff, met in the Altdam camp for prisoners of war. They were captured, the first in 1914, the second in 1915. This year the majority of the prisoners had been sent out by the Germans to do agricultural labor. It was left to the Russian war prisoners exclusively to work on this Summer's crops. Ralnikoff and Dalmatoff were sent to work in Pomerania, in the neighborhood of Greutzneberg, not far from the Baltic coast, between Kolberg and Kammin. They were placed on the estate of an elderly woman. Life became much easier. The watch over them was not as rigid as in the camp, but they were compelled to work from morning till night.

The intention to escape never for a moment left the two Siberians. Ralnikoff had studied German in the camp for that purpose. Twice he made attempts to escape, but without success. The first time he deserted the camp on July 27, 1915. Living on potatoes, he and four comrades traveled 150 miles in twelve days. Then one night in an open field they stumbled against a powder magazine and a German sentinel. At first the sentinel was confused by the sudden encounter, and when he began to shoot they were already hiding in the bushes. Their lives were saved, but they were caught. Fourteen days of imprisonment with hands and feet chained, however, did not dampen the energy of the Siberian.

Two months afterward Ralnikoff again started on a risky enterprise with some comrades, and reached the resort Murtzbart. There they were again caught when about to enter a boat. They were punished with twenty-eight days' confinement, under heavy guard, in a dark, cold cell on half a pound of bread daily with water. The torture was not light. Immediately after release the leader was dispatched to work again.

The other Siberian, Dalmatoff, was also an adventurous fellow. Hardened by outdoor life, accustomed to freedom, he could not bear imprisonment. Three days after being captured he made an attempt to jump off a moving train which was going from Mitau to the interior of Germany. The train was stopped and the prisoner caught.

Finding themselves on the estate of the elderly lady, the two minds became active again, with a view to escaping. Circumstances favored them. Each night they were locked up together with the horses in a stable, where quarters were made for them, and the woman inspected the lock every evening. The window was protected by an iron net.

For several days the two prisoners saved portions of their black bread for the expected journey. On the night of June 6, when all were asleep in the house, they broke through the window and climbed out. The road was familiar to them, as they had driven along it on several occasions. They walked till the early morning without mishap. At about 6 o'clock they hid themselves in the grain on the edge of a field. Within a

few yards of them, without suspecting it, Russian war prisoners were laboring. Till 5 in the afternoon no one noticed them.

After dinner a woman, evidently the lady of the estate, in the company of her son, a youngster, came out into the field. The boy soon directed himself toward the wheat to pick wild flowers. His mother came after him, and stumbled against the two men hiding there. She was so frightened that for some minutes she stood there unable to utter a sound. Meanwhile the two men took to their heels. Luckily, there were no soldiers in the vicinity. The two Germans in charge of the Russian laborers would not risk leaving them unguarded in order to go hunting for the two Siberians. The woman ran to the village, while the men were looking for a ditch in the grainfield in which to hide. A hunt after them was inevitable.

Crawling on the ground, Ralnikoff and Dalmatoff advanced a few hundred feet, and then hid again to see what was coming. Toward evening sounds of male and female voices reached them. Dogs were also accompanying them. Slowly the voices died away in the distance. Slightly raising their heads, the two men saw some gendarmes in the background.

On the third night the sea was reached. Walking northward along the shore of a small bay, the escaped prisoners were looking for a boat. In one place they discovered some excellent fishing boats, but a guard was keeping watch over them. They walked for another seven or eight miles, and were rejoiced to discover a small boat with oars. On the shore a tiny village was situated. Ascertaining that no one was watching them, the two men stole into a garden, where they found an old pail. This they filled with drinking water from the well, and took it to the boat and shoved out to sea.

Never before had these men from the Siberian steppes set eyes upon the sea. They did not know how to row, but they learned quickly. Then they discovered that the boat was leaking. Cutting off the corks from a rope lying in the boat, they filled the hole. Far to the west the signal lights of German ships were glowing. Risking the danger of falling in the way of a mine-layer, they kept on northward, verifying their direction by the compass in the light of the lamp. Toward morning a favoring wind began to blow. They spread a coat on two oars, thus getting a semblance of a sail. The boat ran faster. Suddenly some fighting craft appeared on the horizon. It was necessary to hide. They hauled down the "sail" quickly, and heavily took to the oars. The vessels evidently did not notice the small boat, for they soon disappeared from view.

The coast behind them was seen no longer, and the boat got into a strong current, which tossed it violently. The wind was increasing. Big waves were rising and washing over the sides. The inexperienced Siberians were seized by seasickness. Terrible headaches and vomiting forced them to drop their oars now and then. Besides, a wave filled their pail with sea water, and they had nothing to drink. They tasted the sea water, and their thirst only grew more painful. Toward night the storm grew more violent. The boat was being carried westward. With superhuman efforts, they again tried to row.

The second night on the sea arrived—a bleak, awful, and lonely night. A terrible fight for life had commenced. The boat was being thrown about like a feather. Dalmatoff vomited blood. At times the two brave fellows felt like jumping overboard to escape further torment. Ralnikoff was now rowing alone. Finally, he also dropped the oars and gave himself up to the current. Fortunately, the storm was abating by this time. The waves were diminishing in force. The Siberians in turn used the bottom of the boat for a resting place. When day came they found it horrifying to look at each other's face. Yellow, exhausted, with cheeks sunken, the two men resembled ghosts from another world. Their strength was gone. They began to lose all hope. They did not know how far the current had carried them to the west.

They now moved to the north, dream-

ing of a steamer to pick them up, but no vessels were in sight. Toward noon they noticed swans flying northward. They were overjoyed, seeing in this a sign of the proximity of land. They plucked up their last powers and directed the boat to the northwest. Finally, they noticed a black point on the horizon. It was land, but whether an island or part of the continent, and of what country, they knew not. The joy of a speedy salvation injected new power in their veins, and after thirty-six hours of rocking on the waves of the Baltic they reached land.

Exhausted, they dropped on the shore. There was a hamlet not far off. A woman saw two men fall to the ground and hastened to their aid. She soon brought out coffee to them. Of food they could have nothing at the time. Very soon the whole village turned out to see the Russian prisoners who had escaped from Germany. They questioned the refugees in Danish and shouted "Russland, England, Denmark, lieb, lieb, hurrah!"

The prisoners were placed in a cabin near the beach. All expressed amazement at their courage to brave such a storm. They were given medical treatment, allowed to recuperate, and were sent to Russia. They gratefully recall the kindnesses of the Danes to them.

The Comforts of Home—in Trench Dugouts

By a British Private

THE first night in trenches I slept with a friend in a small, box-like hole, six feet long and a yard square —and we were wearing greatcoats and full equipment minus pack and haversack. Our method of entrance was for me to crawl in first and for my friend to wriggle over me, pulling himself along by my belt, my equipment, and my face. We lay squashing each other and breathing on each other, more uncomfortable than ever in our lives, but we were tired —and we slept. They pulled us out by our feet.

The next night was something similar, only a little more so. This time it was a tiny hole that held one's head and shoulders. I got in first, and I was awakened by the wet greatcoat of a comrade rubbing gently over my face. He had gone to sleep on a firing step and had been awakened by snow and sleet when he was wet through. He had then come to join me in my hole. How bitterly I cursed him! And I remember I insisted on his crawling out to divest himself of his overcoat before allowing him to settle down. Poor lad! One alone could curl up in the hole, but with two one had to lie stretched out. My legs from the knees downward were in the slush outside, and every one who passed by—and it seemed as if half the British Army passed that hole that night—trod on me.

In our next spell in trenches we had no dugout at all. We made one. We called it a dugout. Really it was merely a shelter. It was three feet high, two deep, and six long. The top was of corrugated iron, the sides of waterproof sheets, the seat (for we could only sit in it with our feet and legs dangling in the trench) of earth, and the supports were sticks. In it four of us had our being, when off duty, for several days. And we imagined ourselves much safer than when in the open!

Oh, innocence!

My next home in the trenches was a wooden box, rectangular, four feet high, six wide, and twelve long. Ten of us lived there. The only way we could occupy it was by all sitting on our haunches with our knees to our chins.

I remember I was fortunate enough to occupy a rum jar which, however, continually rolled from beneath me, but the dugout sticks in my memory mainly because I nearly broke my back in continually stooping double.

From this time onward my fortune in dugouts improved. I found one in a spot that was a little higher inside, that

was better protected by sandbags, that boasted a brazier! Four of us lived there. One was a director of a building firm, with a pretty turn for cutting tins, and he constructed a chimney and an oven out of biscuit and jam tins. We rigged up a shelf, too. This was our luckiest dugout, for one of our four contracted German measles and we were isolated and forbidden to do any work! We became skilled in auction bridge.

But I had been out at the front three months before I occupied a real dugout. One entered it backward in a sliding fashion—for the steps were merging into each other—and we found it deep and cool—too cool—and dark, and, fortunately for us, able to withstand minenwerfers, (trench mortars,) shells, rifle grenades, and whizz-bangs. My stove, on which I was boiling water, was put out three times and our candles twelve times by concussion on our first morning there. Also a lump of shell, weighing two or three pounds, visited us down the steps. Yes, it was an excellent dugout. Fourteen of us lived there. The man opposite to me sat on a red plush, ornamented, decrepit, drawing-room chair—where it came from I cannot imagine, unless it was from some ruined and deserted house near by long since destroyed altogether. I sat and slept on a petrol tin.

Not every soldier likes dugouts. I have a friend who hates them. Always since a boy he has been obsessed with dreams of walls closing in upon him. One night not long ago he dreamed that the dugout he was in had collapsed and crushed him. In the morning he examined the supports, and partly because he concluded it was not altogether safe and partly because of the vivid nature of the dream, he removed his kit, and persuaded his companions to do likewise. Not an hour afterward the dugout slid forward and fell in.

The Maori in France

By a British Correspondent

IN the green lanes of France you may meet at any time with men of all colors. There are black men marching there, brown men and bronze, besides all the English and French soldiery. A while ago a long column swung along the road to the tune of a melody sung in time to the marching feet. The tune you would know, but the words would be new to you, or at least seem so.

He roa te wa ki Tipirere,
He tino mamao,
He roa te wa ki Tipirere,
Ki taku kotiro,
E noho pikatiri,
Hei kona rehita koea,
He mamao rawa Tipirere
Ka tae ahua.

It is an old friend in new guise, and the last words of the first line will tell you that it is none other than "Tipperary." But what is the tongue that it is sung in and what of the men that sing it?

On the under side of the world there is a land where the trees never turn yellow; where the Summer is a fair division of the year, with a month and a half thrown in for good measure. It is a land of big spaces, full, broad rivers, and turquoise lakes. In the south there are great mountains with their peaks clothed in perpetual snow and their glaciers moving toward the sun-bathed plains. In the interior there lived a race of chivalrous warriors who fought a great fight against British troops. Now New Zealand is as British as Sussex, and the spirit of the dark-skinned fighters who took up arms against the redcoats has come to France in the Maori contingent.

When the war came to New Zealand it found one Maori boy dwelling beside the waters of Lake Taupo. He was happy as he could be and not overworked. He had been taught English by the Catholic priest of Waihi, and he could read the papers slowly, but sufficiently well to tell that here was a great adventure offered him. He sat one night reading from the cables how the Germans had

thrown our army back from Mons. He did not know where Mons was, but he knew that men were wanted. * * * He took his younger brother out to the potato paddock and gave him detailed instructions as to what he was to do if the kumaras were by any chance ready for digging before he came back from settling the King's affairs. He shook hands solemnly with his grandfather and performed the "hongi," rubbing his own flat nose on the tattooed face of the old man.

He shouldered his bundle and walked to Waioura, and then he took a train. In ten days he was wearing a khaki jacket and a helmet and doing tedious drill on a hard-trodden square. Then, after the allotted space of training, he was embarked with his fellows, all of his own race, and the long journey to Egypt commenced. Arrived at Gallipoli he got his first taste of fighting, and heredity came uppermost. Disregarding all that an impressive Sergeant Major had drummed into his head, he forgot that a bayonet was for use at close quarters. He was sent with the other Maoris on a little piece of work that demanded much steadiness and the utmost quiet. They stealthily crept along to attack the Turk. It was to be a surprise attack, and the rifles were not to be fired. It was a surprise, and Honé went into the thick of the mêlée with his rifle clubbed like the "tiaha" or the "teko-teko" of his forebears. It was hard work, but orders were obeyed, and there were no noises but the sound of hard breathing and the thud of the rifle stocks and the cries of the wounded. Their object was achieved, and that night on the beach under Walker's they sat and talked in their own tongue of the glories of that half hour.

Then they came to France, and we find them swinging along between the high poplars to the tune of "Tipperary," sung sweetly in their soft voices and with the perfect time that all Polynesian races are able to put into their music. Honé came, too, and here he is at the head of the column with two stripes on his sleeve. As he marches he wishes wistfully that his old grandfather and little Hori, his brother, could see him now and could have heard the cheers that greeted them in the streets of the first French town they passed through.

Once more he was in the thick of things, but this time he did not march back to the bivouac. A stretcher carried him to the waiting motor ambulance and he was hurried to the hospital, where a surgeon shook his head sadly over him.

He lay there for two days, but his spirit was already half round the world to the quiet lakeside where the white sand is washed by waters as blue as the clear sky. He thought himself back at Taupo sitting under the shade of the manuka bushes. The steam from the hot pools in the ti-tree was wafted across the water and the boiling mud geysers chuckled and gurgled like goblins as he told his brother and the old man of how he had fought the Turk and the Germans. The nurse at the other end of the ward was suddenly conscious of soft singing, and as she came along the passageway between the beds she heard that the voice was Honé's. She, too, knew the tune, but the words were strange to her. "He roa te wa ki Tipirere, he tino mamao," he sang. And then, as the little boiling pools chuckled and laughed softly and the note of a distant bell-bird came across the arm of the lake from Waitanui, he closed his eyes and his spirit went to the place where all good warriors go.

French Schools in Alsace

THERE are now flourishing French schools in the portion of Alsace occupied by General Joffre's troops. In the single district of T. 6,000 little Alsatians are learning to use the language which the German Government had prohibited in the common schools. French could be taught privately outside of the German schools, but this made it a luxury accessible only to the children of well-to-do parents. Now, according to an article in the Bulletin des Armées, the

population is eager to seize the opportunity to acquire the proscribed language. Already the little boy or girl of the family, returning from school, is serving as interpreter between the parents and the soldiers lodged in the house.

The installation of the schools is very picturesque. It has been necessary to open temporary classes in cellars, barns, tents, or even in forest glades. In several villages the schoolhouse has had to be abandoned. The roof is crushed in, the glass is shattered from the windows, the rooms are full of débris. Through the little window of a basement, however, come childish voices, singing "Il était une bergère," and in a setting which recalls the old schools of 1830 you see a soldier or a nun surrounded by a group of children. Sometimes it happens that the song is interrupted by the screech of a shell, and then everybody descends to the cellar, where the boys avenge themselves for having felt the wind of fear by singing the "Marseillaise."

The school life is so closely mingled with the military life that the teachers, no matter what their station, feel like soldiers. And so do the pupils. Most of them have adopted the French uniform, not without fantasy and variety. One might say that every army corps, all arms, and all ranks are represented in each class. Very often the schoolhouse itself is divided between the children and the soldiers. In the corridors or the court the urchins and poilus rub elbows and have grown very fond of each other. The little boys already have very decided ideas as to the regiment or army which they will choose when the time comes for them to serve France. The little girls devote themselves to caring for the graves of soldiers who have fallen for their country.

The Death Plunge of a Zeppelin

A Night Episode Near London

THIRTEEN Zeppelin airships took part in a raid over the eastern counties of England on the night of Saturday, Sept. 2, the most formidable aerial attack thus far recorded in history. Three of the great airships reached the outskirts of London, where their bombs killed a man and a woman, and injured eleven other persons, including two children. The dramatic and spectacular feature of the episode was the destruction of one of these three invaders high in air by a British youth of 21, Lieutenant Robinson, who got above it in an aeroplane and sent it flaming to earth with its doomed German crew of sixteen men. As London's millions saw it fall, it was a historic night for that city. One eyewitness thus describes the event:

"I was awakened about 2:30 o'clock Sunday morning by the information that gunfire was going on. Looking from my windows I saw the flashes of the guns in all directions. In a certain direction especially there was a great display of searchlights. Suddenly there appeared a glow in the sky which in-

creased in intensity until it became something like a great star. This clearly assumed the shape of a Zeppelin at a great height. It looked like a mass of molten metal such as one sees falling out of a furnace pipe, or a bar of polished steel about the thickness of an engine piston rod. It seemed to remain motionless and undecided which way to go while the guns peppered it without cessation.

"Shells burst around it, in front and behind, above and below, and it made a turn as if to go in the direction of the coast, but a shell burst ominously near its nose and caused it to swing around in the opposite direction.

"Then away up there in the centre of the ball of light something happened. It seemed as if a black shadow passed between our vision and the brilliant light. In the sky when we looked again the airship had gone. Firing ceased and the searchlights, splitting their focused rays, shot backward and forward across the firmament, but the Zeppelin was gone. Under cover of a cloud of smoke she had made a wild dash upward beyond the ray of light and through the ring of bursting shells.

"Suddenly, away further to the north, a ball of fire in the sky riveted our attention. The ball spread in size, and there was a great explosion. The whole of London, north, south, east, and west, was illuminated by the one flash. The dome of St. Paul's and the towers at Westminster, hitherto obscured, stood out with remarkable clearness, and for a brief second it looked as if a panorama of the whole of London had been thrown upon a screen in a darkened hall.

"There was no need now to speculate as to the fate of the invader. Persons who came out into the streets raised cheer after cheer and sang the national anthem. The burning Zeppelin could now be seen falling nose downward to the earth like a huge blazing caldron from which poured a spray of sparks."

The airship fell near the hamlet of Cuffley, fifteen miles from London and not far from Enfield, where the rifles of that name are made, and where the factory was undoubtedly the objective of the raider. A resident of the farm on which it fell says it came down like a huge incandescent mantle with an orange centre of flame. It fell headlong with a terrible, tearing sound, and struck the ground with a crash that could be heard for miles around.

When daylight came sixteen charred bodies were taken out of the débris and laid in a row on the grass, where 100,000 people from London came flocking to see them. The crowds went out afoot, in taxicabs, motor cars, charabancs, pony carts—anything to reach the picturesque country spot where lay the mangled airship. A never-ceasing string of motor cars, dashing along the fifteen-mile run from London to Cuffley, aroused memories of the days when the cup races used to be run. So thick were the motor cars that at many spots along the way they became choked in the roads so that travel was badly clogged.

On the morning after the event it was discovered that the Zeppelin had been brought to earth, not by the anti-aircraft guns below, but by an intrepid boy in a biplane—Lieutenant Leete Robinson of the Royal Flying Corps—who has since received the Victoria Cross.

This was the first Zeppelin brought down on English soil, (one was destroyed off the mouth of the Thames a few months ago,) hence Lieutenant Robinson received cash rewards aggregating $3,000 which had been offered by private individuals for this achievement.

The bodies of the German youths who had given up their lives on this dangerous expedition were buried on Sept. 6 in the little country cemetery amid the hayfields about Cuffley, with simple Church of England services, followed by the sounding of taps, as arranged by the Royal Flying Corps. The bodies of the fifteen privates were laid in one large grave, while that of the commander was buried separately in a coffin whose inscription revealed the number of the airship:

"An unknown German officer killed while commanding the L-21, Sept. 3, 1916."

Deportation of Civilians in Occupied French Territory

The French Government has issued a White Book addressed to neutral nations, in which it protests against certain illegal acts of the German military authorities toward the civilian population in the French departments occupied by the enemy. During the days just before and after Easter, 1916, about 25,000 French subjects, ranging from young girls of 16 to men of 55 years, without distinction of social condition, were torn from their homes and families at Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Lille, and deported to the Aisne and Ardennes districts, where they were compelled by force or threats to work in the fields. Germany defends the act on the ground that it was necessary because of food scarcity. The Allies denounce it as slavery. It has aroused indignation throughout France and England and added a new note of bitterness to the conflict. The more important documents on the subject are presented below.

Statement by M. Briand

FROM time to time the Government of the Republic has had occasion to advise the neutral powers of the means, contrary to treaties, employed by the German military authority toward the populations of the French territory temporarily occupied by Germany. The Government of the Republic finds itself today compelled to place before the foreign Governments documents which will furnish the proof that our enemies have adopted new measures which are still more inhuman.

Upon the order of General von Graevenitz and with the assistance of Infantry Regiment 64, sent by the German General Headquarters, about 25,000 French, young girls from 16 to 20 years old, young women and men up to the age of 55 years, without distinction of social condition, were torn from their homes at Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Lille, pitilessly separated from their families, and forced to do agricultural work in the Departments of the Aisne and Ardennes.

Better than any comments the posters of the German authorities, the painful protests of the Mayor and Bishop of Lille, and the extracts from letters which have come from these localities, and which are annexed to this statement, will illustrate this new deed of the German Imperial Government.

Here is the recital of the facts as given us by the Minister of War on June 30, 1916:

"The Germans, not content with subjecting our population of the north to all series of vexations, have just inflicted upon them the most iniquitous of treatments. In contempt of the most universally recognized rules and of their most positive promise not to harass the civil population, they have torn women and young girls from their families, and, mingling them with men, have shipped them for unknown destinations and unknown labors.

"In the first days of April posters offered to unemployed families to settle them in the country in the departments of the north to work in the fields or to chop down trees. This endeavor having met with poor success, the Germans decided to resort to force. Beginning April 9, they are found carrying on wholesale arrests in the streets and in homes, carrying away pell-mell men and young girls and shipping them no one knows where.

"The measure was soon to become general and to be used in more methodical fashion. A General and numerous troops arrived at Lille, among others the Sixty-fourth Regiment, coming from Verdun; on April 29 and 30 a notice to the population was posted in which it was requested to hold itself ready for a forced evacuation. Immediately the Mayor protested, the Bishop sought the commander of the place, the Elders sent indignant letters; nothing availed.

"On Saturday of Holy Week at 3 o'clock in the morning methodical wholesale arrests began at Lille, starting with the Fives quarter, Tourcoing, starting

with the Marlière quarter, and at Roubaix. After an interruption for Easter Sunday the operation was resumed during the whole week, ending at Lille in the St. Maurice quarter. Toward 3 o'clock in the morning the streets were barred by troops with fixed bayonets and a machine gun set up across the sidewalk against unarmed people. The soldiers entered the houses, and officers designated the persons who were to go, and half an hour later every one was carried away pell-mell to a nearby factory, and from there to the railroad station for departure. Mothers with children under 14 years were spared; young girls below 20 years old were carried away only with a person of their family, but this does not lessen the barbarity of the measure. Soldiers of the Landsturm were visibly embarrassed to find themselves employed for such work.

"The victims of this brutal deed showed the greatest courage. They were heard crying 'Long live France!' and singing 'La Marseillaise' in the cattle cars which carried them away.

"It is said that the men are employed at farming, road work, munitions making, and digging trenches. The women are required to cook and wash for the soldiers and to take the places of officers' orderlies.

"Hence for these hard tasks servants, domestics, and working girls were taken in preference. In the Rue Royale at Lille there are no servant girls left, but young girls of courage were found in the middle class who did not wish to see only the young girls of the working class go. It is mentioned that the Misses B. and de B. insisted upon accompanying the girls of their neighborhood.

"These unfortunates, thus requisitioned, were dispersed from Seclin and Templeuve to the Ardennes. Their number is estimated at 25,000 for the cities of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing. The Place quarter of Lille, the townships of Loos, Haubordin, Madeleine, and Lambersart are said to have been spared."

Nothing can equal the emotion felt by the populations of the north of France without distinction of class during these days of Holy Week. These facts surpass in inhumanity those which had occurred previously. * * *

The German military authority, in orders posted at Lille, has seen fit to justify the wholesale exiles carried out at Lille and Roubaix as being the counterpart of the attitude of England in rendering the feeding of populations more and more difficult. Nothing can justify a measure so barbarous; the seizure of contraband, the stoppage of enemy commerce are acts of war; the deportation of population without military necessity is not one. Besides, in order to do justice to this pretended justification, it suffices to establish that not only has Germany profited through depriving the occupied territories of all products which would have assured the support of the inhabitants, but further has organized to its profit before all stoppage of enemy commerce the exploitation of the labor of French civilians.

Article 52 of the rule annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention authorizes the requisitioning in kind and in service for the needs of the army of occupation. There is no question in the depositions obtained of any regular form of requisition. Services sometimes of the most repulsive character were imposed by constraint upon the entire civilian population, without distinction of sex, age, or social condition. These unfortunates had to do the labor imposed upon them by night or day in places the most diverse and most distant from their residences, sometimes even under the fire of artillery, without remuneration of any sort in most cases, for some crusts of bread in others. The German military authority has never had any consideration for the population whose provisional administration has been secured to it by war. The fruits of the forced labor of this population have been shipped to Germany, despite the absolute destitution of the workers.

Finally, it may be noticed in the following depositions that the German authorities did not hesitate to compel these populations to take part in war operations against their country, even to the extent of taking part in the looting of

FOUR RUMANIAN LEADERS

Ion Bratiano,
Premier of Rumania.

Take Jonescu,
the People's Leader.

General Averescu,
Noted Commander.

General Culca,
a Doughty Fighter.

GERMAN PRISON CAMP MONEY

Paper Money and Coins That Are Being Used in Place of Legal Money in the German and Austrian Camps of War Captives.

their own land. These authorities made of them the direct auxiliaries of the fighting army, whether by placing them in front of German troops as shields or by forcing them to do work connected with war operations.

The working material—for it is no longer a question of men, but of veritable machines which are displaced as suits the needs—the material lacking in certain regions of the occupied territory, the German authorities draw without counting either in the internment camps, where against all right those subject to military duty removed from that territory have been confined, or in the other invaded regions. They are not sent to the place of their previous residence. These civilians are enlisted, and, although the Germans themselves recognize that they may not be compelled to do labor, they are taken to any point of the territories occupied by the German Army and compelled to do the hardest labor.

And when France, in the name of anguished families, demands information concerning the fate of the transplanted unfortunates the German Government replies that the military authorities do not deem themselves obliged to account for the reasons which have caused these transfers. It has not been possible to know during whole seasons what has become of such unfortunates.

It results clearly from the whole of the depositions hereinafter set forth that no immediate necessity whatever, nor the excitement incident to fighting, can extenuate the violations of the law of nations committed by the German authorities. The latter, in accordance with a deliberate will and a method settled in advance, have reduced the unhappy population of the invaded territories to a condition which may be compared only to slavery.

In 1885, at the time of the African conference in Berlin, of which she had taken the initiative, Germany had bound herself, in what concerned the territories of Africa where she exercised her sovereignty or influence, to conserve the native populations and to better materially and morally their existence.

After having gathered the information, necessarily very limited, which has come to it from the invaded portion of France, and which it submits to the neutral powers, the Government of the Republic is entitled to doubt that the German authorities observe in what concerns the populations which are temporarily in their charge the obligations which the Imperial Government has undertaken regarding the black populations of the centre of Africa.

(Signed) A. BRIAND,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

German Proclamation

The German Military Commander of Lille posted up the following proclamation during Holy Week:

The attitude of England renders it increasingly difficult to feed the population.

To lessen misery, the German authority has recently asked volunteers to work in the country. This offer has not had the success which was expected. Consequently the inhabitants will be removed by compulsion and transported to the country. Those removed will be sent in the interior of French occupied territory far behind the front, where they will be employed in agriculture and in no way in military work.

By this measure the opportunity will be given them to better provide for their support.

In case of necessity the revictualing may be effected by the German dépots.

Each person removed may carry thirty kilograms of baggage, (house utensils, clothes, &c.,) which it will be well to prepare immediately. Hence I order:

No one may until further notice change residence. Nor may any one be absent from his declared local domicile from 9 o'clock at night until 6 o'clock in the morning (German time) unless he holds a regular permit.

As this concerns an irrevocable measure, it is in the interest of the population itself to remain calm and obedient.

Lille, April, 1916.

(Signed) THE COMMANDER.

The foregoing was followed by this more peremptory notice:

All the inhabitants of the houses except children under 14 years and their mothers, as also except elderly persons, must prepare to be transported in an hour and a half.

An officer will finally decide what persons are to be conducted to concentration points. To that end all inhabitants of the house must gather before their habitation; in case of bad weather it is permissible to remain in the hall. The door of the house must remain open. Any objection will be useless. No

inhabitant of the house, even those who will not be removed, may leave the house before 8 o'clock in the morning, (German time.)

Each person will be entitled to thirty kilograms of baggage. Should there be an excess of weight, all the baggage of that person will be refused without consideration. The bundles must be made separately for each person and bear a legible address written and solidly affixed. The address must bear the name, given name, and the number of the card of identity.

It is wholly necessary in one's own interest to bring drinking and eating utensils, as also a woolen blanket, good shoes, and linen. Each person will have to carry a card of identity. Whoever attempts to evade removal will be pitilessly punished.

(Signed) ETAPPAN KOMMANDANT,

Summary of Evidence

The remainder of the White Book consists of more than 240 corroborative exhibits in the form of sworn statements in regard to sufferings and abuses endured by victims of the deportation edict. Women and men alike testify to having been compelled to work from 6 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon at various kinds of hard labor, upon pain of imprisonment, starvation, or beating. Some of the men state that they were compelled to bury the dead, to dig trenches, construct bridges or roads, and do other work of military value to the enemy. To employ prisoners or civilians of occupied country in military work constitutes a violation of international law, as voiced in Article 52 of the Fourth Hague Convention.

A German Explanation

The following explanation by a German officer who had been an Aide-de-Camp in the Lille district during the evictions was sent from Berlin by a semi-official news agency on Aug. 17:

The main reason for sending a part of the civilian population from Lille was that the town was being furiously shelled by the British, who do not show the regard for French cities that the French artillerymen do, their reckless destruction of French houses and monuments being resented by the French civilians in Lille. In addition to this there had been much difficulty in the distribution of food in the congested districts of the city. Therefore, civilians from the densely populated workingmen's quarters were sent away. By no means all civilians were sent; only those from the quarters mentioned.

View of an Eyewitness

Cyril Brown, the Berlin correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, visited these evicted civilians in August, and made the following report:

Twenty-two thousand French civilians, men, women, youths, and young girls, have been evicted to date from Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing, I am told. The greater part have been distributed over the rich agricultural sections of France in German hands. The balance have been distributed among industrial centres.

Returning from the Somme front I availed myself of the opportunity of spending a day visiting the evicted civilians in Sedan and thirteen surrounding hamlets and villages. My impression gained after seeing and talking with the male evicted civilians in Sedan was unfavorable if their statements were true. The impression made upon us by the men, women, girls, and youths in the country district around Sedan was very favorable.

To understand the situation the reader must bear in mind that a clear distinction is made between "conscripts" of military age and the other evicted persons, women and males of non-military age. Most of the civilians appear to have been taken from Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing in April or May. An officer of the General Staff, who spoke with authority, told me that of the 22,000 civilians 2,000 had been sent back to their homes either because they had been sent away by mistake, as in the case of those of higher social status, because they were physically incapable of working, because they were single women without near relatives, or for other valid reasons. The officer added that quite a number of those who returned to Lille had asked to be brought back to Sedan because living conditions were better for them here. He further stated that the difficulties of feeding the masses in Lille, Roubaix, and Turcoing, particularly the unemployed, had forced the German military authorities to resort to the policy of evicting the inhabitants.

I am inclined to believe that while the military necessity of relieving the non-military pressure from important strategic railroads and even a certain degree of altruism influenced the military authorities to take this measure, the permanent evicting of 20,000 natives could not seem sufficient to relieve the economic pressure in these cities—would not be enough alone to justify the step. It seems probable that the primary motive of the military authorities was the necessity of obtaining agricultural workers to get in the bountiful harvest in Northern France, and, in the second place, for the purpose of rooting out the evils resulting from unemployment in the big cities, and the resultant difficulties of food distribution in the third place.

SLAVES —*By Forain in Paris Figaro.*

FIRST GERMAN OFFICER: "Whose's that under the load?"
SECOND GERMAN OFFICER: "Oh, she's the daughter of that Lille Professor!"

[This letter is authenticated by the Allied Official Bureau. The Germans reply that the deportation was an act of charity to the overcrowded population in the cities.]

The Agonized Mothers of Lille

MY DEAR M.: We have just been through three weeks full of the most hideous agony and moral torture which a mother's heart can be called upon to endure—the last week has been the worst.

On the pretext of the difficulty caused by England in maintaining the food supply and the refusal of inhabitants to volunteer to work in the fields, steps have been taken for an evacuation by force, which has been put into effect with every imaginable refinement of cruelty. They did not, as on the first occasion, take families as a whole. No! they thought it too humane a method to let members of families suffer together, so they took one, two, three, four, or five members from each family, men, women, boys, children of 15, girls, anyhow—at the arbitrary will of an officer!

To prolong the agony all round, they worked by districts—never saying on which night each district would be taken. For it was at break of day that these gallant soldiers with fixed bayonets, armed with machine guns, and the band playing at their head, sallied forth to abduct women and children. God knows where to and wherefore. They say: Far from the front for work in no way connected with the war. However, we hear already that in some districts these poor creatures have been received with volleys of stones, because it was said that they had volunteered to do work which the inhabitants of the districts refused to perform. It is a devilish lie, as is the whole plan—it was for this that the census card, which gave age, sex, ability, and skill in particular work; the identity card which we all have to carry, and the prohibition on sleeping away from home were preparing.

About three weeks ago raids were made in the two neighboring towns; people were seized anyhow in the streets and tramways, and people thus seized were never seen again. We were terrified. As several girls and chidren were seized, the civil and religious authorities made admirable protests. "I cannot believe," said one, "in this violation of all justice and right; this abom-

inable action, which violates every canon of morality or justice, will bring universal condemnation on its perpetrators." "I hear," said another, "that measures of an extreme nature threaten our families; I believe in the human conscience—a punishment by which young girls and children would be torn from their mothers to be sent to an unknown destination in a state of terrible promiscuity, would be as cruel as it would be undeserved—it would be contrary to the most elementary notions of morality. Your Excellency, you are a father, and you will understand what such an extreme measure would be to our families whose members are so united."

In reply, the authors of these protests were called together on Holy Thursday at 4 o'clock. During the meeting terrorizing posters were put up and they were given to understand that this was the reply to their protests, and that on leaving they could read them in the streets in the same way as the rest of the population. As the abominable measure was decided on, they were told that they could hold their tongues. Well, the poster warned every one—excepting old and infirm persons, children under 14 and their mothers—to be ready for evacuation, every person being allowed to have 30 kilograms (60 pounds) of luggage. To make the necessary arrangements domiciliary visits would be made. All the inhabitants of the house must be at the open door of the house, with their identity cards in their hands, to report to the officer, who would decide which of them were to be carried off—no appeal would be allowed. Coming out of church, we read this threat which was to be carried out at once in the case of some and would hang over the heads of others like the sword of Damocles for ten long days and ten interminable nights, as they were to proceed by districts. And, to crown all, it was at the sweet will of some officer that the victims were to be selected! We never knew each night when our turn would come, and we awoke as though from some horrible nightmare, sweat on our brow and anguish in our heart. No words can describe to you the horror of these days. We are all quite broken by it.

From the night of Good Friday to Holy Saturday the troops passed our house to raid the first district, Fives. It was awful; the officer passed along and designated the men and women he wished to take, giving them ten minutes to an hour in which to be ready to start.

Anthony D. and his sister of 22 years of age were carried off. After much trouble they left the little girl, who is not yet 14. The grandmother, ill from misery and terror, required immediate attention. So they at last let the little girl return. But in one place an old man and in another two infirm old people were not allowed to keep the little girls who were the only persons they had to look after them. Everywhere they baited their victims, adding petty vexations to brutality. Thus at the doctor's, B.'s uncle's place, Mme. B. was told to choose between her two servants. She chose to keep the elder. "All right," said they, "then we will take her." Mlle. L., the younger one, who had just recovered from typhoid and bronchitis, saw the N. C. O. who was abducting her servant approach her. "This is a sorrowful duty we have to perform," said he. "More than sorrowful," she replied; "it might be called barbarous." "That is a hard word," he said. "Are you not frightened that I shall give you away?" and as a matter of fact the sneak did so. She was allowed seven minutes to prepare, and they led her away in slippers, without a hat, to be judged by the Colonel who commanded the heroic force. He, in spite of the verdict of the doctor, condemned her to be carried off. It was only by her untiring energy and through the pity of one less brutal than the rest that she was able to obtain exemption at 5 P. M. after a day of the tortures of Calvary.

A sentry is placed at the door for each person marked down, and then the poor creatures are taken off to some place of assembly—a church or a school—and then in a body all classes and conditions herded together; innocent young girls and public prostitutes cheek by jowl they

go, surrounded by soldiers, with the band playing before them, to the station, whence at evening they depart without knowing whither or for what labor they are destined.

As our turn was delayed we had time to prepare as far as possible the girls, who are known among us as the "sisters" and the "two." They packed their luggage pluckily, each wishing in case of need to take the place of the other, and I had to settle which it would be best to let go. On Monday we found some comfort at the little village we visited with you last year; everybody overwhelmed us with their sympathy, suffering for us and with us; for none, not even our helpers, were free from fear. All helped us, and Mme. D. made me promise to tell her if the girls I spoke of above were taken; if so, she was free, and would accompany them and be their mother. All the week this torture lasted, and the agony weighed us down. A., the servant girl, was taken and then released, partly owing to her father and partly to her young sister, whose gratitude is touching. L. A.'s daughter was seized. Then came our turn. You may imagine that sleep was impossible to me. I heard the troops passing, and awoke all my household.

At 4 A. M. the visits in our street began. They lasted till 1:30 P. M. We were taken at 10 o'clock. You can guess our agony during those six fatal hours! Of course, there was a chance of getting them released, but as surely some would be seized, and had they not already endured more than enough during that terrible day, passed beside the public women of our district, without any real certainty of delivery? At last—God again accorded us His fatherly protection—and having gone over every one, none was seized, but we were worn out. It was sinister to see the young girls living in our street passing one by one silently by, each under the guard of a soldier: there were three members of the little working party I started, deeply moved. I had given them some words of advice as to the danger to which they would be exposed, (it was on Good Friday before the first raid;) the plucky children could not keep back their tears, and like all the others were most troubled at the thought that they would be made to work for the enemy.

Our fears are, however, not yet at an end. As regards ourselves—alas!—father himself may be threatened. Our chief accountant, M.'s husband, has been taken, and they are of an age. Oh, if they take him too! Pray, dearest, pray all of you with us, I entreat you, and thank God for having spared us this time—us, Aunt A., and all her children, also our relations and friends, (B.'s relations;) pray Him to continue His protection, for which our need is so great! Will our release never come?

It has been said—another lie—that we were in revolt and that this was a punishment. At Roubaix officers of the guard, finding themselves in the midst of a calm and dignified population, refused to carry off women and children by night. Here the Sixty-fourth Regiment, who have been at Verdun, were quite ready. Some, they said, would have preferred to have stopped in the trenches. At the least they will get the Iron Cross and the name of this glorious feat of arms will decorate their flag.

But, above all things, let our soldiers, when they get there, not revenge themselves by committing similar deeds. To do so would be to sully the fair name of France. Let them leave such evil deeds and crimes to God's vengeance. These people, as a woman whose husband, daughter, and son were seized told them, "will be accursed in their race, in their wives, and in their children."

I have finished my long, miserable tale, but I cannot adequately describe the awful misery of those whose homes have been decimated. Many will die of it. It is, as Monsigneur said, the passion of our families added to the Passion of Christ. One woman burst out into a sweat of blood when they seized her son; they brought him back, and she did not know him. It is terrible, and our position seems to me very threatening. Pray for us. * * * MARIE.

Belgium Under the Surface

By A. J. Hemphill

American Banker and Honorary Treasurer of Neutral Commission for Relief

WHEN I got to Brussels my first impression was that everything was normal, except for the absence of vehicles owing to the scarcity of horses and the prohibition of motors except to a few. The people are well clad, the shops are open, and men go about their daily life much the same as they do in London or New York. At the markets I saw people buying and selling—mostly vegetables—and business being freely transacted in the ordinary way. That was on the surface. But one has to remember that Belgium normally lives on imported raw materials and food, and pays for her food by export of her manufactures. This vital current is stopped by the war, and 60 per cent. of Belgium's workpeople are idle. A large part of the commercial class are also idle and reduced to dependence upon charity. When I went to the relief stations where the wholly destitute—amounting to a large proportion of the population—get their soup and other provisions, I saw, in the waiting queues, not only the needy class that one would expect, but well-dressed men, women, and children. In Brussels and elsewhere throughout Belgium the human lines that daily wait for the small ration provided by the charity of the world are marked by this same sad feature. Destitution is not only widespread, but there are now dependent upon relief thousands of the upper classes who never dreamed of coming to such a pass.

It is only after being in Brussels for a little time, and after visiting Charleroi, Malines, Antwerp, Liége, and other places, that one realizes how misleading are first impressions of life in Belgium as it is to-day. The outward appearance of normality is sustained only by the fact that relief to the value of over $6,000,000 is, so to speak, injected into the country every month. The external calm is an amazing tribute to the efficiency of the system whereby the relief organization provides and distributes to this whole nation the supplies without which there would be chaos and unthinkable suffering.

In this complex work of rationing every day over 7,000,000 souls, of whom just one-half are totally or partially destitute, the Belgians themselves are co-operating magnificently. Without their unflagging support and public-spirited work the efforts of those throughout the world who, regardless of nationality, sympathize with the Belgian people would fail of their purpose.

The Comité National in Brussels, composed of the leading Belgians who dared to stay and face the invaders, has enrolled thousands of volunteer helpers, who are now experts in this problem of rationing.

Both in America and England a good deal of uneasiness somewhat naturally exists as to the relief supplies actually reaching the Belgians. I discussed this point thoroughly with responsible Belgians throughout the country and with the Americans who are supervising the distribution, besides keeping my own eyes open for any indication of confiscation by the Germans. As a result I am convinced that the relief supplies sent into Belgium reach, in their entirety, the Belgian people. Except for trivial local incidents, which are invariably remedied, I heard of no instance whatever of the Germans breaking their guarantees to respect the food which the allied Governments allow to be brought through the blockade. As regards the home-grown produce, there are, probably, still some minor leakages—almost inevitable in a country garrisoned by a foreign army—but I can safely say that 95 per cent. of the native food supplies go toward feeding the Belgian people. The inappreciable leakages to which I refer are always made the subject of

negotiations between the relief organization and the belligerent powers.

What do the Belgian people really think? They don't think. They just hope. They live from day to day in the undimmed expectancy of regaining their independence. I might also say they live on hope, because if that wonderful spirit were not there the scanty ration, which is all the relief organization can supply, would be inadequate to prevent increased disease and mortality.

Under ordinary circumstances the population would be pauperized by free feeding of the unemployed. This is not the case in Belgium. In the first place, a daily diet of soup, bread, sometimes potatoes and a little bacon, and occasionally rice and beans, continued over two years, does not offer many attractions. It is only the indomitable spirit of the people themselves that makes it bearable. They will be glad enough when peace comes to exchange free meals of such a kind for the food they can earn by work. At present a small percentage get a few days' work weekly in local industries, such as the enamel, glass, and coal trades, at a few francs per week. They unceasingly refuse wages at from 15 to 25 francs a week, which they could obtain by working for the Germans. Glass and enamel ware, by consent of the Allies, are being exported in small quantities, but the payments for such exports are retained in allied countries until the conclusion of the war. The German assertion that the whole Belgian Nation has organized a passive resistance strike on an unprecedented scale is undoubtedly correct.

In one relief canteen which I inspected a man came up and made a complaint. There was no meat, he said excitedly, in his soup. He had long given up the idea of receiving meat as part of his daily meal, but if he was to live, he declared, he must get some of the nourishment that meat provides. He was right. There was practically no meat in the soup. But what is one to do? Such meat as there is in the country is $1.50 per pound.

There are 600,000 children in Belgium entirely dependent upon the tenderheartedness of the outside world. A large percentage of the remaining 2,000,000 children up to the age of 16 are partially dependent upon relief. The problem of bringing them up and even of keeping them alive is becoming more and more grave. The relief organization has just started an extraordinarily interesting experiment to meet the emergency of short milk supplies in industrial centres. They have asked the peasants to lend, free of charge, for one year, one cow from each of their herds to a communal herd which will provide milk for the children. In Antwerp the herd now numbers over 400 cattle. In other centres the peasants are responding excellently to the appeal. At the end of the year the cows will be returned to their owners, who will be compensated for the loss of any of their cattle.

My visit to Belgium gave me my first opportunity to see for myself the actual working of the relief system. It is a marvel of efficiency and devotion. As an American I am proud not only of my fellow-countryman, Mr. Herbert Hoover, to whose genius for organization the whole structure owes its continued existence through a thousand heartbreaking difficulties, but of those Americans who, so self-sacrificingly and self-effacingly, are devoting themselves in the occupied territory to keeping the Belgian Nation alive. * * * All Americans admire the magnificent generosity with which the British Empire, despite the many other calls upon its benevolence and resources, has contributed, through the National Committee for Relief in Belgium, to the support of the relief work. After seeing that work for myself, I venture to say that it is the duty of every humane individual to help these helpless civilians in Belgium—especially the children—who for nearly two years have endured sorrows and privations that would try the soul of any nation in the world, and yet still remain heroically true to those traditions of liberty and freedom which they have inherited through centuries.

German Civil Administration in Belgium

By Baron Adolf von Bachofen

A German official who recently visited the occupied territory

IT is a matter of course that the military administration of Belgium, so far as its needs are concerned, holds the country in an iron grip, guarding the conquered territory in every way. But the fact that, immediately following the great military successes of the Fall of 1914, a civil administration had been called into life and since that time had solidly incorporated itself in the life of the nation was one of the things that impressed me the most. I still distinctly remembered the conditions in Alsace in the eighties, when the relations between the Government and the people were thus characterized by a worthy citizen: "We don't mind being governed, but we will not be scolded." At that time there were all kinds of orders as to what must and must not be, but the economic union of the new territory with the empire and the reconstruction of its sadly stricken industries were still in a bad way fifteen years after the conquest.

There is a mighty difference between the Prussian jurists who were in power at that time and the far-seeing officials of the empire of today. Forces from all parts of Germany are being employed in the civil administration to put the country in a new state of industrial activity, to make everything ready for peace, and to shape the relations between the empire and Belgium, so that an active trade after the conclusion of peace will develop close bonds between the two countries. At the same time everything adaptable about the administrative bodies has been retained and left in the hands of the natives. Belgian Judges administer the law, and Belgian Mayors attend to the affairs of the cities and towns, only a few of them having been removed or interned because of political intrigues, as in Brussels.

A Belgian committee looks after the distribution, even to the last village, of the articles of food and similar objects that come from the United States for the civil population. Only the highest officials are missing, and, naturally, the Ministries, which could not work with the German Government, are out of the country. Where the native institutions are not sufficient, or where sharp and continued opposition prevents effective work, the organs of the civil administration reinforce the native organizations and bring new life to the severely stricken land. The staff of men that his Excellency von Bissing has gradually gathered together for this task comes from every part of Germany and from all spheres of activity.

After the country had been conquered in an incredibly short time, the civil administration was organized as soon as possible, and it certainly faced one of the hardest tasks that could be placed before a Government. In a country whose life depended upon industry in a greater degree than any other, all the factories were at a standstill. The people were filled with the deepest hatred toward the new rulers, the owners of almost all the industrial and commercial establishments had fled, the enormous trade that ordinarily ebbed and flowed through the country was in complete stagnation. It was necessary to feed the population and to revive labor.

The first problem, that of providing food, was solved with comparative speed. Because of the killing off of young cattle and the selling of horses abroad, some drastic orders were issued; as a result, the supply of live stock is now again at its former height and the agricultural output is scarcely less than at any time before the conquest. All this output, which, nevertheless, meets only a scant two-thirds of the demand, was held at the disposition of the coun-

try for its own needs. Additional supplies were first sent in from the empire, and later a Belgian committee was organized, which, under arrangement with the belligerent powers, drew food supplies from the United States and distributed them through its branches over the entire country. Without any friction to speak of this committee has continued to fulfill its task down to the present day in an almost independent manner and without any exaggerated supervision by the Government.

Far more difficult was the task of reviving industrial activity, but it has been accomplished to a surprising degree. The first step was to open the coal mines, under the supervision of the Government, but for the account and at the risk of the owners, and today some 70 per cent. of the workings are again in operation. The coal, except in so far as it is used in the country itself, is exported to Sweden, which receives about 200,000 tons a month, and to Holland and Switzerland. Many carloads are also sent to the trenches in the east. The total exports amount to about 300,000 tons a month.

While the management of all the mines is in the hands of Chief Mining Officer Bonhardt, in the east, around Liége and that section, Director Woltersdorf runs the workings with extraordinary ability. Herr Woltersdorf, who came upon the scene as a Lieutenant of artillery, was ordered, after the capture of Liége, to blow up the entrances to some mines where it was thought francs-tireurs were in hiding. But before obeying the order, he informed the Governor that the hostile band could be driven out in three hours by stopping the pumps. This method was adopted, and as a matter of fact no francs-tireurs came out, but the mines were saved, and shortly afterward Woltersdorf, who in civil life is Director of the Central Bureau for Mine Safety and of the experimenting station at Beuthen, was placed at the head of the district. He not only put all the coal mines in operation, but was also able to see that work was continued in the Campine, a waste region in Limburg, where the coal is covered with about 600 yards of rock, on six new shafts which were being sunk. * * *

It was of great importance that the iron ore mines south of Liége were rich in manganese ore, for it was just there that the German iron industry was short. A number of these mines are again in operation and, besides, a considerable number of old rubbish heaps are being worked over again. Some of the pottery plants, whose former principal export territory was England, have renewed operations, though still on a rather modest scale; their products go through the canals to Holland and from there, to a large extent, find their way to their old destination, England.

The Cockerille Iron and Steel Works, which also belong to the Liége district, are employing almost 5,000 men, more than half the normal number. The textile industry is in the worst condition, being almost entirely dead. It is true that when Antwerp was captured very large quantities of raw materials, especially wool, were found; but this material had already been bought, to a large extent, for Germany, and therefore it went to Germany, and to a lesser degree to Austria. The Belgian industry was thus left to depend upon its own stock, which naturally in the course of a year and a half is practically exhausted. Efforts to get raw material from abroad are of particular importance to this industry.

In many cases the various establishments are being operated by their old Directors and engineers, and only the work of superintendence and the matter of exportation and consumption are handled by the Germans.

But in spite of the revival of activity in many industries there are still many tens of thousands of industrial workers entirely out of employment, and therefore it is of great importance that the emigration of Belgian workers to Germany is being promoted and that already some 10,000 workers have heeded the call and are employed in the Rhine country and in Westphalia. There they are becoming acquainted with better wages, the highly developed sick and accident insurance, and all the other pro-

visions made for the working class which as yet are unknown in their homes. These men may prove to be a valuable element in the work of bringing about a mutual understanding.

A big step toward improving social conditions was taken in Brussels when some 3,000 disorderly girls were forced to go to work under the threat of deportation in case they refused to avail themselves of the opportunity to work at sewing machines in the light rooms of a bag factory at good wages. * * *

An industry the revival of which was really the least to be expected was the diamond-cutting business of Antwerp. Before the war this industry employed about 10,000 men. When Antwerp fell 400 were still at work. Under the control of Senator Sthamer, Captain Baron Plettenberg took the lead in handling the situation with skill and hearty interest. Raw material was brought in from the large stocks in Berlin that had come from West Africa, and one after another the employers slowly resumed operations, so that today about 5,000 persons are earning their bread in that industry—of course at smaller wages than before—and some 12,000 carats are being cut per month, with a value of about $1,000,000.

The iron and steel industry of Belgium has always suffered from the fact that it is split up into a large number of comparatively small plants and that its concentration into great concerns has only made good progress in a few cases, such as the Cockerille plant and the arms factories; and furthermore its technical equipment is not up to the German standard.

In connection with the revival of industry and of domestic trade, plans for the reopening of foreign commerce have already been worked out. Such men as Senator Sthamer in Antwerp and his circle of gentlemen from the German seaports are studying all the possibilities of a traffic that shall go from the interior of Germany through Antwerp to the lands beyond the seas. It seems strange to find in more than one office maps of the canals of Belgium and Germany and their connections via the Main and Danube with Austria, enriched with all sorts of new and personal sketches and suggestions; or to learn that both projects for the development of the harbor of Antwerp have met a competitor in the shape of a new German plan.

In the great basin of the harbor of Antwerp lie the thirty-five German steamers whose engines were destroyed by the English before they fled from the city with complete and perfect engines again installed and with the coal bunkers filled ready to steam out into the Atlantic with German goods the moment the peace bells begin to ring.

There has probably never been a case before where the conquerors devoted such an amount of force and energy to the internal rejuvenation of a conquered land, without regard to what sort of bonds were to connect victors and vanquished in the future. It would be a mistake to believe, however, that we have won over a large part of the Belgians. What we have been able, in favorable cases, to give, is very little in comparison with what the country has lost, and what, in the opinion of the inhabitants, would be lost forever if the connection with Germany were to become closer. To people like the Belgians, who have grown up under the protection of neutrality, and in whom the sense of individual freedom has been developed to a remarkable degree, the thought of being joined to Germany, with its subjection of individual interests to those of the community, with its military service and social provisions, must be infinitely unsympathetic. Besides, there are all sorts of little annoyances to which the broad masses are subjected, such as the trebling of the railroad rates, which seriously interferes with the workers' habit of living a long distance from their place of business, the strict rule requiring each in person to report to the police, &c.

The well-to-do classes in many ways feel themselves menaced in their very existence, for they plainly see that the great income from the founding of exotic companies will be cut down, like that from the Congo colony, and that through

the better education of the laboring masses and through the introduction of sickness and accident insurance—in short, through the social provisions developed in Germany—the economic foundation of many a concern that is technically backward would be shattered or destroyed. Therefore, the propertied classes use every means to maintain and revivify anti-German sentiment among the masses, and in this struggle the clergy stands steadfastly at their side, for annexation to Germany would cause the Church to lose some of its enormous influence. * * *

A case in which a girl was accused of having assisted the flight of a number of young fellows who joined the Belgian Army caused considerable comment. The defender assigned to her by the military court, with an impartial sense of justice, fought hard for his client, and, after an eight-hour struggle with the military lawyer, won her acquittal. A large number of Belgian Judges sent him letters of thanks. So the longer the German administration lasts the more there penetrates into broader and broader circles an understanding of its excellent intentions and of the strength and energy it is devoting to the good of the country.

But we dare not cherish expectations that the rapprochement will become genuinely deep and hearty, because, aside from their history and development, the inhabitants of Belgium, be they Walloons or Flemish, have been impressed with customs and ideas that lead them into entirely different ways from those which are natural and right to Germans. However things may turn out during the next year, the civil administration has done its best to make the sufferings of war endurable for the Belgians just back of the battle front and to revive the rudely interrupted development of their national life, of their trade and industry, and to lead them into paths that are bound to conduct them to new heights after the war.

Humor Even in Conquered Belgium

In the outskirts of Bruges the Germans have put up signs at all the grade crossings with this Flemish inscription: "Verboden over den ijzeren weg te gaan"; which means: "It is forbidden to cross the railway." The other day some mischievous boys rubbed out the letters "en" at the end of "ijzeren" (iron), making the sign read: "It is forbidden to cross the Yser," a statement painfully true for the German army at that point. They are still hunting the culprits.—From "Anecdotes Pathétiques et Plaisantes," by Gabriel Langlois.

The Invasion of Belgium

By Colonel Feyler

English Military Expert

This study of the invasion of Belgium, which appeared in Land and Water, marshals the constructive evidence tending to show that Germany had made long and minute preparation for such an attack.

AMONG the historical problems raised by the great European war, the question of the invasion of Belgium remains one of the most absorbing. The German official theory, of course, lays the responsibility upon the Belgians themselves, in that they violated their own neutrality and thus forced the German Army to protect itself against the trap they had laid, by occupying forthwith their territory. It is interesting to examine whether strategical principles (and the German doctrine of their application) will help to support this theory.

Let us, first of all, remember that, apart from a detailed examination, the manoeuvre of 1914 across Belgium gave a striking first impression of being a thoroughly organized and long-considered operation, and showed, outwardly at least, every sign of perfect production and stage management. Of course, in such a judgment, formed without serious documentary evidence, imagination may perhaps play a large part, but we cannot get away from the fact that this judgment coincides exactly with what the Germans themselves affirm to be the reason of that superiority which confers on them the right to world hegemony, namely, in the words of a great German scientist, the chemist Ostwald: "That faculty for organization which has allowed Germany to attain a higher stage of civilization than the other nations and to which only the war will raise them, (the others.) The French and the English are still at a stage of civilization which the Germans left more than fifty years ago, the stage of individualism. Germany today is at the higher stage, that of organization."

The Dominant Idea

If this had been the opinion of a single man, however influential, it would have been more or less negligible. It was to be found, however, in a multitude of writings; numberless and most varied circumstances go to prove that the opinion of the chemist Ostwald was a current, or rather dominant, opinion in Germany. The idea inspired the German people and, surely to a much higher degree, the German Army. Thus the General Staff was to organize victory by virtue of this superior stage of civilization, just as the Government would organize the nation's labor by suppressing the inferior principle of individualism.

Of course, at present we can only deal in hypotheses. The study of this subject must be resumed at a later date, when it can be approached in a calmer spirit. We can none the less seek to find to what extent the campaign of 1870 influenced, in Germany, that of 1914, for it is beyond doubt, and this applies to France no less than Germany, that the preparation for the war of 1914, excepting, of course, the fixing of its date, began as soon as the Treaty of Frankfort had laid down the new frontier line.

An Infallible System

At that moment the Prussian General Staff started work on what one might call the scientific or dogmatic history of the war of 1870-71, for the famous work, so well known to all military men, was intended not merely for a summarization of facts, but more for a justification of methods. An attempt was made in this work to show how warfare should be scientifically organized, leaving nothing, or practically nothing, to chance, and securing victory by its very perfection of theory and practice; in short, the German method of warfare, as impeccable and infallible as German science and German truth.

The victorious Moltke of 1870 was thus made a prototype for the present war, being proclaimed superior to Napoleon, not only by virtue of his military prowess, but also by reason of that amazing German superstition of race superiority. Napoleon's equal in military genius, Moltke had the advantage of belonging to a superior race.

This puerile belief, however, does not prevent Moltke being inferior to Napoleon, and indeed to many more in one respect—he concluded but two great campaigns, as against Napoleon's fourteen. Less by many were the occasions on which he had to solve intricate strategical problems and, in the few cases when he was called upon so to do, circumstances always led him to repeat the same manoeuvre. Sadowa, the attempted French envelopment on the Sarre, St. Private, and Sedan, all these four battles were of a similar type.

Successes of such a lightning character proved irrefutably (to the German mind) the worth of complete organization, and the German theory of warfare, based first and last upon superior organization, would, therefore, infallibly lead to a complete German victory. Forty years of military literature impressed this view upon the minds of officers. * * *

A Military Necessity

This hypothesis of a long and minute preparation of the German manoeuvre on the western front leads logically to the conclusion that the invasion of Belgium was premeditated. As a matter of fact, it is incredible that any one with the slightest knowledge of German strategical science should have any doubt on the subject, despite the subsequent denials by the Imperial Government. The only man to be frank on this point was von Bethmann Hollweg himself, (at first,) when he declared to the Reichstag that Belgium was being crossed in defiance of all treaties, as a military necessity.

The manoeuvre through Belgium was not only a consequence of the systematic study of Moltke; it was writ large in the local geography. The development of the intention could be followed from 1870 to 1914 by noting the variation in the zones of concentration for the armies as betrayed by strategic railways, stations, and platforms. As and when the French strengthened their eastern frontier, so the Germans tended to abandon their original bases at Strassburg and Metz and to develop their preparations for concentration on the frontier of Luxemburg, and even further north, right up to the Dutch frontier. Many writers in France followed this evolution closely, so much so that the large and interesting work by Senator Maxime Lecomte and Lieut. Col. Camille Levi, "Neutralité belge et invasion allemande," published in 1914 on the eve of hostilities, prognosticated the operations almost exactly as they took place.

A Remarkable Prediction

To the question, "When the Germans invade France, will they pass through Belgium?" these authors answer most clearly, "The Germans will pass through Belgium." In a chapter thus headed, they examine the why and the how. Why? Because of the weakness of the northern French frontier compared with the eastern, (for the French had long relied on Belgian neutrality to cover their northern flank.) How? Through the whole of Belgium, for the size of the first-line armies would involve a crossing of the Meuse, without which, indeed, this right wing would hardly succeed in its attempted envelopment of the French. "Their right wing," wrote Messrs. Lecomte and Levi, "will advance across Central Belgium, making in force for Paris and moving chiefly along the valley of the Oise, approximately along the line Brussels-Mons-Paris."

It is obvious, too, that so enormous an operation could not be improvised on the spur of the moment. In order to be carried out with the regularity which no military man can but admire, the movement must have been prepared in its most minute details with the utmost foresight. The success of the whole plan depended upon a torrential overflowing of the Belgian territory; it is hardly to be expected that Realpolitik would have omitted to stock its hand with all the available trumps and that

in this particular case, therefore, above all (where only success could justify the iniquitous means) Germany would fail to employ what has always been her ace of trumps, namely, her minute organization.

Yet another argument: Germany has never shone in the realms of improvisation, but always as regards analysis and elaboration. Germans have always known how to use and develop to the best advantage the invention of others. To take a recent example, look at aviation; aviation originated in France, but at the outbreak of the war the German air service was very much better adapted than the French. In France, on the other hand, a certain indifference seems always to follow on the heels of a crisis of enthusiasm. Who, for instance, would have thought that, after the hard experience of 1870, the French would have been so little prepared for 1914? Germany, however, tends to sin on the other side, by an exaggeration of minute organization which would often compromise a situation brought about by novel and unexpected circumstances. This is another reason why an improvised invasion of Belgium would seem to conflict with all the most stable qualities of the German character.

Plan Long Matured

Lastly, an argument still less assailable, although lack of documentary evidence causes it to be hypothetical: Having taken Moltke as strategic mentor, it would be most extraordinary had the German staff departed from his most masterly quality, namely, an unceasing reviewing and improving of the plans he meditated for future campaigns. Moltke prepared the campaign of 1870 for thirteen years, from 1857 onward. During this period he prepared no less than twenty detailed memorials addressed to the King and his Ministers, Generals, &c. Upon every political change in Europe, upon every modification of inferior conditions in Prussia, upon every increase in the strength of the army, he improved and perfected the details of the offensive against France. In 1869 the twentieth plan was ready, and when, faithful to his tradition, Moltke re-examined this plan, he found it satisfactory and wrote in the margin "Gut auch für 1870." ("Good also for 1870.")

Is it possible that the staff which copied all from Moltke would neglect the method of working which was his most shining success? Out of the question. For many years past the violation of Belgian neutrality must have been written in the dossiers of the German staff. And again, not only would they thus be following Moltke, but all great warriors. Napoleon wrote much on this subject.

Letter to Berthier Oct. 2, 1804: "At the moment of declaring war there is so much to do that it is wise to start some years beforehand."

Letter to Eugene Sept. 18, 1806: "Matters must be considered many months before they come to pass."

Letter to the staff Sept. 8, 1808: "Only solid and well-conceived plans can succeed in war."

Journal at St. Helena: "A plan of campaign must foresee all that the enemy can or may do, and must contain in itself the antidote."

That which Napoleon and Moltke emphasized as necessary would not have been neglected by the German staff of the twentieth century, self-styled superior to these. From the moment when the German Government decided to violate the treaty it had signed, the staff had no alternative but to prepare the said violation; the more so as Government and staff are one and the same in Germany.

Everything contradicts, therefore, the puerile excuse, that the Belgians had violated their own neutrality, and, on the other hand, proves that the passage through Belgium was premeditated, probably more in the light of conquest than of mere passage. But this last question will remain for history to answer more fully.

A Peace That Will Last

By Jean Finot
Editor of La Revue, Paris

THE peace which is to follow this war must be real; that is, German lying and the coarse illusions of the past must be eliminated from it. When we resume the normal life of mankind we must be able to do this with the same feeling of security with which the farmer proceeds to gather his harvest, without the smallest fear of malefactors near or far. The economic losses of the Allies will, however, be so considerable that it is necessary from now on to consider the means for diminishing their extent. There will also be principles of right and justice to safeguard. International life will have need of positive sanctions for the most distant future. A criminal from the international point of view should be punished like a common-law criminal. The wars of the past almost ended in despite of sound sense, and in such a way as to encourage spoliating and criminal nations. The invader, if his plan did not succeed, went peacefully home again. A more or less solemn peace guaranteed his impunity and allowed him to wait for a more favorable moment to recoup himself.

Today Europe is divided into two camps, one of which, much stronger than the other, is defending justice against crime. And, if it is impossible to win back again the millions of men killed or maimed, or to make good the losses and the floods of tears, let us at least guarantee the economic situation of all the victims of German aggression. * * *

Who called the tune must pay the piper. The difficulty of a repayment does not by any means create the necessity of renouncing it. This simple and logical principle is equally binding in the international field. The conditions of our life of tomorrow will not be safeguarded until we apply to nations the same principles of loyalty and of justice which we hold obligatory in private life.

Therefore we must go on to the end. The war will heal the evils it has caused. Without a decisive victory it will be impossible to recoup our material losses. The exhaustion of the belligerents will be equivalent to general ruin if one of them does not succeed in imposing *his peace* on his adversaries. * * *

The gross total of expenses for the war on the side of the Allies will reach 300,000,000,000 francs ($60,000,000,000) at the end of three years of war, the smaller cost at the beginning being balanced by the steadily increasing cost as the war broadens and draws in new combatants. * * *

The Allies will lose a minimum of 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 combatants. Their armed force does not, it is true, represent more than 14,000,000. But this figure will rise to more than 20,000,000 soldiers consecutively while hostilities last. This will be equivalent to a loss in earning power equal to 120,000,000,000 to 140,000,000,000 francs. * * *

The obligation to pay, for long years to come, an indemnity of these dimensions will keep Germany from thinking of new wars. And only under this condition can Europe return to a normal life. One of the reasons which make us believe in the future resurrection is that the nations will be able to lay aside militarism for long years to come. After so drastic a bleeding it would be impossible for them to resume their life of industry if they felt themselves obliged, as in the past, to plunge into costly armaments. They must, therefore, be given absolute security on the side of Germany. The recent past has taught us that the whole world, with the exception of Prussia, was eager to organize international life on the basis of liberty and justice, excluding every possibility of brutal aggression.

Once the German factor is reduced to powerlessness, the dream of peace, which had appeared childish and unrealizable,

will become a possibility which will triumph for a long time to come.

This consideration in itself will render inevitable the establishment of a gigantic indemnity, which will constitute a veritable insurance premium for the peace of tomorrow.

On the other hand, Germany herself, delivered from militarism, will soon restore her prosperity. The civilized nations, without making this their goal, will work for the salvation of Germany. We shall thus have a new Germany, which will become dear to the consciousness of mankind from the moment when she shall have left behind the criminality of her rulers.

Peace thus understood, though it may be hard for Germany, will not mean her disappearance. The Allies, as Mr. Asquith has so well said, "will destroy German militarism without tending in any way to destroy the German Nation." But the arsenal of international law furnishes us with no weapon, other than financial expiation, to prevent a return to savagery.

The fiscal and economic union of the Allies will, besides, prove ineffective against the Teutonic activity and spirit of organization. The Germans will exploit all the fissures in international agreements to push their commerce and industry. Let us even admit that the allied countries will remain closed to them. But they will then establish themselves among neutral nations. With the moral conceptions which allow them to become naturalized with the purpose of betraying the fatherland of their adoption, in the interest of their "symbolic fatherland," they will continue a process of sabotage against the economic revival of the Allies. In this region, also, only financial charges imposed on Germany will safeguard the stability of the world. * * *

We must not, as in the past, abandon the regulation of the accounts between the nations to their rulers, more or less qualified. The treaties of peace, as professional diplomatists conceive them, always contain the germs of future wars. Bastard solutions resulting from the non-understanding of national aspirations and the moral interests which, invisible and unsuspected, move masses of men, render conflicts inevitable. And there is something infinitely humiliating for the dignity of men in the teaching that they will never be able to live without hatreds, spoliations, acts of brigandage. Decidedly it will be necessary to add to the "supposed specialists" in the domain of international affairs the representatives of the best elements of each people, who must influence the decisions of their rulers for the time being. An international peace cannot be improvised. It must be prepared and studied. It must be the result of age-long experience and of a profound understanding of the past and of the present.

And the duration of the war will give ample time to those who are behindhand to reflect on the condition of the world of tomorrow. * * *

The German Government is thus caught in its own snare. Its factitious conquests render its desires unrealizable. The nations of the Allies, united in the same thought and bound by identical aspirations, can sign no peace without having obtained the evacuation of all the territories occupied by the Germans. But, however blind and deceived the German people may be, it will never allow the Kaiser to give them up, after having bled his people white and for long years compromised its prosperity and renown.

A peace of this kind would threaten to provoke, let us be certain of it, a bloody revolution and the final disappearance of the Hohenzollerns. But the all-powerful Kaiser is far less concerned for the future of his people than for his own person and his dynasty.

The abandonment, pure and simple, of the territories temporarily conquered could not, besides, satisfy any of the Allies. The principle of indemnities, which we have already stated, constitutes a condition of elementary justice which the civilized nations cannot put aside.

Before the immensity of the sacrifices which will be entailed even by the most favorable peace Germany will see herself obliged to battle to the last man and the

SYMBOLIZING THE HEROES WHO HAVE SAVED FRANCE

A French Artist's Memorable Drawing in Honor of the Soldiers Who Held the Battered Fortifications at Verdun.

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF SALONIKI, THE ALLIES' BALKAN BASE

From This Famous Base, After Nine Months' Preparation, General Sarrail and His Allied Forces Have Begun a New Offensive to Regain Serbia and the Balkan Peninsula.

(© *A. P. A. Medem Photo Service.*)

last mark. We are, therefore, driven to a real war of exhaustion. * * * But Germany is not yet out of breath. Her finances are greatly weakened, her economic life is anæmic, her resources in men are greatly diminished; but she still possesses resources which can prolong her agony during long months, perhaps years. * * *

Therefore the war will go on. * * * The German people, who will continue to be deceived, will be told that it is a question of their destruction instead of the destruction of the Hohenzollern dynasty, its squireens and armed brigands, and will, therefore, believe it necessary to defend with a mystic fervor its unity, which is threatened by no one, its national soil, which no one wishes to cut up; and its independence, which no one wishes to attack. * * *

Let the hoodwinked Germans allow themselves to be taken in by this subterfuge. The Allies will complete the task they have undertaken.

The mystical malady of the Germans will not fail to prolong the war, bringing greater and greater ruin upon themselves and making heavier the expiation for faults committed.

"Whom the gods will destroy, they first make mad," according to the ancient saying. Thus will be accomplished the words of the Lord:

"They who would be the first, shall be the last."

What Would German Victory Mean?

By Professor Moritz Julius Bonn

Director of the Commercial University of Munich

A GERMAN victory would not mean that the German institutions of today are just the thing for all the world. It would merely show that German institutions are suitable to the genius of the German people. It would not be a justification of monarchy all over the world; it would not reflect glory on Russian absolutism, which, by the way, is the real despotism. It would not endanger the institutions of other people. A German victory does not mean that Switzerland will cease to be a republic and be governed by a Hohenzollern Prince. It does not put American democracy on trial. The test of American democracy is not European achievements in Europe, but American successes at home and abroad. If American democracy solves its own problems it will be justified and need not fear the competition of foreign institutions.

We want a variety of institutions all over the world, not a dead level uniformity for all people. Nations should stick to their own institutions and develop them according to their own ideas. They need not fear disparagement if different institutions of opposite character flourish under different circumstances. They ought to give up that mischievous idea, born of mediaeval universalism, that they must impress their own institutions on unwilling neighbors. There is no danger that Germany will be influenced by such ideas and try to do missionary work abroad. Quite apart from the intellectual attitude of the German people, which does not favor such universalism, there are twenty-seven different State Constitutions in the German Empire, three of them republican. Even a victorious peace would not give Germany a free hand to overrun the world.

Such a peace would not bring about very great changes in Europe. The occupied parts of France would be given back; Belgium would be released. Very likely Courland, with a population partly German and partly Lithuanian, would be annexed by Germany. Poland would receive autonomy. Austria would probably permit the resuscitation of a somewhat reduced Serbia, for Hungary does not want the annexation of a further batch of Southern Slavs. Bulgaria would get the greater part of new Serbia; Greece might get a part of Albania; Aus-

tria would control the eastern Adriatic coast up to the Greek border. Turkey might lose some outlying districts.

German gains in land, men, and wealth in Europe would be very small, even if the cost of the war was not taken into account. Her colonies would be handed back to her, and in return for the surrender of Belgium and of occupied France she would receive considerable extensions of her possessions in tropical Africa. The addition of some one hundred thousand square miles in tropical Africa would be an important gain to a country like Germany, whose colonial endowment was rather meagre; it would not affect considerably the balance of the world's power.

The cost of such a peace would fall mainly on Russia; a large part of the foreign races which she had oppressed systematically would be freed; her efforts to settle the affairs of the Balkan people in her own selfish interest would be defeated for good. If Turkey ever lost Constantinople, Bulgaria or Greece, which have a racial or historic right to it, would get it. Russia's claim to a warm-water port by the territorial control of a country whose inhabitants are not Russian is a flat negation of the much-vaunted principle of nationality. It is no better than would be a German demand for the Orkney and Shetland Islands and the Strait of Dover, which bar her from the free sea so long as they are occupied by the British. It would be a useless sacrifice of the principle of nationality, as well as of common sense. For the Mediterranean is quite as much an inland sea as the Black Sea, so long as England holds Egypt and the Strait of Gibraltar. And it is not very likely that the British Government will prove its faith in the principle of nationality by handing back Egypt, Gibraltar, and Malta to their rightful owners.

Russia, no doubt, will feel somewhat sore, but, as none of her own people are taken away from her, she will be able to organize them according to their own wants. She has been the great incubus on European politics for many years. That will be removed for some time to come. But she will gather strength as time goes on and, let us hope, use it in a wise way. She will always be a neighbor of Germany and Austria, though Poland as a buffer State may intervene. If Poland is successful and continues to live in friendly co-operation with Germany and Austria, the Russian danger will be considerably reduced. But the Polish problem is not easily solved. However well organized an autonomous Poland may be, she cannot ever compromise all Poles within her borders; she will always contain many non-Poles—Ruthenians, Lithuanians, and Jews. It is scarcely fair to expect such an amount of constructive statesmanship from Polish leaders as to avoid all pitfalls. Whatever is going to happen, Germany will be confronted by new problems in the east, the solution of which no victory in battle can assure.

The alliance between Germany and Austria has grown much firmer during the war. Austria may be weaker than Germany, but she is a big and powerful empire which has shown marvelous vitality. She has her own problems and her own ideas. The majority of her people are not Teutons. Even without important new annexation, the Slavic influence in Austria will grow notwithstanding German and Hungarian resistance.

Austria is not a vassal State of Germany. If the Central Powers had been defeated she might have been shorn of her Slavic provinces and brought into a sort of dependency. As it is, she has been rejuvenated; she will be a faithful partner to Germany in European questions, but she would not sacrifice her manhood for wild plans of German world supremacy, the effects of which would fall on her own people.

France no doubt will be saddened, as she cannot recover Alsace and Lorraine; her losses in men and material have been awful; her military valor is shining more brightly than it ever did.

As to England, she is engaged in the first really costly war that she ever has waged. But, as far as the number of human lives is concerned, she will come off fairly well. Her organization of commerce and finance has been excellent. She would deserve nothing but praise for

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

the great organization she has evolved, if it were not for the loquacity of her statesmen, who have continually promised goods which they were unable to deliver.

She has shown the world at large that the weapon on which she chiefly relied, sea power, is an excellent secondary instrument, incapable of producing decisive results when used against a strong Continental power. The combined fleet of the Allies has cut off the Central Powers from most of their overseas trade. This is not due to the superiority of the British fleet. It is partly due to geographic position. England holds the keys of the Mediterranean; England and France control the Strait of Dover; the only outlet for German shipping, not directly under the Allies' guns, is the mouth of the North Sea between Norway and Scotland. This opening can be easily patrolled by a fleet stationed in Scotland. Measured by the velocity of modern patrol boats, there is scarcely a greater distance between the Shetland Islands and the Norwegian coast than the width of the Strait of Gibraltar in the days of the sailing vessel. Germany's position here is somewhat similar to that of Russia in relation to the strait at Constantinople. Where geography does not favor British sea power, it has achieved nothing. It has not effected a landing on German soil; it has not kept the German flag away from the Baltic.

Geographical position is but one of the causes of the partial success of the allied blockade. Direct overseas trade in war times is not essential to a country like Germany. The real success of the blockade is due to Russia and France. If they were neutral, Germany could draw from them all the provisions which she might want. The few overseas goods which Europe does not produce would be imported indirectly via France or Russia. Neither of these countries could be forced to prevent the re-exportation of imported goods, as small countries like Holland and Denmark have been for fear of having their own supplies stopped.

It was the custom in other wars to get such supplies in an indirect way; international law specifically provided for the continuation of this practice, until the Allies broke it. The British Navy has done a great deal of important subsidiary work for the Allies; it has closed a stretch of about 300 miles, stopping Germany's approach to the ocean. The chief blockading is done by the armies on the Continent.

This is not due to want of efficiency on the part of the British Navy. It is due to the inherent limitations of sea power, which this war has clearly brought out. An island country, depending on sea power, can greatly annoy a Continental power. It can destroy its direct overseas trade and interfere with its indirect trade, if the neutrals permit it. It cannot defeat land power except by an alliance with other land powers. While an island power like England or Japan can be crushed on the sea, a Continental power can only be broken on land or in her outlying possessions.

England is a very dangerous enemy if allied to some Continental power; isolated she cannot deal a decisive blow. As her empire is insular, she will always be dependent on sea communications and liable to collapse when they are cut. She can prevent invasion by maintaining a big army; she cannot strike with that army abroad, if no allied or neutral country gives her a chance to land it. The safety of a Continental power cannot be destroyed by sea power; her foreign trade may suffer and her foreign possessions can be kidnapped; only if she embarks on an aggressive oveaseas policy in foreign lands does she become exposed to decisive blows.

So far as these questions are concerned the war has undoubtedly diminished England's prestige; she will no longer be the proud arbiter in the world's councils. But her own strength has not dwindled; she will be knit more closely with her dominions in a "United Empire" than she ever was before. And since she has learned the art of military organization from the hated Prussian, she will be able to defend herself against all invasion. If she accepts the principle of the free sea, which she herself advocated until lately, she will not be exposed to a policy of starvation.

Germany's Opinion of Wilson as a Mediator

By Count Ernst zu Reventlow

Leading unofficial spokesman of the ruling classes in Germany

Since this article was written Count Reventlow has been forbidden to publish anything without submitting it to the censor. His attack on President Wilson reveals the state of mind underlying the German opposition to American mediation. It also indicates the extent to which the President's motives have been misunderstood in Germany.

IN the course of the last few weeks the motives that guide the policy of President Wilson must have become clearly apparent even to those who had been skeptical up to then. If we look back to the beginning of the great war we see that this Wilson policy has followed an unbroken line from the time when, in the interest of England, American wireless stations were forbidden to transmit German news and news for Germany, to the knocking down of Germany in the submarine question, so characterized by Wilson himself and so joyfully lauded by him. This straight line of policy always is aimed at the same object: To injure and cripple Germany in this war, so as to enrich and strengthen the United States, and, furthermore, to aid the British Empire along every line and with all means in its military operations against Germany.

From month to month in this war the solidarity of the two Anglo-Saxon powers has constantly become more clearly apparent; a solidarity in all matters that affect the German Empire as an opponent, and, consequently, concern its injury and crippling. Beyond this there are naturally many questions where the two Anglo-Saxon powers are opposed to each other and where their paths of interest conflict. These, however, are troubles that can wait until after the war. The war finds them of one mind regarding all the main questions and in league with each other. Besides, in order to make a correct appreciation of persons and things possible, it must be remembered that Wilson in his day was elected with the strong participation of the financial world of Great Britain; therefore, to put it more simply, with English money. This has been acknowledged in the United States for years, and they justly ascribed the attitude of President Wilson in the Mexican question after his assumption of office to the obligations he had thus incurred.

Unfortunately, we in Germany are still in many instances not free from the delusion that Wilson is an "unworldly scholar," and we allow ourselves to be deceived through the intrigues of the scholar and man of principles into forgetting the fact that these are only superficialities and that behind them stands a shrewd American, free from illusions, and a convinced partisan of the Anglo-Saxon way of looking at the world. But it is understandable enough that Wilson gladly allows himself to be regarded as an unworldly stickler for principles, for tactically this cannot be anything else than useful to him. As has been said, however, his financial connection with Great Britain must not be forgotten, as well as the fact that in this case the interests of British capital and British policy coincide and that already, as a consequence, the policy of the United States must, without more ado, be completely and sympathetically affected.

Mr. Wilson, shortly after he had publicly lauded the knocking down of Germany, delivered a speech in May before a great meeting of the Peace League, in which he declared that he had resolved, as President of the United States, to take an energetic part in the peace negotiations. The United States, he said, was constantly becoming more interested in an early ending of the war, but when the end of the war was seen at hand, then the United States would have the same interest as the belligerent nations in

shaping the peace that was then to come. These alone are weighty utterances. They let the fact be recognized that Wilson wishes to obtain admission to the peace negotiations through his influence as a mediator. However, when the negotiations are begun America's rôle as a mediator ceases, and it will take part in the negotiations on the same footing as every one of the belligerent parties—that is, as the representative of nothing but the interests of the United States. It is self-evident that such a rôle on the part of a State that has taken no active part in the war would be very unusual. We merely wish to draw attention to the main facts in the case: First of all, the United States wants to institute a general peace conference in order then to enter into the negotiations upon the same footing as the belligerents and to throw the entire weight of the United States into the scales in favor of its interests in every question that comes up, without being bound in any way, not even by the rôle of mediator; consequently, it will be in the position constantly to exercise its influence through threats or through direct economic pressure.

From the German point of view the first stumbling block is to be seen in Wilson's declared intention to effect peace at a general conference. We do not know whether it will come about that way, but it certainly would not be desirable so far as German interests are concerned. Therefore, if the United States is working toward bringing such a conference into being, as a matter of course it is working against the interests of Germany. Granting further that the general peace conference is here and that the United States has the position there for which Wilson is wishing and working, there can be no doubt—in view of the attitude of the United States during this war—that the policy of Wilson would work for Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro and against everything that the German Empire imperatively needs for the guaranteeing of its political and economic future. Consequently, the conference would present the picture of our former enemies, who would fight against us in the peace negotiations with the same energy as they formerly did with arms, being reinforced by a new enemy who would have to be regarded in the peace negotiations as much more dangerous and serious than if he had been one of our opponents during the war.

It is as regrettable as it is remarkable that there are such broad circles in Germany where this simple truth is not recognized. These circles appear to remain rocked to sleep in the illusion that Wilson's ambition is merely "to restore peace to the world" and nothing more. There even arose a sort of "storm" in the German Reichstag recently when the speaker for one of the parties of the Right rejected Wilson in the rôle of a peacemaker and said that the German people had no confidence in the President. Apparently there are wide circles in Germany in which it is not yet understood that the manner in which peace negotiations are begun and the division of forces while they are under way constitute a very weighty part of the war itself, a part whose formation and development can bring about the loss of a mighty part of the gains that have been made by the sword.

The manner in which the peace negotiations are entered upon is not less important than the position assumed by an army or a fleet at the beginning of a battle. These same German circles also do not understand that the peace negotiations will have a direct bearing upon the strength of the respective parties, and that consequently the joining in of the United States, in view of the tendency of its interests and in consideration of its attitude up to the present, would, under all circumstances, signify a great hardship for Germany.

In his speech the President drew a sketch of the foundations upon which he would like to see a future peace erected. The United States wants a permanent peace, and Wilson asserts that such a peace is only possible if the place of the present diplomacy is taken by "the principle of public right." In other words, he wishes to have all questions involving the honor and life of nations settled by international courts. We do not need to waste many words over this. As long as

men are not angels, and as long as a goddess of justice equipped with all the means of executive power does not act as judge, the idea of an international court of arbitration is not adapted to any important problems of international life. As a matter of course, the leading men of the United States regard the rôle they play toward the European nations as that of the powerful and impartial and as the deciding factor in these negotiations. This consideration alone would be enough to cause a general refusal in Germany. The United States, no matter under what President, has never concealed the fact that it regards all Germany's efforts along international lines, both political and economic, as inadmissible and unfriendly act toward the Anglo-Saxon nations. A strong German navy has always been treated in America as a challenge to England and the United States; Germany's possession of Alsace-Lorraine has never been looked upon as anything but robbery; in short, the modern German Empire and the work of the German people which it needs in order to maintain its life in the world are looked upon in the United States as something disturbing to peace and quietness, as something that ought not to exist.

In outlining his foundations Wilson also comes pretty plainly to the decisive points. He wishes "that every nation have the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live," and further that the small States shall have the right to enjoy the same respect, &c., as the big ones. The first point is exactly the same as has been handed out by Asquith, Grey, et al., since the beginning of the war. It is aimed at Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, North Schleswig, Poland, Montenegro, Serbia, &c. The former attempts to extend American influence in Belgium and Poland are now already working in the same direction. About Ireland and India, on the contrary, we have heard nothing so far, and it is significant enough that an honest little pamphlet, which the former American Secretary of State, Bryan, had written about English maladministration in India, was forced to submit during this war to an order forbidding its exportation. This brochure is not allowed to be sent out of the United States. [Of course this statement is absurd. —Ed. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

Besides, this Wilson "foundation" stipulates, even if not in so many words, the introduction of democratic constitutions. Here again, therefore, we have the same effort as is being made by Great Britain, which at the bottom proceeds from the desire to see the German power, both at home and abroad, ruined through a democratic régime.

Furthermore, Wilson wants to have the basic principle laid down that, "the world to be free from any breach of the peace," and the United States would form part of any imaginable combination that would serve this end. Consequently, Wilson is thinking of some sort of a great international "peace league," similar to the Holy Alliance of a century ago. It is well known that that Holy Alliance was a high-sounding phrase and a big fraud in which supposedly great men were employed, and which, indeed, finally worked out merely to the advantage of England. The English statesmen did not allow themselves to be deceived by these high-sounding phrases, but made use of them. This would also be the case if the Wilson idea were realized, with the single exception that then both Anglo-Saxon powers would talk, with serious faces, of making the world happy, and in the meantime would make themselves masters of the world. When Wilson, in the same connection, repeatedly says that the United States is not selfish and seeks nothing for itself, this is in sharp contradiction with his prevous utterances to the effect that when the war should come to an end the United States would have the same interest in the forming of peace as the belligerent nations and that also "humanity" is just as much the affair of the United States as it is that of the other powers. It is possible that the United States does not seek any extension of territory through the war, as it has enough and more than it needs. What it wants is the unrestricted possibility of exploiting its wealth and economic

power in opposition to industrial Europe. And this includes its strong interest in seeing that Germany especially does not again become dangerous as a competitor in the export trade.

The entire Anglo-Saxon element in the United States is thoroughly convinced that Germany is the disturber of the peace. German world commerce, the German Navy, and, consequently, German international policy, are red rags for every Anglo-Saxon American. From this proceeds the manner in which Wilson wants to bring about "the future guaranteeing of peace"—that is, through "a universal association of the nations to maintain inviolate the security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world." Up to the time of "the knocking down" ("Niederboxung") of Germany in the negotiations Wilson took pleasure in talking about the freedom of the seas and repeatedly emphasized in his notes how dear to his heart this freedom was and how his efforts were directed, even during the war, in combination with Germany, toward putting the freedom of the seas into practical operation. Now, after he is convinced that he has obtained from Germany a definite abandonment of the submarine war against merchant vessels, he no longer talks about the freedom of the seas, but about the "security of the highway of the seas." This new turn is openly directed toward having the ban on submarine warfare erected into a principle of international law; otherwise the words are only an empty phrase. In time of peace no internationally guaranteed security of the highway of the seas is needed, as they are free eo ipso. But the nicest kind of international conferences and treaties will not succeed in guaranteeing the security of the highway of the seas in a future war, and, indeed, in the sense that Germany needs it —through the guarantee of the German connection with the oceans and their free use both coming and going by German and neutral trading ships. If President Wilson had honestly entertained the wish that he emphasizes now and has formerly emphasized he would have been able to insure the security of the highway of the seas to a very high degree since August, 1914. If at that time he had placed the United States at the head of neutral seafaring powers, and, in accord with them, had demanded the observance of the Declaration of London, &c., with threats and, in case of necessity, with the application of the means of force at hand, he would have obtained it. Great Britain could easily have been forced to do this by the United States. By doing this and by putting a ban upon the exportation of munitions of war Wilson would, furthermore, have brought about that which he characterizes as his dearest ideal for the future—peace. The interests of a quick peace, which Wilson emphasizes again at the close of his remarks, would also have been served through the German underwater trade war.

He did not wish all that. His idea of the future on the seas is a state of affairs in which no war can be begun unless "the public opinion of the world" has first passed a favorable judgment upon it. We Germans have no confidence in this public opinion of the world, because up to now, and especially during this war, the public opinion of the world, under the influence of anti-German lies, of hate, and of jealousy, has been opposed to a peacefully progressive German people and empire, though this empire simply demanded the place in the world to which it was entitled by its daily proofs of its right to exist. The public opinion of the world will continue to make itself felt against Germany, be it in a military way, in a political way, or in an economic way, as long as those who are envious of us fail to comprehend the entire hopelessness of their efforts. The only way and the only means of arriving at that end and thus insuring a peace, sound in a German sense, lies in the maintaining and the increasing of German power. Certainly that does not stand upon Mr. Wilson's program; on the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon powers and their friends and vassals aim at holding it down and stunting it.

Colonial Policy of the United States

By Professor Brander Matthews*
Of Columbia University

WITH the doubtful exception of Porto Rico, there is scarcely a square mile of all the millions of miles over which the Stars and Stripes now float that was originally won by the sword and continuously held by arms. Texas revolted from Mexico, proclaimed its independence, applied for admission to the United States, and was admitted. In like manner Hawaii came under our flag by the free choice of its inhabitants. And all the rest of our territory, beyond that in our possession when the Constitution was adopted in 1789, was bought and paid for.

We have never rectified our frontiers by forcible annexation. We purchased Louisiana from France in 1803; we purchased Florida from Spain in 1819; and we purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. At the close of the war with Mexico in 1848 we purchased California and what are now its sister States on the Pacific—although it is only honest to admit that this cession was consented to under duress. And at the close of the war with Spain in 1898 we kept Porto Rico, which we had captured, and we paid a price for the Philippines, which the Spaniards were not sorry to part with—if we may credit the report that the islands would have been sold to Germany in case we had not insisted on buying them ourselves. And then finally in 1904 we purchased the Canal Zone from Panama—although it must be admitted that we were very prompt in recognizing the independence of the revolting State.

This is a fairly clean record, in that we have taken little or nothing by forcible annexation. What we have acquired since we became a nation we have paid for in cash. And the cleanness of this record is still further emphasized by our withdrawal from Cuba, which we had promised not to take, which most European nations expected us to take, and which we did not take in spite of the fact that we had to be invited to return a second time to set its affairs in order.

These successive accretions of our domain were not the result of any predetermined plan of expansion, and they all of them came about more or less unexpectedly. What is more, and what shows the abiding attitude of a large part of our population, is the significant fact that every one of these increases of territory was bitterly opposed by an influential section of the American public. The Federalists, for example, were loud and fierce in their denunciation of Jefferson for the Louisiana Purchase.

Forty years later the hostility to the admission of Texas and to the purchase of California was almost as intense. The frequent proposals made before the civil war for the purchase of Cuba never succeeded in winning popular approval; and even after the civil war, when President Grant negotiated the annexation of Santo Domingo, in 1870, the treaty failed of ratification. And it is within the memory of us all that the opposition to the retention of the Philippines was equally bitter and that it has been even more persistent.

In the Philippines we can never be at home, and we cannot people them. We may continue to possess these islands and to rule their inhabitants, but we must do it always as aliens even if we refrain from rapacious exploitation, and even if we seek to govern solely for the good of the natives. * * * We must never allow ourselves to forget that everywhere and always men dislike being governed except by men of their own race and of their own choice, tacit or expressed. All men detest the rule of the alien, no matter how richly endowed with good intentions the foreign governors may believe themselves to be.

* Condensed from a paper prepared for The New York Times Sunday Magazine.

When all is said the fact remains that the territory of the United States has immensely increased since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that the area of the British Empire has been mightily expanded during the same period, whereas the more recently founded German Empire has had to be satisfied with the snapping up of a few unconsidered trifles, far inferior in value. It is no wonder that there are many Germans who resent this and who ascribe the exclusion to the underhand intrigues of rival peoples. They see that the Monroe Doctrine debars them from acquiring territory in South America, where there are already tens of thousands of Germans, and they see also that the British and the Russians recently outmanoeuvred them in what seems to amount almost to a partition of Persia. Yet an American may wonder whether the German desire for colonies is not largely imitative and whether it is in accord with the best interests of Germans themselves. Germany has now no surplus population. In consequence of its soaring industrial development emigration has almost ceased, and in 1913 half a million laborers had to be imported to gather the German harvests.

Moreover, it may be suggested that the German insistence on rigid organization is a hindrance to effective colonization. What is needed in a new country is freedom of individual initiative, liberty to turn around swiftly to meet novel conditions, and little more administration than is requisite for the maintenance of peace and order. It is significant that the Germans themselves do not flock into the existing German colonies, and that the German settlers in Brazil have never been heard to express any desire to be incorporated in the German Empire. * * *

We have not the political machinery for ruling alien races; and to attempt to rule them is not in accord with our political ideals, which compel us to base our form of government on the consent of the governed. So long as the people of any community are fitted for self-government by descent or by long training, we can make them welcome, as we should gladly receive the Canadians, if they wished to join us and if the British were willing to release them from their allegiance to the crown. To admit the Canadians upon an equal footing with ourselves would put very little strain upon our political fabric. But we are not likely ever to be willing to confer full citizenship upon the Mexicans, if they were to clamor at our doors for admission into the Union. That they should ever so clamor is most improbable; but it is even more improbable that we should yield to their appeal.

The Mexican peon is at present as unfit or as ill-prepared for American citizenship as the Filipino. And it is for the Mexicans, as it is for the Cubans, to work out their own political salvation as best they can. Quite possibly it would be better for the Mexicans if we controlled Mexico; but it would certainly be worse for us.

And in matters of so much importance we have a right to be selfish and to refuse to endanger our own political ideals for the sake of strangers without the gates.

Furthermore, if the opinions expressed in this paper are those of a majority of the citizens of the United States, if it is a fact that we have no desire to go on increasing our possessions, either by annexing territory adjoining our borders or by acquiring distant colonies, if we really shrink from rivalry with the European empires in the game of greedily grabbing alien lands, then it would be wise for us to let the whole world know this so plainly that there would be no doubt about our intentions. The economic competition of the leading nations is not likely to be relaxed in the immediate future, in fact, it will probably be furiously intensified; and economic rivalry is ever an existing cause of international jealousy and international suspicion. It is not enough that we should be resolved to keep our hands clean, as we have done in Cuba; it is needful also that we should at least try to make rival and jealous and suspicious peoples believe that our hearts are pure and devoid of vain desire to despoil any State weaker than we are.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By The Editor

The Monroe Doctrine receives a fresh vitality and new significance in consequence of the great European war and the general political unrest which it produces throughout the world. The actual text of the doctrine appeared in the annual message of President James Monroe, communicated to Congress Dec. 2, 1823, and is as follows:

> *"* * * In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been deemed proper for asserting, as a principle in which rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. * * * We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."*

THE origin of the Monroe Doctrine begins with the preliminary discussions in the Continental Congress. As early as 1776 Benjamin Franklin declared it a bad policy to send American agents abroad to seek foreign alliances and warmly opposed the proposition. Although he was defeated, he later himself became the efficient agent who consummated our subsequent alliance with France.

George Washington, in his farewell address in 1796, enunciated the doctrine of America for Americans in these words:

> Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise for us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her polities or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. * * *
>
> It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. * * * Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation [our detached position]? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe entangle our peace and prosperity in the tasks of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice? * * *

JAMES MONROE

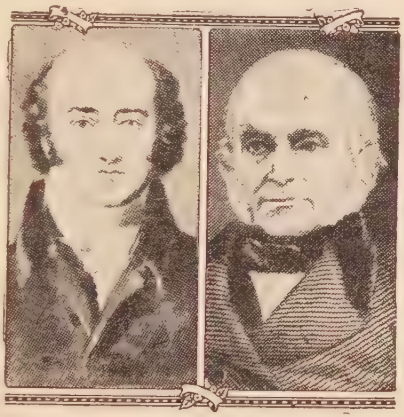
The policy was laid down also by Jefferson and Madison that there should be no "entangling alliances with any foreign nation," but it was not until after the war of 1812 that international questions arose which convinced our statesmen that to this general prohibition must be added a warning that European interference with this continent would not be tolerated.

The principal events which brought about the enunciation of the doctrine were twofold.

In the early days of 1800 a dispute arose between the United States and Great Britain and Russia over the boundaries of the Northwestern Territory, (now Oregon, Alaska, and British Columbia,) and there was considerable uneasiness that there might arise from this controversy serious consequences.

July 2, 1823, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, communicated as follows to Richard Rush, who was our Minister at the Court of St. James's, in discussing a possible solution of the question:

> These independent nations [that is, those of South America and Mexico] will possess rights incident to that condition [settlement of the controversy] and their territories will of course be subject to no exclusive right of navigation in their vicinity or of access to them by any foreign nation. A necessary consequence of this state of things will be that the American continents henceforth will no longer be subject to colonization by civilized nations; they will be accessible to Europeans and each other on that footing alone; and the Pacific Ocean, in every part of it, will remain open to the navigation of all nations in like manner with the Atlantic.



GEORGE CANNING JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
Photo Underwood & Underwood

On July 17, 1823, Mr. Adams is quoted in George R. Tucker's History of the Monroe Doctrine (1885) in an interview with the Russian Ambassador regarding the territorial dispute as follows: "We [the United States] should contest the right of Russia to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments.

Portentous occurrences in Europe hastened the proclamation of the doctrine, the germ of which appears in the preceding paragraph.

For centuries the right was conceded among European powers to interfere whenever the ambitious designs of any of the rulers tended to disturb the "balance of power," but it was not conceived as applying in any way to the acquisition of territory outside of Europe. The autocratic Governments adhered to this agreement and used it as a basis for a further extension. When the French Revolution began it was supposed that they should all intervene to suppress it, and Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Russia did actually interfere, though England held aloof at first, but finally became involved.

After Waterloo, Russia, Austria, and Prussia entered into an alliance, known as "The Holy Alliance." It has been generally believed the main purpose of the agreement was to suppress revolutionary movements and the spread of liberal ideas. In September, 1818, the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle convened, with Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia participating. It was here decided to remove the army of occupation from France and uphold Louis XVIII. on his throne, and there was a supposed understanding, though no specific agreement, that whenever absolutism was imperiled there should be interference. Another congress was held in 1820, and it was then proposed to interfere in the affairs of Naples, where a revolution had broken out. England protested, and would have nothing to do with it, yet Austria proceeded and restored the monarch at Naples.

In 1822 another congress of the powers was held at Verona to consider an insurrection which had broken out in Spain the year before, and it is here that the interests of the United States became seriously involved. England's envoy at the Verona Congress was the Duke of Wellington. Spain was in sore straits with rebellion at home and the flames of revolution were alight in all her South American and Central American colonies, which declared their independence in rapid succession. She was powerless to suppress the revolt, and it was proposed that the powers come to her assistance. All agreed except England. She again refused to interfere, but, disregarding her protest, the others went ahead; France sent an army into

Spain and suppressed the uprising there.

The question now arose regarding the American colonies of Spain. Spain was unable to re-establish her authority, and, without England's co-operation as mistress of the seas, the other powers were disinclined to proceed. England was beginning already to feel the influence of the liberalism which was pervading her domain and which resulted within a few years in the Reform bills. Moreover, by the restoration of the South American colonies to Spain her trade would undoubtedly be reduced and imperiled.

Canning was at the head of British Foreign Affairs. In August, 1823, a few months after the Verona Congress and before any steps had been taken with reference to the South American republics, Mr. Canning proposed to our Minister, Mr. Rush, that

the Governments of England and of the United States should publish a joint declaration before Europe in opposition to the designs of the alliance in regard to the Western Hemisphere, the substance of which should be that, while the two Governments desired no portion of those colonies for themselves, they would not view with indifference any foreign intervention in their affairs or their acquisition by any third power; that a proposal be made to the other powers for a congress to consider the affairs of Spanish America, and that Great Britain would not participate in its councils unless the United States was also represented.*

Minister Rush explained the traditional policy of non-interference by the United States in European politics. He stated that the United States had already recognized the independence of the South American States, and that if England would do likewise he would unite in a "joint declaration." This Mr. Canning declined to do, but he did inform France that England would not permit European interference in Spanish American affairs, and France surprised him by readily acquiescing in the opinion that the new republics in South America were forever lost to Spain.

The suggestions of the British Foreign Minister to the American Minister brought matters quickly to a head. President Monroe regarded the situation as very grave, and asked for opinions from the two living ex-Presidents, Jefferson and Madison.

Madison was brief. He thought that there was a call "for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade."

Jefferson wrote as follows:

The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.

The President's message bears date Dec. 2, 1823. Shortly after its beginning appears the following passage:

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the Minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which *the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.*

Later on, just before the close of the message, the President says:

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries,

*Tucker's "The Monroe Doctrine."

and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. *With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America.* This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to *declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on a principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried on the same principle is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote; and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the Government de facto as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and these new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

The doctrine remained quiescent, after 1824, being regarded rather as an academic utterance, especially as the European powers in 1830 had abandoned the system of forcible interference, but it was reasserted by President Polk in 1845 as a settled and definite policy of this Government. In 1845, when the dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary flared up, the President in his message to Congress, referring to this dispute as well as to the hint that if the United States annexed Texas, (which was then being discussed,) Europe might intervene, said:

In the existing circumstances of the world, the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe. * * * It should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American Continent.

It will be noted that President Polk confined the inhibition to North America, but added that word "dominion," which in international usage implies the volun-

tary acquisition by purchase or transfer of allegiance.

Again, in 1848, he was even more definite. Yucatan, which was then independent of Mexico, being unable to suppress an Indian revolution, offered to transfer "its dominion and sovereignty" to the United States, and made similar offers to Great Britain and Spain. The President in a message to Congress did not recommend its acceptance by the United States, but added: "We could not consent to a transfer of this 'dominion and sovereignty' to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power."

It was thus proclaimed to be the American policy that:

(A) European powers could not exchange or transfer to each other colonial possessions on the Western Hemisphere.

(B) They could not acquire either dominion or sovereignty over any territory on the Western Hemisphere not already possessed, even where there was a voluntary cession.

(C) The policy was not limited to North America, but embraced the entire hemisphere.

Nothing further occurred to revive the doctrine until 1866, when a serious question arose over the ambitions of France to establish Maximilian on the throne of Mexico.

Oct. 31, 1861, England, France, and Spain agreed to invade the Republic of Mexico in order to collect certain claims due subjects of the three nations and to chastise Mexico for her delinquency. The invasion took place, but Spain and England withdrew; Napoleon III. persisted, and the French landed an army and overthrew the Mexican Government. An election was held under bayonet rule, and Maximilian, a scion of the Austrian Hapsburgs, was placed upon the throne. The United States protested, but was too busily engaged at that time with its own troubles to go further, but as soon as our war ceased, an army of 40,000 troops was mobilized on the Mexican frontier, opposite Matamoros, where the French Army had its headquarters. Napoleon did not wish a clash with the United States, which was inevitable if his troops remained, and in utter disregard of his pledge to uphold the throne of Maximilian he withdrew his army; the Mexicans revolted and overthrew Maximilian, and subsequently executed him.

The first recognition by Congress of the Monroe Doctrine arose out of the Mexican situation. On April 4, 1864, the House of Representatives resolved unanimously that:

> The Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the Republic of Mexico, and that they think it fit to declare that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical Government erected on the ruins of any Republican Government in America under the auspices of any European power.

This is the nearest express legislative sanction that the doctrine had so far received. At the time it was proclaimed Mr. Clay offered in the House of Representatives in January, 1824, a joint resolution by which it was declared that the people of the United States "would not see, without serious inquietude, any forcible intervention by the allied powers of Europe, in behalf of Spain," to reduce her colonies to subjection, but no action was taken upon this resolution. Congress, however, took definite action in the Venezuelan crisis in 1895, referred to below, and again in 1912, when a resolution of Senator Lodge was adopted, with but four dissenting votes, by the United States Senate, which was a formal reaffirmation of the doctrine, and at the same time notice to Japan that this Government would not tolerate the establishment of a naval base on the Mexican Coast, it being then reported that Japan contemplated such action at Magdalena Bay.

The resolution was as follows:

> *Resolved*, That when any harbor or other place in the American Continent is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government not American as to give that country practical control for national purposes.

This not being a joint resolution, it did not require the concurrence of the House

or the signature of the President; it was a formal expression of the Senate alone. The House took no action.

This resolution goes further in the application of the original Monroe Doctrine in that it commits the United States henceforth to prohibit acts by foreign corporations or associations which heretofore only foreign nations have been forbidden to do.

Prior to the Maximilian episode and after the Polk Administration, that is, during the decade preceding our civil war, Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, in 1851, in view of a proposed engagement between Spain, Great Britain, and France to guarantee Spanish possession of Cuba, sent this notice to Great Britain:

"It has always been declared to Spain that the Government of the United States could not be expected to acquiesce in the cession of Cuba to any European power."

Again, during the civil war, Spain attempted to recover Santo Domingo, but failed, and afterward Santo Domingo, unable to secure itself against possible European aggression, sought annexation to the United States, and a treaty was negotiated, but not confirmed. In sending the treaty to the Senate President Grant wrote:

"The doctrine promulgated by President Monroe has been adhered to by all political parties, and I now deem it proper to assert the equally important principle that hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject of transfer to a European power."

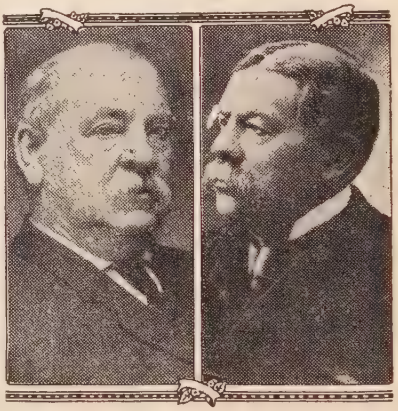
It was, however, in 1895, during the Administration of President Cleveland, that the doctrine received its most specific and menacing import.

For nearly half a century there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over certain boundary lines. In 1887 the dispute had become so acute that diplomatic relations between the two countries ceased. Great Britain extended the area of British Guiana until in 1887 the territory of Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco River was reduced about two-thirds, 70,000 square miles. The controversy had proceeded many years; in fact, in 1876 Venezuela asked the United States to aid her in the discussion. When the last demand by England was made and the enormous slice of territory lopped off, Venezuela again appealed to the United States to intercede, and England was requested by our Government to submit the matter to arbitration, which was refused, and matters were at an impasse and there was constant danger of a break between the United Kingdom and the South American republic.

When Cleveland assumed office in 1895 Ambassador Bayard was again instructed to request England to arbitrate the matter, but he was curtly informed that Great Britain "could not consent to any departure from the Schomburgk line," which line cut off much Venezuelan territory. Congress approved the President's recommendation of arbitration, and on July 20, 1895, Secretary of State Olney dispatched his historic instructions to Ambassador Bayard. In this communication he asserted the right of one nation to intervene in a controversy to which other nations are directly parties "whenever what is done or proposed by any of the parties primarily concerned is a serious menace to its own integrity, tranquillity, and welfare." He then discussed the Monroe Doctrine and affirmed that, while it did not establish a protectorate over other American States, it did not relieve any of them from "obligations as fixed by international law, nor prevent any European power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them," but that its "single purpose and object" was that "no European power or combination of powers" should "forcibly deprive an American State of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies." He argued that this principle was involved in the present controversy, because territory was involved, and this meant "political control to be lost by one party and gained by the other." He said that "the United States, being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know

whether such sequestration has occurred or is now going on." He affirmed: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." He closed with the statement that it was the "unmistakable and imperative duty of the President to ask" for a definite decision upon the point "whether Great Britain will consent or will decline to submit the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety to impartial arbitration."

Lord Salisbury in his reply claimed that the United States was insisting upon a new and extended interpretation of the doctrine. He said: "It is admitted that he (President Polk) did not seek to assert a protectorate over Mexico or the States of Central or South America. Such a claim would have imposed upon the United States the duty of answering for the conduct of these States, and consequently the responsibility of controlling it. * * * It follows of necessity if the Government of the United States will not control the conduct of these communities, neither can it undertake to protect them from the consequences attaching to any misconduct of which they may be guilty toward other nations."



GROVER CLEVELAND RICHARD OLNEY
Photo © Pach Bros. Photo Paul Thompson

President Cleveland, on receipt of England's refusal to arbitrate, submitted the entire matter to Congress in a startling message, in which he declared "the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement tends to our peace and safety as a nation and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures.

"If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be 'dangerous to our peace and safety,' and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise."

Congress provided for a separate American commission to investigate the boundary question, but before it could report Great Britain receded and signed an arbitration agreement with Venezuela.

Though she was awarded practically all the disputed area, she yielded to the American interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine rather than go to war with us, and Congress specifically upheld the widened scope of its interpretation by fully indorsing the position of President Cleveland.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 gave a new significance to the Monroe Doctrine. The acquisition by the United States of colonial possessions in the remote Pacific, 3,000 miles from our shores, and in the Atlantic, nearly 1,000 miles from the continental boundary; the establishment of a virtual protectorate over Cuba, and a universal acknowledgment that by this war the United States had emerged from its provincial isolation into a world power, invested the doctrine with a more portentous meaning. The first manifestation was the need for the Panama Canal, but before it could be proceeded with it was felt that a treaty with England negotiated in 1850, known as the Clayton-

Bulwer treaty, must be abrogated. That treaty stipulated terms for the building of a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and provided for the complete neutralization of the canal, with no fortifications by either power. It marked a departure from our past tradition that we would not enter into agreements with any European power concerning purely American affairs, for it was, in effect, a partnership with Great Britain in this great work, and proved an insurmountable obstacle to its construction. As early as 1881 it was recognized that this treaty stood in the way of a canal, and negotiations were begun for its abrogation, but they were not consummated until 1901, when the treaty was abrogated and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty substituted, which gave the United States exclusive and independent authority to build and own the canal.

The evolution of the extension of the Monroe Doctrine followed as a natural corollary the building of the canal. The first and most serious question that was precipitated was the danger of foreign occupation of Central American States in order to enforce the collection of debts. The first of these arose in 1904, with relation to Santo Domingo. For years that country had been torn by revolutions, and its credit was entirely destroyed. What little money could be borrowed was loaned at usurious rates, with the revenues of the country pledged as collateral. Even this interest was defaulted, and Germany, Italy, and Spain entered into a mutual agreement to enforce the claims of their citizens, and an Italian warship was actually sent to Dominican waters to carry their threat into execution. The Dominican Government appealed to the United States for assistance, and this resulted in an arrangement whereby the Custom Houses of the republic were to be placed in the hands of American officials and a portion of the receipts were to be held in deposit in New York for the benefit of the creditors; finally, the debts were readjusted and the United States was allowed to collect and administer the customs revenues, the officials being under the protection of this Government. This arrangement has worked out very satisfactorily and proved entirely agreeable to the foreign creditors. The country made much progress under the arrangement, and there was peace there until recently a new revolution occurred, but, thanks to American protection, it did not imperil the revenue receipts nor jeopardize the ability to meet the interest obligations as they mature. This same condition is now virtually in force also in Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and it may be truthfully said that the four republics are now under the protection of the United States as respects their revenue from customs, with a guarantee that the customs officials will be protected from revolutionary bands or bandits and the revenue receipts will be properly applied to the payment of legal and just interest obligations.

Our Government has never maintained that the Monroe Doctrine committed us to any sort of protectorate over the independent States of this hemisphere, so that we would be in any way called upon to espouse their quarrels. We always admitted that they were responsible for their own misconduct and could be held to a strict enforcement of their obligations. In 1861 we admitted the right of France, Spain, and Great Britain to proceed by force against Mexico for the satisfaction of just claims.

As evidence that we did not consider ourselves the guardians of the South American republics, John Bassett Moore, former Counselor of the State Department, cites the following instances as illustrating our refusal to interfere with the affairs of South or Central American republics: In 1842 and 1844 Great Britain blockaded a part of Nicaragua for a claim without our protest, and in 1851 she laid an embargo on the Port of Salvador; in 1862 she seized Brazilian vessels in Brazilian waters in reprisal for the plundering of a British bark on the Brazilian coast. In 1838 France blockaded Mexican ports, and in 1845 Great Britain and France blockaded the Port of Buenos Aires for the purpose of securing the independence of Uruguay. In 1865 Spain was at war with the republics on the west coast of South Amer-

ica, which continued for many years. She bombarded Valparaiso during that conflict. A United States man-of-war dispersed a squatter colony from Buenos Aires from the Falkland Islands, and in 1854, for failure to obtain an idemnity of $24,000 from Greytown for destruction of property and an apology for an affront to our Minister, we bombarded the place and burned the city. In 1890, while the Pan-American Congress was in session, Congress authorized the President to use force, if necessary, to collect a debt from Venezuela, and in 1892 we sent an ultimatum to Chile, with which she complied.

The latest interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine prior to the passage of the Root resolution referred to above occurred during the consideration of the Dominican treaty. In 1905 President Roosevelt said:

"If a republic to the south of us commits a tort against a foreign nation, such as an outrage against a citizen of that nation, then the Monroe Doctrine does not force us to interfere to prevent punishment of that tort, save to see that the punishment does not assume the form of territorial occupation in any shape."

He also held:

"On the one hand, this country would certainly decline to go to war to prevent a foreign Government from collecting a just debt; on the other hand, it is very inadvisable to permit any foreign power to take possession, even temporarily, of the Custom Houses of an American republic in order to enforce the payment of its obligations, for such temporary occupation might turn into permanent occupation."

And he concludes:

"The only escape from these alternatives may at any time be that we must ourselves undertake to bring about some arrangement by which as much as possible of a just obligation shall be paid. It is far better that this country should put through such an arrangement rather than allow any foreign country to undertake it."

The latest blockading of a coast on this hemisphere by foreign fleets occurred in 1902. Germany, England, and Italy, finding themselves unable to collect certain debts from Venezuela, planned to blockade her coasts and seize her Custom Houses. Germany recognized the Monroe Doctrine might become involved and sent to the Secretary of State information of the proposed blockade, with the assurance, "We declare especially that under no circumstances do we consider in our proceedings the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory." The blockade began Dec. 10, 1902, without protest from the United States, but within three months, through the good offices of the United States, a compromise was effected and the blockade lifted.

As late as Nov. 27, 1914, ex-President Taft, in a carefully prepared address on the subject of the Monroe Doctrine, maintained that no obligation of international law rests on the United States to enforce the doctrine, nor upon any foreign State to observe it. "It rests primarily upon the danger to the interest and safety of the United States, and therefore the nearer to her boundaries the attempted violation of the doctrine the more directly her safety is affected and the more acute her interest." He maintains that the extent of our intervention to enforce the policy is a matter of our own judgment, with a notice that it covers all America, and he declared that, so far as it applies to countries as remote as Chile, Brazil, or Argentina, it is now never likely to be pressed, first because of their own ability to protect themselves, and second because of their remoteness. Mr. Taft held that if Germany during the present war were to send a naval or military force to Canada and wage war upon the soil of the Dominion, this would not be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, provided she stopped there, and that we would have cause to protest only if Germany endeavored to take over Canadian territory and establish her own government there.

President Wilson has on frequent occasions taken a position with reference to the doctrine similar to that of President Roosevelt. He has specifically disclaimed any aggressive attitude toward the South or Central American republics and has

asserted several times that the United States would never seek to secure any additional territory by conquest. He has gone a step further than his predecessors by firmly opposing revolutionary movements of political freebooters in the unstable republics, and has asserted that he will protect them, as far as possible, from exploitation by unscrupulous adventurers and freebooting concession seekers.

The Monroe Doctrine has never before been so firmly held as a vital part of the fabric of our Government, and the recognition of its legality by all the powers of the world during the past ninety years was never so definitely established as at the present time. It is a favorite argument of advocates of preparedness to affirm that unless we are prepared to defend the doctrine with an army large enough and a fleet powerful enough to meet any enemy the doctrine will become a dead letter and we shall risk all the perils which might follow its abrogation at the pleasure of any nation that covets territory on this hemisphere.

Digging Song: A Bavarian Protest

Among the letters and papers found in German trenches at Verdun was a diary kept by a Bavarian Corporal named Sanktus. It contains a poem entitled "Schanzlied," or "Digging Song," signed "von Sanktus." Facsimiles of the original German script have been published in the English papers. Herewith we give a rough translation of the whole poem:

Come on, all you fellows, let each take his spade,
For the trench work that we must be plying,
An underground dugout must also be made,
As a place for the Prussian to lie in;
Wherever the fighting is done under earth,
Bavarians are wanted and have, too, their worth.
(*Repeat.*)

The gallant Bavarians—this is their fate:
At every one's pipe to be jigging;
While the lazybone Prussian reposes in state,
The Bavarian's delving and digging;
He's kept at it still—with no chance of escape;
For there must be commands, and there must be red tape.

The Prussian is fed like an ox in a stall,
Or his gullet would split with his gaping,
But the hungry Bavarian gets nothing at all,
'Tis the veriest fast that he's keeping;
Bavarian, then what will happen to you
With nothing but digging and dog's work to do?

The Frenchman, he doth the Bavarian dread—
He takes good care not to attack him;
But seeing the skunk of a Prussian instead,
He's ready to go in and whack him;
Out of the trenches the Prussian must clear—
Why didn't they put us Bavarians there?

So long live the gallant Bavarian corps,
To them be a coat of arms given;
Two shovels laid crosswise, a pickaxe before,
And, as a supporter, a bavin—
The best of all badges for each common man,
Who digs when he's got to, and digs when he can.

FUNERAL OF YUAN SHIH-KAI, JUNE 28, 1916. A PROCESSION A MILE LONG ESCORTED THE DEAD PRESIDENT FROM THE SUMMER PALACE IN PEKING TO THE RAILWAY STATION, WHENCE HE WAS BORNE TO HONAN PROVINCE FOR BURIAL ON HIS OWN ESTATE.

The Fight for the Republic in China

The Story of a Conspiracy

By W. Reginald Wheeler

IF it were not for the all-absorbing cataclysm in Europe, all eyes would be turned toward the Orient and the great movements now in evidence there. Certainly the developments in India and Japan since the great war began are of vast importance in the molding of the future of Asia. But it is in China, especially during the past year, that events of unique interest have taken place. The sudden clamor for the change of the infant republic into a monarchy, which began last Fall; the continued agitation for this transformation in the form of government, culminating on Dec. 11 in the unanimous vote of the Convention of Representatives of the Citizens for a Monarchy, with Yuan Shih-kai at its head; the gradual appearance of a most serious opposition, resulting in the revolt of the southern provinces; the sudden cancellation of the monarchy of Yuan Shih-kai on March 22; the effort to oust Yuan as President, ending dramatically with his death on June 6, and the election of Li Yuan-hung as President in his stead—these are a few of the main events in one of the most absorbing, hard-won fights between democracy and autocracy in the life of any nation.

It is this fight for the republic in China that I wish to discuss in the light of some recently published documents which reveal the contest in its true aspect as a great struggle for republican ideals; a struggle in which America should have a very real interest and sympathy.

The political situation in China last Fall was full of mystery. Since the dissolution of Parliament by Yuan Shih-kai in 1913 the republic has been one in name rather than in fact; but the speed with which the monarchical movement gained headway in the Fall of 1915 surprised most onlookers. The sentiment among the middle and lower classes of the Yang-tse Valley and the south seemed strongly against the monarchy and against Yuan Shih-kai for apparently supporting it. I talked with men of all classes—ricksha coolies, Confucian scholars, Buddhist priests, and returned students, and every one, after taking due precaution against being overheard, came out in support of the republic and denounced Yuan. Dr. Morrison, after a tour of inspection of the Yang-tse Valley,

described the sentiment of the people as one of "solid resentment" against the whole movement.

The feeling was even stronger in the south. There were certain indications that Yuan Shih-kai was acquiescent in, if, indeed, not a supporter of, the movement. Persistent rumors came from close friends of his in the capital that he was influenced by his sons to make the change for the latters' benefit as his successors. Only former officials and friends of the administration were allowed to vote in December. The editor of one of the Monarchist newspapers in Shanghai, which was blown up by the Republicans, stated outright amid the smoking ruins of his office that he had special permission from the Central Government for his propaganda. But the recent publishing by the Republican Government of over sixty secret communications of Yuan Shih-kai's Government preceding and during the election last Fall has brought out clearly the entire situation; the whole monarchical effort, in the words of Putnam Weale of Peking, is stamped as "a cool and singular plan to forge a national mandate which has few equals in history."

The chief communications have just been published by the Republican Government of China under the title, "The People's Will: An Exposure of the Political Intrigues at Peking Against the Republic of China," with the quotation subjoined, "Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God." I shall quote from some of the more important telegrams; the whole group deserves to be studied, just as the multi-colored books of diplomatic correspondence of Europe have been studied because of their influence in shaping the destiny of their respective continents.

In publicly beginning its propaganda in August, the monarchical movement very cleverly used a statement of Dr. Francis J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University and American adviser to the Chinese Government. Dr. Goodnow's opinion was purely an academic one; he stated that a change from a republic to a monarchy could be successfully made under three conditions: First, that the peace of the country was not thereby imperiled; second, that the laws of succession should first be securely fixed; third, provision should be made for some form of constitutional government. Of course, the Monarchists, in quoting this opinion, entirely omitted these conditional clauses.

On Aug. 16 the Chou An Hui (Society for the Preservation of Peace) published its first manifesto referring to this statement. Yuan Shih-kai, in a speech before the Tsan Chang Yuan, or State Council, said among other things: "I regard the proposed change as unsuitable to the circumstances of the country." But on Aug. 30 the first secret telegram was dispatched from Peking concerning the proposed change of government. It was a code telegram to the Military and Civil Governors of the provinces, to be deciphered personally by them with the Council of State code. After certain initial steps are mentioned in detail, the document reads:

> The plan suggested is for each province to send in a separate petition, the draft of which will be made in Peking and wired to the respective provinces in due course. * * * You will insert your own name as well as those of the gentry and merchants of the province who agree to the draft. These petitions are to be presented one by one to the Legislative Council as soon as it is convoked. At all events, the change in the form of the State will have to be effected under color of carrying out the people's will.
>
> As leading members of political and military bodies, we should wait till the opportune moment arrives when we will give collateral support to the movement. Details of the plan will be made known to you from time to time.

The Monarchical Society, realizing that matters had progressed sufficiently by this time for it to assert itself, on Sept. 27, under the leadership of Yang Tu and Sun Yu-chun, dispatched a code telegram to the Military and Civil Governors, asserting that all danger of a true expression of provincial wishes must be eradicated. The telegram offers suggestions regarding the government of the different districts and then concludes:

> In order to clothe the proceedings with an appearance of regularity, the representatives

of the districts, though they are really appointed by the highest military and civil officials of the province, should still be nominally elected by the districts. As soon as the representatives of the districts have been appointed, their names should be communicated to the respective district magistrates, who are to be instructed to draw up the necessary documents in detail, and to cause a formal election to be held. Such documents should, however, be properly antedated.

On Sept. 29 Chu Chi-chun, Military Governor of Mukden, representing the Administrative Council, telegraphed as follows:

While the plan of organization is determined by the Administrative Council, the carrying out of the ulterior object of such plan rests with the superintendents in chief of the election. They should, therefore, assume a controlling influence over the election proceedings and utilize them to the best advantage. The representatives of the citizens should be elected, one for each district wherever possible, from among the officials who are connected with the various Government organs in the provincial capital, so that there may be no misunderstanding as to the real object of voting.

This telegram proves conclusively that the representative organ of the people was wholly under the control of high officials and was "utilized" by them "to the best advantage," and that the representatives themselves were to be chosen from among those connected with the Government organizations in the various provincial capitals.

Again, on Oct. 10, a telegram from the National Convention Bureau read:

Special attention should be paid to the qualifications of those who are to be elected at the primaries held in the districts in connection with the National Assembly, since it is from these candidates that the citizens' representatives will have to be selected. * * * We trust the superintendents of the primaries will thoroughly understand our implied meaning, and utilize the proceedings to suit our purpose. * * * They should, before the voting, carefully consider what sort of men are those who are qualified to be elected, and select those who are good-natured and obsequious and of the same mind as ourselves. These are to be considered as the persons who should be elected. The superintendents will then judiciously assign their names to the several voters, and request them to vote as directed. If they find any difficulty in carrying out these instructions, they should not hesitate to use measures which in effect are coercive, though not so in appearance.

On October 11 the National Convention Bureau sent the following telegram:

The future peace and safety of the nation depend upon the documents exchanged between the Government organs at Peking and those in the provinces. Should any of these come to the notice of the public, the blame for failure to keep official secrets will be laid upon us. Moreover, as these documents concern the very foundation of the State, they will, in case they become known, leave a dark spot on the political history of our country. Upon their secrecy depends our national honor and prestige in the eyes of both our own people and foreigners. * * * We hope you will appoint one of your confidential subordinates to be specially responsible for the safe custody of the secret documents.

Despite the increasing unrest among the people, a circular telegram was dispatched on Oct. 23, which apparently "drove the last nail into the coffin of the Chinese Republic." It was a "nomination" of Yuan Shih-kai, and read:

The letters of nomination to be sent in after the form of State shall have been put to the vote, must contain the following words: "We, the citizens' representatives, by virtue of the will of the citizens, do hereby respectfully nominate the present President Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor of the Chinese Empire, and invest him to the fullest extent with all the supreme sovereign rights of the State. He is appointed by Heaven to ascend the Throne and to transmit it to his heirs for ten thousand generations." These characters, forty-five in all, must not be altered on any account.

Before the form of the State has been settled, the letters of nomination must not be made public. A reply is requested.

A few days later—Oct. 28—the attention of the Central Government was drawn by England, Japan, and Russia (latter backed by France and Italy as allies) toward the inadvisability of taking steps that would threaten the peace of China; but Lu Cheng-Hsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied that it was too late to retract, as the matter had already been decided. When their surprise over this unexpected answer had subsided, those in charge of the plot sent the following state telegram to the provinces:

A certain foreign power, under the pretext that the Chinese people are not of one mind and that troubles are to be apprehended, has lately forced England and Russia to take part in tendering advice to China. In truth, all foreign nations know perfectly well that there

will be no trouble, and they are obliged to follow the example of that power. If we accept the advice of other powers concerning our domestic affairs and postpone the enthronement, we should be recognizing their right to interfere. Hence, action should under no circumstances be deferred. When all the votes of the provinces unanimously recommending the enthronement shall have reached Peking, the Government will, of course, ostensibly assume a wavering and compromising attitude, so as to give due regard to international relations. The people, on the other hand, should show their firm determination to proceed with the matter at all costs, so as to let the foreign powers know that our people are of one mind. If we can only make them believe that the change of the republic into a monarchy will not in the least give rise to trouble of any kind, the effects of the advice tendered by Japan will ipso facto come to nought.

On Dec. 21 was played the last act in the drama. Forty-eight hours before General Tsai Ao threw down the gauntlet in Yunnan, because of the strange quiet that pervaded the country the Monarchists boldly determined to pay no further heed to any suggestion that they withdraw from their purpose, even though force be threatened. For it had been discovered, after the ballot boxes were opened on Dec. 11 that every voter had cast his ballot for Yuan Shih-kai to be Emperor! And he, isolated in his palace from the populace and deceived by his followers, had accepted the nomination.

All that remained now was to blot out every trace of the conspiracy, that the deceit "should not stain the opening pages of the history of the new dynasty," as a later telegram read, which is in part quoted below:

No matter how carefully their secrets may have been guarded, [it aserts,] still they remain as permanent records which might compromise us; and in the event of their becoming known to foreigners we shall not escape severe criticism and bitter attacks, and, what is worse, should they be handed down as part of the national records, they will stain the opening pages of the history of the new dynasty. The Central Government, after carefully considering the matter, has concluded that it would be better to sort out and burn the documents so as to remove all unnecessary records and prevent regrettable consequences. For these reasons you are hereby requested to sift out all telegrams, letters, and dispatches concerning the changes in the form of the State, whether official or private, whether received from Peking or the provinces, (excepting those required by law to be filed on record,) and cause the same to be burned in your presence.

Such intrigues were certain to bear fruit, and on Dec. 23 Tang Chi-Yao, Tutuh of Yunnan, revolted and blazed the way for the rebellion which ultimately should oust Yuan from the throne. He declared that Yuan had been guilty of "deliberately misrepresenting the people's will by inducements and threats," and took his stand once more for the republic. Yunnan was followed by Kwei Chow.

Despite this protest, the beginning of the new dynasty was set for Jan. 1 of the new year, and the Government buildings in Nanking and other cities were decorated with the national flag in honor of the event. Memorials praying for an early ascension of the throne were sent to Peking by various Monarchists. But on Jan. 26 the Emperor, dubbed the Ta Huang Ti by the Peking Gazette, a Republican sympathizer, announced that the enthronement would be postponed, saying in part: "The Province of Yunnan is opposing the Central Government and under some pretext a rebellion has been raised in these regions. * * * We are profoundly grieved to confess that a portion of the people are dissatisfied with us. * * * To perform the ceremony of enthronement at this juncture would, therefore, set our heart on thorns. The enthronement will have to be postponed to a date when the affairs in Yunnan are again under control."

The month of February was one of speculation and of discouragement on the part of the Republicans. The control of the military forces of the north was tightened in all suspected centres; Nanking, which had been the hotbed of revolution for the last four years, was practically under martial law; soldiers with fixed bayonets patrolled the streets; signs were put up in the tea houses and Government schools forbidding any discussion of political affairs; infractions of this rule were severely punished. But the unrest continued, a statement of one of the scholars in Nanking being indicative of public sentiment in general. On being asked what he thought of the new flag

which the Monarchists proposed for the nation, he said he thought the best design would be a white flag with a great black spot in the centre, (for Yuan Shih-kai.)

This dissatisfaction found active expression in the revolt on March 17 of Kuangsi, which made, among others, the following demands upon the Central Government: The cancellation of the empire and reinstitution of the republican form of government; the abdication of Yuan Shih-kai, and the convocation of a legislative body which should represent and be capable of expressing the authentic "will of the people."

On March 22 this was answered by a mandate from Yuan canceling the monarchy. In it he said: "I am still of the opinion that the designation petitions submitted are unsuited to the demands of the time, and the official acceptance of the imperial throne is hereby canceled. * * * I now confess that the faults of the country are the result of my own faults."

Although Yuan had relinquished the throne, he was not willing to abdicate entirely, and nothing short of this would satisfy the southerners. Chekiang Province revolted and its Governor fled; Kwangtung followed. The press was full of fiery articles calling for Yuan's retirement. On April 27 General Tsai Ao, the great military leader of the Republicans, sent a long telegram to Peking urging Yuan to retire, and concluding with a threat: "If, however, you should continue to linger and delay to make a prompt decision in the sense of retirement and compel the people to elaborate their demands in plainer language, your retirement will be compulsory instead of voluntary, and your high virtue will be lowered." This was followed by a similar appeal by Dr. Wu Ting-fang.

Yuan remaining obdurate, on May 10 the southern provinces elected Li Yuan-hung as President. On May 17 Liang Chi-Chao, the Republican leader, who has the highest reputation among the scholars of China, telegraphed Peking: "Since Hsaing-Cheng (Yuan Shih-kai) has been morally defeated in the eyes of Chinese as well as foreigners, the iron verdict has been passed on him demanding his retirement." This was backed on May 18, the following day, by a statement of 300 members of the former National Assembly, which Yuan had dissolved in 1913.

Through all this discussion Nanking had remained neutral. On May 15 General Feng Kuo-Chang held a conference of the representatives of the ten provinces which were still loyal. The conference accomplished little except to emphasize the growing demand for Yuan's retirement. On May 24 Szechuan revolted, and two days later Yuan first publicly announced his intention to retire, saying: "My wish to retire is my own and originated with myself. I have not the slightest idea of lingering with a longing heart at my post." On May 29 Yuan issued a long statement in which he reviewd in detail his action in connection with the attempted change of Government. Two sentences are rather interesting in the light of the present knowledge of the entire situation:

> I, the great President, have done everything I could to ascertain the real will of the people by taking measures to prevent every possible corruption, the same being in pursuance of my wish to respect the will of the people. * * * In dealing with others I, the great President, have always been guided by the principle of sincerity.

The comment upon this mandate by the editor of The Peking Gazette, himself a Chinese, is indicative of the sentiment of the country at that time:

> If there was not a growing danger with every day that the Chief Executive tarried in office, moderate Chinese might be inclined to read with some patience and in a sense of sympathy the mandate issued on Monday night, which we translate in full today. It is obviously the attempt of Yuan Shih-kai to set himself right with posterity and to state for the future historian his own version of a transaction that has made him weaker than the child-ruler who preceded him. There is no time to reread what has already been asseverated time and again to a skeptical world. There is no time to shed a tear for a fall from greatness that is without parallel in history. The nation's perils thicken and the voice of the people clamors for the retirement that is to bring surcease of their harassment. Again we bid him be wise and leave the work that must be done by other hands under surer knowledge of the great new forces in our midst.

During the following week Yuan Shih-

kai became seriously ill, and on June 6 he died, the cause of his death being urinaemia. A few hours before his death he issued his last mandate, in which he handed over the Government to the Vice President. His closing words are not without pathos: "Owing to my lack of virtue and ability, I have not been able fully to transform into deed what I have desired to accomplish; and I blush to say I have not realized one-ten-thousandth part of my original intention to save the country and the people. * * * I was just thinking how I could retire into private life when illness has suddenly overtaken me. * * * The ancients once said, 'It is only when the living do try to become strong that the dead are not dead.' This is also the wish of me, the great President."

President Li Yuan-hung at once entered upon his office, beginning on June 7, according to The Peking Gazette, "the work that ought to have been begun four years ago." His first two mandates were as follows:

I.

Yuan-hung has assumed the office of President on this the 7th day of the sixth month. Realizing his lack of virtue, he is extremely solicitous lest something may miscarry. His single aim will be to adhere strictly to law for the consolidation of the republic and the molding of the country into a really constitutionally administered country. May all officials and people act in sympathy with this idea and with united soul and energy fulfill the part that is lacking in him. This is his great hope.

II.

The present general situation is exceedingly precarious. Having just shouldered the great burdens of the State, I need the assistance of others in everything pertaining to administrative measures. All civil and military officials outside of Peking should, therefore, remain at their posts and assist in solving the present troubles. Let no man shirk his duties in the slightest degree.

The issuing of the mandate was followed by telegrams from most of the provinces, stating their loyalty to the new President and to the Republican Government. A few days later Liang Shih-Yi, the Chief Counselor and Adviser of Yuan Shih-kai among the Monarchists, resigned from his position in the Government; thus the chief obstacle to harmony was removed. The efforts of the new Republican Government are now being directed toward the establishment of a Parliament, according to the Provisional Constitution adopted at Nanking in 1912. The revised Provisional Constitution, adopted in May, 1914, which, according to Dr. Goodnow, "is almost a copy of the Japanese Constitution," and through which very comprehensive powers are given the President, with practically an absolute veto power and the right to re-election after a term of ten years, will probably be discarded. There are many obstacles, of course, to the successful solution of the political difficulties in China, but undoubtedly great advance has been made toward this solution during the last year.

The courage of the leaders of the Republican cause in the face of the military power of the Peking Government was worthy of admiration. Let two instances suffice: The editor of The Peking Gazette, published in both Chinese and English, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper published in the north of China in a foreign language, throughout the entire contest was loyal to the Republican cause. He could have taken refuge in the protection of the British Legation or of some other legation in Peking when his writings brought him into danger; but in reply to a question in this connection he made the following statement: "At the most critical and dangerous period for adverse criticism of the monarchical movement—in February last—I decided, in order to free my staff of any possible responsibility, to register myself as a Chinese subject in the capacity of the sole proprietor of The Peking Gazette." (Signed Eugene Ch'en.) Liang Chi-Chao, the rumor of whose assassination in March was greeted with consternation throughout the country, published a comment on the secret telegrams of the Yuan Government in both English and Chinese, exposing their intrigues in the most direct terms. He concluded his article in this way:

I know (and I believe everybody knows) that the publication of this article will not only involve me in serious difficulties, but will also expose my life to grave dangers. Nevertheless, as a citizen of China and as a

member of the human race, I honestly believe it my duty to publish this article, a duty from which I ought not to shrink, cost what it may; for I cannot do otherwise than act according to the dictates of my conscience.

Oh, fellow-countrymen, young and old! listen to my appeal! Oh, intelligent and upright foreign friends! Listen to my appeal!

In trying to form a judgment of this entire political movement, the question is certain to arise of the ability of the Chinese as a whole to understand and carry out the ideals of a republic. A study of the history and literature of China reveals clearly the democratic spirit of the people. The right of rebellion against tyrants has brought to a close many of the ancient dynasties. Two passages from the Confucian classics, which have had a greater influence in molding the mind of the Chinese people than any other writings, are worthy of quotation in this connection. One is regarding the possibility of the perversion of the will of the people: "A ruler may carry off by force the Governor of a Province, but he cannot change the will of even the humblest of its subjects"; and from the Analects, another regarding the essentials of government:

Tsze-kung asked about Government. The Master (Confucius) said, "The essentials of Government are that there be a sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

Tsze-kung said: "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?"

"The military equipment," said the Master.

Tsze-kung again asked: "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?"

The Master answered: "Part with the food. From of old death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers the State cannot stand." (Book XII., Chapter 7.)

It is this spirit that has animated the leaders of the Republican movement, and it is this spirit that marks the fight for the republic in China as worthy of honor among those nations of the world who are opponents of autocracy and supporters of democracy—of government "of the people, by the pople, and for the people."

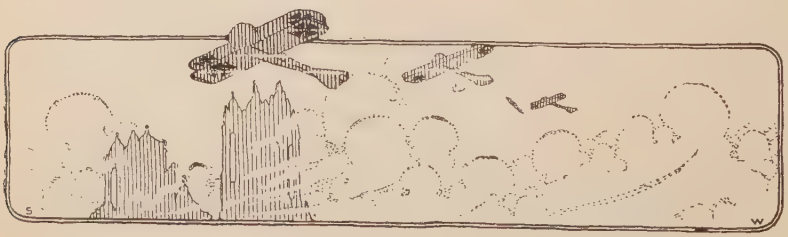
An Irish Officer on the Somme

A wounded Irish officer, when asked to describe the Anglo-French offensive, wrote in reply:

You can no more hope to get the Push described for folk who haven't been out than you can hope to get the world described, or human life explained, on a postcard. The pen may be ever so mighty, but, believe me, it has its limitations.

What's the Push like? It's like everything that ever was. It's all the struggles of life crowded into an hour; it's an assertion of the bedrock decency and goodness of our people; and I wouldn't have missed it for all the gold in London town. I don't want to be killed; not a little bit. But, bless you, one simply can't be bothered giving it a thought. The killing of odd individuals such as me is so tiny a matter.

My God, it's the future of humanity; countless millions; all the laughing little kiddies, and the slim, straight young girls, and the sweet women, and the men that are to come. It's all humanity we're fighting for, whether life's to be clean and decent, free and worth having—or a Boche nightmare. You can't describe it, but I wouldn't like to be out of it for long. It's hell and heaven, and the devil and the world; and, thank goodness, we're on the side of the angels—decency, not material gain—and we're going to win.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the constant seizure of German mail by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is unable at present to obtain an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[Russian Cartoon]

The Crown Prince's Accident

—From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

The Berlin-Paris express wrecked at Verdun.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Double-Headed Eagle

—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

Austria on Two Fronts.

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Minotaur

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

"If Germania, the Minotaur, breather of fire and drinker of blood, is not yet at the death rattle, its roar is already less loud. It is less proud of attitude, less prompt with its blows, like the wounded bull that runs blindly in a circle. Its muzzle already would be seen to be pale if it were not reddened with blood."

[German Cartoon]

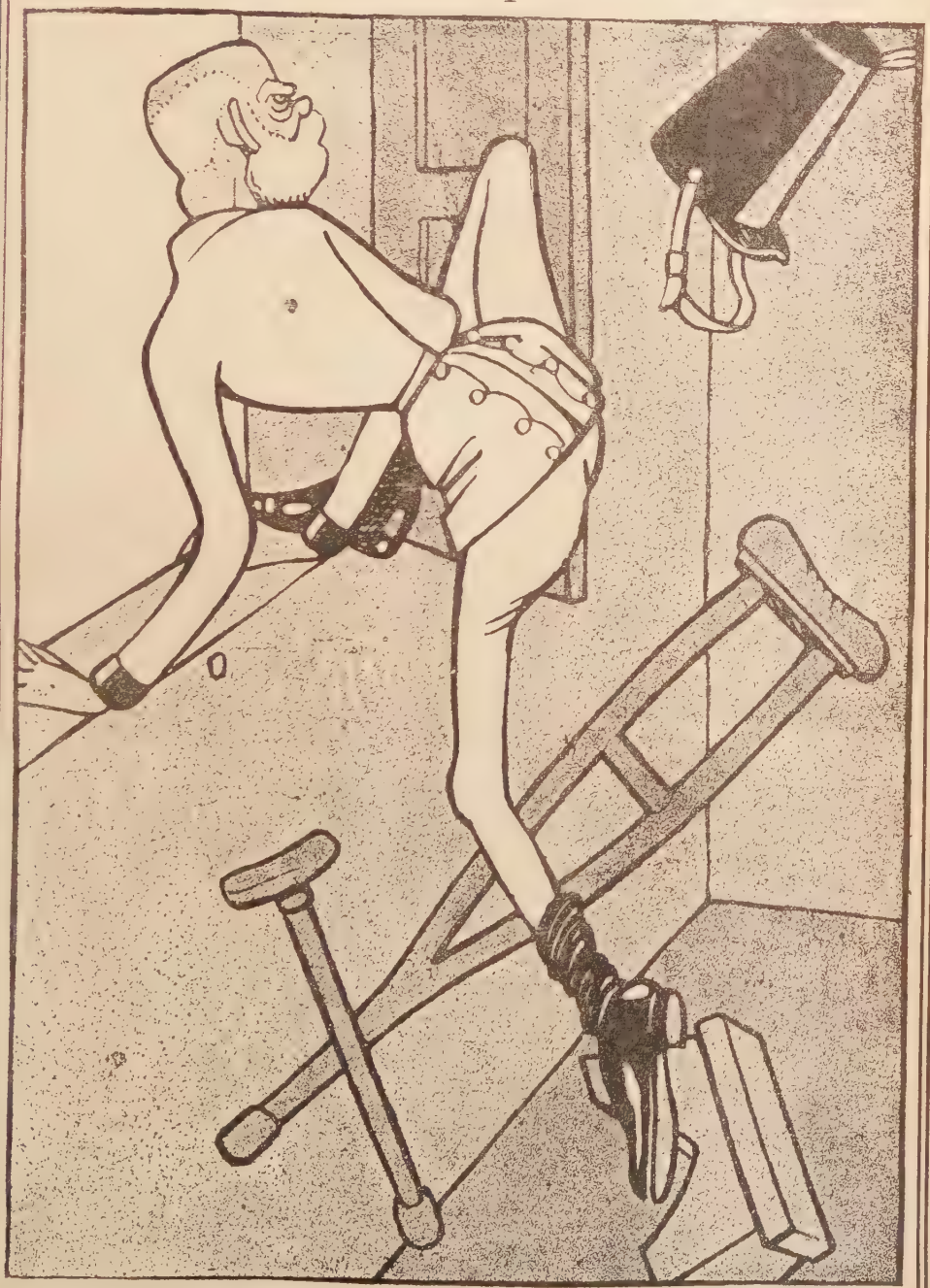
At Verdun

—*From Der Brummer, Berlin.*

The true Commander in Chief of the French.

[Spanish Cartoon]

In the Carpathians



—*From Iberia, Barcelona.*

"Those Russians again—and with plenty of things to throw at me!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Royal Thief

Setting out to loot Europe. —*By Cesare Giris*

[French Cartoon]

The Offensive of the Allies

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

The loop seems to be tightening all right.

[Italian Cartoon]

—*By Russo, Italian Cartoonist.*

"This year it will be a vintage of murder."

[Dutch Cartoon]

Cleansing the Temple

—*By Louis Raemaekers, Dutch Cartoonist.*

[Russian Cartoons]

"So Shall Ye Reap"

A fine harvest in Germany. —*From Iskry, Moscow.*

The War Lords' Special

—*From Iskry, Moscow.*

WILHELM: "Get off the step—there's no more room."

[English Cartoon]

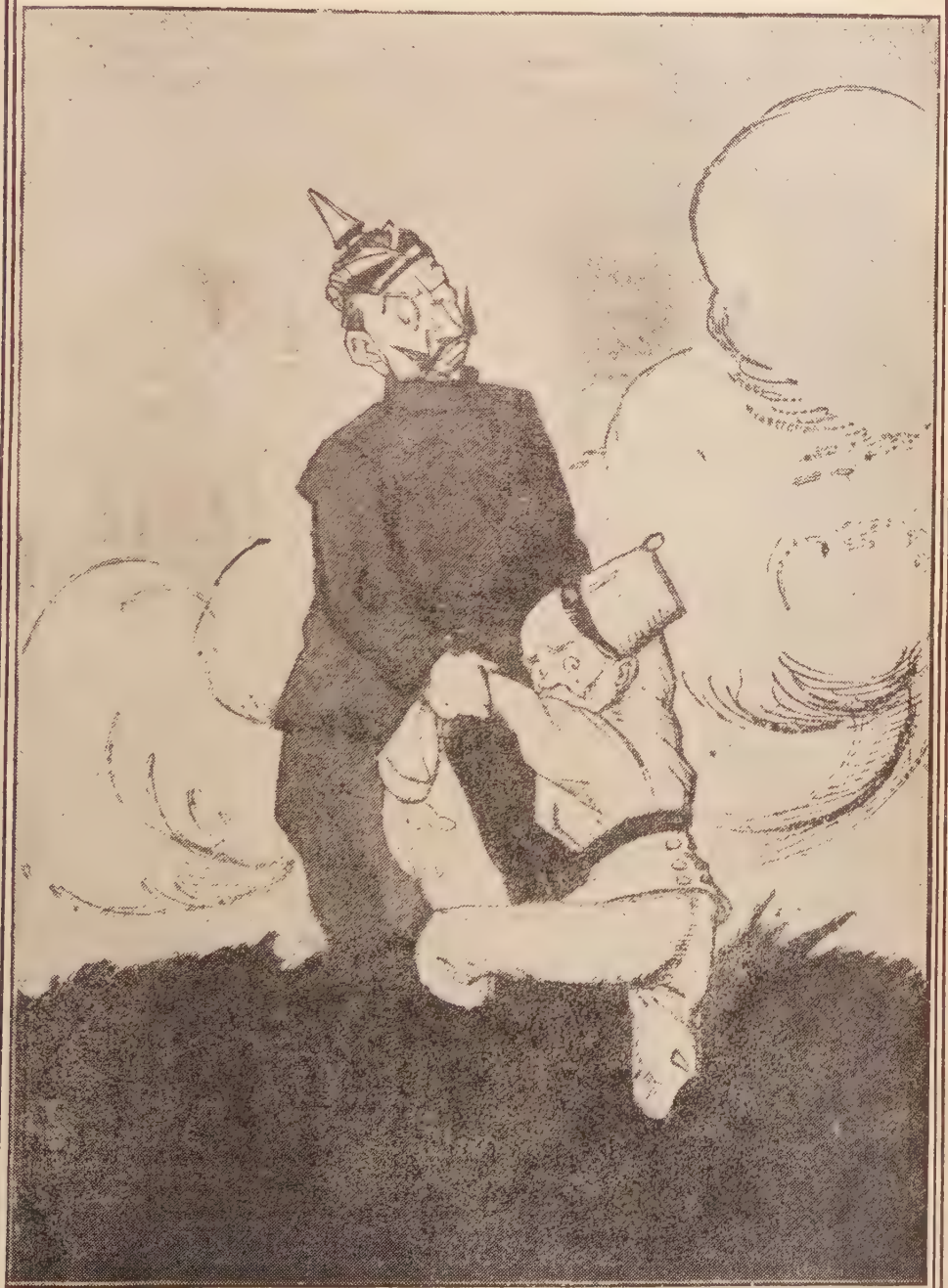
The Most High Strafer

From the Bystander, London.

1914———and———1916.

[Italian Cartoon]

On Three Fronts



—From L'Asino, Rome.

The collapse of the Mutual Aid Society.

[English Cartoon]

Humility

—*By Will Dyson.*

THE PROFESSOR: "I am sorry we have no further openings for instructors!"
MEPHISTOPHELES: "Ah, you misjudge me, I come as a pupil!"

[English Cartoon]

The Ruhleben Zoo

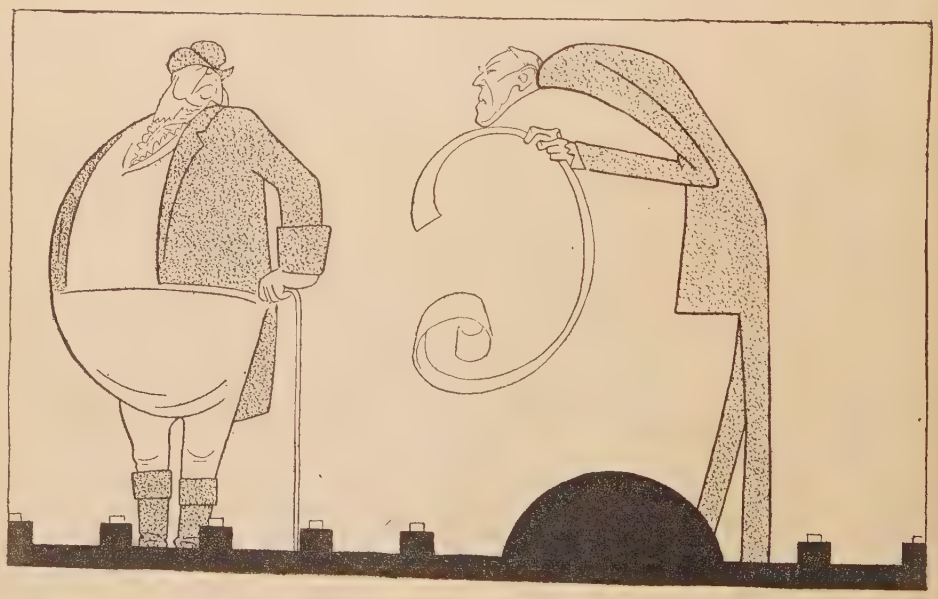
—Will Dyson in London Chronicle.

LITTLE GRETCHEN OF RUHLEBEN: "Grandma, if Max and I are good children, may we please go and see the British prisoners starved!"

[German Cartoon]

America's Note to England

Behind the Scenes—



—*From Simplicissimus.*

—and before the footlights.

[Italian Cartoon]

Gramophones Made in Germany

—From Il 420, Florence.

[An Italian skit on the peace talk that is going on in various parts of the world.]

[Italian Cartoon]

The Last Call

—From Uomo de Pietra, Milan.

Soon there will be none to respond but the dead.

[English Cartoon]

Holland's Mysterious Trade

—From Passing Show, London.

"Nothing has gone into Germany through this door for months. The fellow must be about done for."

[Cartoon from India]

Unfinished

—From Hindi Punch, Bombay.

AUSTRIA: "Up again! I thought I had finished you months ago!"

[English Cartoon]

No Password Needed

[A cartoon that helped to break the strike in the Clyde shipyards]

—*From London Opinion.*

"Who goes there?"
"Clyde striker."
"Pass, friend; all's well."

[English Cartoon]

Austria and Italy in the Alps

—*From The Westminster Gazette.*

[French Cartoon]

War as a Cure-All

—*Hermann Paul in La Guerre Sociale.*

"What were you before the war?"
"I was a neurasthenic."

[Italian Cartoon]

The Hero

—*By Cesare Giris.*

[This cartoon on the execution of Edith Cavell, contributed to the album entitled "Crimes of the Central Empires," stirred Italy deeply.]

[Italian Cartoon]

A Disquieting Discovery

—From L'Asino, Rome.

THE BUTCHER: "Strange! The more I wash myself in the blood of the people, the darker the original stain becomes."

The Triumphal Procession of the Dead

[This cartoon, drawn some years ago by a French artist, is now being circulated by a German publisher in Munich as an indictment of the Allies and their sins against small nations.]

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From August 12 Up to and Including September 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Aug. 12—French capture German trenches north of the Somme from Hardecourt to Buscourt and win a foothold in Maurepas.

Aug. 13-16—French and British co-operate north of the Somme and carry German positions east of Maurepas-Clery road.

Aug. 18—British close in on Ginchy and Guillemont; French gain new grip on Maurepas; Germans driven out of Fleury.

Aug. 19—British advance along eleven-mile front on the Somme, capturing a ridge overlooking Thiepval and half a mile of trenches west of High Wood.

Aug. 22—British advance north of Bazentin; French reach outskirts of Clery.

Aug. 23—British capture 200 yards of trenches south of Thiepval; French lose ground south of Estrees.

Aug. 24—French take all of Maurepas and continue advance; British tighten grip on Thiepval.

Aug. 27—British capture 200 yards of German trenches north of Bazentin-le-Petit; Germans again attack at St. Mihiel salient and in Lorraine, but are repulsed.

Aug. 31—French gain near Estrees and the Soyecourt Wood.

Sept. 3—Allies occupy Guillemont, Forest, and Clery.

Sept. 4—French take Soyecourt and Chilly.

Sept. 5—British gain foothold in Leuze Wood; French capture the Hospital Farm Rainnette Wood and part of Marrière Wood and take Ommiecourt.

Sept. 6—British win Leuze Wood; French push to outskirts of Chaulnes and to Chaulnes-Roye Railway.

Sept. 7—French reach Roye-Peronne Railroad and capture German trenches on Verdun front in Vaux-Chenois region.

Sept. 8—British gain on three-mile front between High Wood and Leuze Wood; French in Verdun region capture trenches east of Fleury.

Sept. 11—German assaults from Berny to south of Chaulnes repulsed.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Aug. 12—Russians cross the Koropiec at several points north of the Dniester and capture Nadworna.

Aug. 13—Russians in Galicia seize Maryampol.

Aug. 14—Russians force their way across the Zlota Lipa and capture the village of Tustobaby.

Aug. 15—Russians capture Jablonitza, reoccupy two villages south of the town, and capture Zborow further north.

Aug. 16-17—Teutons launch counterattacks against Russians in region of Zlana River; Russians seize heights west of Vorochta and Ardzemay, in the Carpathians.

Aug. 19—Russians break through Teuton line on the Stokhod River and seize a village sixty miles northwest of Kovel.

Aug. 21—Russians advance in the Stokhod region and press through two Carpathian passes toward Hungary.

Aug. 23-27—Germans resume offensive south of Brody; Russians capture heights north and south of Koverla Mountain, on Hungarian frontier.

Aug. 28—Fighting begins on frontier of Transylvania as Rumania declares war against Austria-Hungary.

Aug. 30—Austrians driven out of Kronstadt by Rumanians.

Aug. 31—Rumanians seize Vulcan Pass; Austrians fall back west of Csik Szereda.

Sept. 1—Rumanians occupy Petroseny; Teutons in Galicia give way near Halicz.

Sept. 2—Rumanians occupy Orsova and take Hermannstadt.

Sept. 3—Russians capture fortified positions south of Rafailov, in the Carpathians and in the region of Dornawatra.

Sept. 4—Russians cross the Theniovka River, in the Brzezany region; Rumanians occupy Borszek and Sz-Lelek, in Eastern Transylvania.

Sept. 7—Russians bombard Halicz, after seizing the railroad lines.

Sept. 8—Austrians abandon positions six miles west of Csik Czereda, in Transylvania; Russians in Galicia drive Austro-Germans across the Gnita Lipa.

Sept. 11—Rumanians occupy Helimbar.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Aug. 12—Italians capture Oppacchiasella, on the Carso Plateau.

Aug. 15—Austrian fleet sails from Trieste as Italians advance to within thirteen miles of the port; Italians reach suburbs of Tolmino, which are in flames.

Aug. 16—Report that Germany is sending troops to defend Trieste; Italians capture trenches on Monte Pecinka.

Aug. 27—Italian forces in the Carnic Alps take Austrian positions on Cita Vallone.

Aug. 28—Austrians shell Gorizia.

Aug. 29—Italian Alpini take Monte Cauriol.

Sept. 5—Italians take several commanding positions of the Austrians on Punta del Forane, in the Upper Bovi.

Sept. 8—Austrians repulsed at Civaron, in the Sugana Valley.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Aug. 16—Allied forces on the Saloniki front have captured the railroad station at Doiran and four villages at other points and are attacking the Bulgars on the Serbian-Greek frontier.

Aug. 18—Bulgars capture the Greek town of Florina from the Serbs.

Aug. 19—Bulgars seize two Greek forts on the Struma and push patrols toward the port of Kavala; Allies advance in centre of line; British occupy Dolzzeli.

Aug. 21—Anglo-French forces cross the Struma and attack Bulgarian defenses northeast of Seres.

Aug. 22—Allies capture a series of heights west of the Vardar River and halt the Germans and Bulgarians on the Struma.

Aug. 23—Bulgars wipe out Greek garrisons of Starchista and Phea Petra; Seres bombarded; Greek volunteers flock to resist invasion; British and French repel attacks on the Struma line, while the Serbs capture 150 yards of Bulgarian trenches near Kaimakcalam.

Aug. 24—Russians concentrate troops on the Bessarabian-Rumanian frontier and on the Russian Danube; Rumanians mass on the lower Danube and the Pruth; Serbs retake positions northwest of Ostrovo Lake, on the Saloniki line.

Aug. 27—Bulgars in Kavala shelled by British warships; all but one of the Kavala forts taken; Bulgars enter Albania and occupy Malik.

Aug. 28—Serbians in Macedonia drive Bulgars back near Vetrenik and in the Ostrovo region.

Aug. 29—French advance toward the Ljumnica River and Serbs advance toward Vetrenik.

Aug. 30—Bulgars seize Drama after a battle with the Greek garrison.

Sept. 1—Greek forces which left Seres to resist Bulgar invasion of Macedonia captured by the Bulgars; Italians begin an offensive southeast of Avlona in Albania and fight to join the Serbs.

Sept. 3—German and Bulgarian troops cross the Dobrudja frontier.

Sept. 4—Rumanians repulse Teuton-Bulgar attacks on the fortified town of Barsardjik; Italians in Albania make a raid across the Voyusa River, near Avlona.

Sept. 7 — Bulgar-German forces capture Tutrakan fortress.

Sept. 9—Bulgar-Teuton forces driven out of Dobric; Serbs drive Bulgars from a height west of Lake Ostrovo.

Sept. 10 — Bulgar-Teuton forces capture Silistra.

Sept. 11—British cross the Struma and take four villages; Serbs advance southward from Lake Ostrovo.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

Aug. 12—Turks occupy Kighli in Armenia and pursue the Russians on the Bitlis-Mush line.

Aug. 21—Turks advance in Persia; Russians withdraw toward Sandshoulak and Unshu.

Aug. 23—Turkish offensive along the Armenian Black Sea stopped by the Russians with the aid of the fleet.

Aug. 24—Russians reoccupy Mush in Armenia.

Aug. 25—Russians recover Bitlis.

Sept. 1-2—Turkish offensive west of Gumushkhane and Erzingan checked by Russians.

Sept. 11—Russians take Bana in Persia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Aug. 15—Military coastal station of Bagamojo captured by British naval forces.

Aug. 18—Belgians capture Karema.

Aug. 22—British take Kilossa.

Aug. 26—British occupy Mrogoro, the seat of the German Provisional Government.

AERONAUTICS

Zeppelins raided England on the night of Aug. 23, and again on the 24th. In the second raid eight persons were killed and thirty-six injured in the outskirts of London. On the night of Sept. 2, thirteen Zeppelins dropped bombs on the eastern counties, killing two persons and injuring thirteen. One machine was brought down near London.

NAVAL RECORD

Twenty-two vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been sunk by submarines in the war zone, and six in the Mediterranean Sea.

The British Destroyer Lassoo was destroyed by a German submarine in the English Channel.

Two British light cruisers, the Nottingham and the Falmouth, were sunk by German submarines while searching for the German high seas fleet. One German submarine was destroyed.

MISCELLANEOUS

Italy declared war on Germany Aug. 27. On the same day Rumania declared war against Austria-Hungary. In retaliation Germany and Turkey declared war on Rumania. On Aug. 29 Rumania presented an ultimatum to Bulgaria demanding the evacuation of Serbian territory and adherence to the Bucharest treaty.

The Allies seized seven Teuton ships in the harbor of Piraeus and made demands on the Greek Government for control of posts and telegraphs, including the wireless system, and the expulsion of Teuton agents. Greece complied. A serious revolution occurred in Macedonia as a result of the Bulgar invasion and martial law was proclaimed in several cities.

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. V.—No. 2 November, 1916

25 Cents a Copy
$3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH	An Editorial Survey	193
THE CAUSE AND EFFECT OF THE WAR	By H. G. Wells	203
THE WAR'S LEGACY OF HATRED	By Maurice Maeterlinck	207
SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA	By Henry Sliozberg	209
THE WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES:		
The Central Powers Standing Fast: German View	By H. H. von Mellenthin	214
The Month's Military Developments: American View	By Lieut. J. B. W. Gardiner	219
SUBMARINE WARFARE OFF THE AMERICAN COAST		223
Is the Deutschland a Merchant Ship?	By Rear Admiral Degouy	224
Official Correspondence on Barring Out Submarines		226
Seizure of Neutral Mails at Sea: Anglo-French Reply		227
"Grey's Elegy"	By Viscount Grey	202
AN EVENTFUL MONTH IN THE BALKANS	By Charles Johnston	231
THE DANGEROUS PLIGHT OF GREECE	By the Editor	234
Address of the Greeks to Their King	By Eleutherios Venizelos	236
THE ITALIAN OFFENSIVE ON THE CARSO	By Robert Vaucher	238
BRITISH ARMORED "TANK" CARS		242
THE CAPTURE OF STANISLAVOFF	By a Russian Correspondent	245
A TYPICAL BATTLE ON THE SOMME: LA MAISONNETTE		248
The Battle of the Somme in Detail. III.	By M. Ardouin-Dumazet	252

Contents continued on next page

Copyright, 1916, by The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved. Entered at the Post Office in New York as second class matter.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Canada.

CONTENTS—*Continued*

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR:

How I Escaped From the Germans . 256
By Joseph W. Yoselevitch.
Tommy Atkins's Vocabulary . . . 259
By Maurice Dekobra.
Silhouettes From the Front . . . 261
By Baroness Stiernstedt.
The Touchdown of Private Snips . 262
By an Eyewitness.
The Devil's Own and God's Own . . 263
By British Trade Unionists.
Flight on a Blazing Aeroplane . . 277
By a British Officer.

THE DUTY OF THE NEW GERMANY . . . By Dr. Adolf von Harnack 265

What German Children Are Taught Regarding Belgium 266
The Kaiser and Louis XIV. . . . 267
By Gellio Cassi.
Russian Democracy and the War . . 270
By Vladimir Burtzeff.
Does War Lower the Birth Rate? . 272
Hindenburg's Polish Legions . . . 273
By A. Grau-Wandmayer.
War and Insanity 276
By Dr. William Graham.

GERMAN RED CROSS IN THE WORLD WAR . . By Gen. Kurt W. von Pfuel 278

FRENCH MYSTICISM IN BATTLE . . . . . By Maurice Barres 280

PREMIERS AND MINISTERS ON WAR THEMES:

The Decisive Stage of the War . . 283
By Aristide Briand.
No Interference From Neutrals . . 286
By David Lloyd George.
This War of Annihilation 289
By Dr. Bethmann Hollweg.
Allies Paying the Price for All Gains 293
By Prince Rupprecht.
Emigration After the War 294
By A. Bonar Law.
The Seven Crosses of Verdun . . . 295
By President Poincaré.
America's Treatment of Germany . 297
By the German Crown Prince.
Pledge Against a Trade War . . . 298
By Lord Robert Cecil.
The Call for a New War Credit . . 299
By Premier Asquith.

AMERICAN TACTICS IN THE PRESENT WAR . By Thomas G. Frothingham 301

THE WAR IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA . . By James B. Macdonald 308

THE WAR AND RELIGION . . . . . By the Rev. Sidney M. Berry 315

NEW ZEALAND IN A NEW PHASE . . . . By Spencer Brodney 318

LORD BRYCE'S REPORT ON TURKISH ATROCITIES IN ARMENIA . . . 321

Protest of German Teachers Against Massacres of Armenians . . . 335

The Total of Armenian and Syrian Dead By Dr. W. W. Rockwell 337

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ATROCITIES IN SERBIA Report by Professor Reiss 339

PRISONERS OF WAR AND THEIR TREATMENT 345

2,658,283 Prisoners Held by the Central Powers 344

Civilians Interned in England . . . . By a London Journalist 349

Underfed Prisoners at Ruhleben . . . . Report by Dr. Taylor 351

A SPANIARD'S LIFE IN GERMAN PRISONS . By Valentin Torras y Closa 355

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS . 26 Cartoons, All Nations 363

PROGRESS OF THE WAR . . . . . Chronology to October 11 383

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

Arbiters of War and Peace . . *Frontis*
French Giant in Action 193
German Submarine U-53 208
Frech War Monoplanes 209
Map of German Lines in France . . 224
Types of British Soldiers 225
Glimpses of Western Front . . . 240
Zeppelin That Attacked London . . 241
Fighting in a Gas Cloud 272
General Duport 273
Crown Prince Rupprecht 288
Duke Albrecht of Wuerttemberg . . 289
Enver Pasha 320
Viscount James Bryce 321
A Munitions Conference 336
Japan's New Premier 337

ARBITERS OF WAR AND PEACE

Rulers of All the Warring Nations and President of Greatest of the Neutral Countries.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

FRENCH GIANT IN ACTION

Powerful New French Gun, the Mobile 380-Millimeter Mortar, Bombarding the German Lines on the Somme.

(Photo © A. P. A., Medem Service.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

NOVEMBER, 1916

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

War's Horrors in Armenia

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE prints elsewhere the essential features of a report issued by Viscount Bryce, under the direction of the British Government, on the persecutions of the Armenians in Asia Minor and Syria; also an official report issued at the instance of the allied Governments by Professor Reiss of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, on the atrocities by Austro-Hungarian troops during the invasion of Serbia late in 1914. These reports are valuable records in the history of the great European war, and though perhaps colored by the bias of the witnesses, furnish harrowing proof of the incredible extremes to which the passions of war have driven enlightened peoples supposed to be refined by twenty centuries of civilization.

It is the purpose of this magazine to print the essence of all the official reports emanating from each of the belligerents regarding the treatment of civilians as well as prisoners of war, so that the truth may be ascertained from the conflicting statements of all the nations. These reports unfold a tale of unbelievable brutality; it seems impossible to accept them unreservedly; they doubtless proceed from witnesses inflamed and blinded by hatred, made reckless by suffering and grief. Yet from the mass of testimony the truth may be deduced. Even when heavily discounted these documents lay so grave a burden on the offending nations that one shrinks from visualizing the horrors they depict.

Still worse charges than any contained in these reports are circulated, to the effect that French prisoners are being inoculated with tuberculosis by their German captors, and that Teutonic airmen have dropped bombs in Rumanian cities charged with poisoned sweets and garlic infected with cholera bacilli; but these charges are not worthy of serious consideration, and CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE dismisses them as phantasms of a diseased imagination.

* * *

Both Sides Implacable

WHEN one reads the official utterances of leading statesmen printed elsewhere in these pages, the conclusion is unescapable that the end of the war is not in sight. Each belligerent nation seems possessed with the fixed idea that it must conquer or become a vassal State. Each asserts a confident belief that, though the struggle may be prolonged, victory in the end is certain.

The Entente Governments have let it be understood officially that a present move by any neutral looking to mediation will be resented as a hostile act, and the Teutonic allies officially declare that, while they are ready to discuss peace on the present status quo of the battle lines, they realize that this proposal will not be considered by their enemies, who, they assert, are bent upon the annihilation of the Central Powers. A fresh outburst of rancor toward Great Britain is manifest in Germany, while frequent Zeppelin raids upon England and a renewal of submarine activity have intensified the bitterness of the Allies. All the combatants at present seem to be at the very

zenith of implacable hatred, and are fighting with a desperation unparalleled in history.

* * *

Premier Briand and Peace

TOWARD the end of September, Aristide Briand, President of the French Council of Ministers, who, as head of the Parliamentary Government of France, speaks with even greater authority than the President of the Republic, made two important declarations, which make absolutely clear the position of his nation on the question of a premature peace. Speaking on Sept. 13, the day after the reconvening of the French Parliament, Premier Briand had two very important pieces of news to announce: Rumania's entry into the war and the declaration of war by Italy against Germany. He also vehemently denounced the deportation of French women and girls by German military authorities as "an abomination, which had aroused the conscience of the world."

But most important was his declaration of policy. He summoned his country to persevere in her magnanimous effort, to unite all her vital forces and bend them toward the final goal—"peace through victory, a peace solid and enduring, guaranteed against every renewal of violence by fitting international sanctions."

On Sept. 19 M. Briand delivered another notable utterance in reply to M. Brizon, a Socialist Deputy, who suggested that it would be unreasonable and culpable to prolong the war when, by negotiations begun at the present time, it would be possible "to save billions of money and rivers of blood." The French Premier reminded the Chamber that France "had been brutally torn from her peaceful toil, traitorously attacked and dragged into war, invaded, tortured," and was now struggling with all her energies "for all humanity." He branded as "a challenge, an outrage against the memory of so many heroes who had fallen for France, so many glorious dead," the Socialist Deputy's proposal. "If peace," he said, "came before the necessary work was done, it would be a peace of war; generations to come would find themselves condemned to lasting anguish, menaced unceasingly." The degree to which Briand spoke for his countrymen, and uttered their conviction, was shown in the vote of confidence, 421 against 21, which followed his oration.

* * *

A Typical War Cargo

THE British liner Adriatic sailed from New York Thursday, July 14, notwithstanding the possibility that the German U-53 was lying in wait for her outside the three-mile limit. The vessel remained at Ambrose Channel, within American waters, until after dark and proceeded rapidly on a new course convoyed by British warships. She carried a large number of passengers, including five Americans, and a cargo valued at $7,000,000. It is interesting to note the munitions of war that were aboard as indicative of the nature of our present exports to the Allies. The cargo contained the following:

One aeroplane, 2,422 cases of fuses, 881 pieces of shell bodies, 647 cases of rifles, 13 cases of gun carriages, 947 barrels of lubricating oil, 31 tons of pig iron, 341 cases of brass tubes, 1,545 ingots of aluminium, 824 bars of steel, 300 cases of copper tubes, 57 cases of automobile parts, 78 automobiles, 1,200 cases of cartridges, 10,743 pieces of forgings, 5 cases of shotguns, 6 cases of guns, 1,926 bales of cotton, 243 bundles of hoop steel, 149 pieces of steel billets, 1,014 slabs of copper, 439 cases of copper bands, 1,574 cases of brass rods, 20 cases of tractor parts, 6,664 plates of spelter, 8,192 pigs of lead.

* * *

Japan's New Premier

LIEUT. GEN. COUNT SEIKE TERAUCHI, former Minister of War, also formerly Resident General in Korea, has become the new Premier of Japan in succession to Marquis Okuma, whose resignation marked the climax of the struggle between the bureaucratic forces and the advocates of a representative Government, resulting in a victory for the former. Terauchi represents the aggressive militant spirit of Japan. He has passed most of his life in military circles, having been Director of the Military Academy, Minister of War, Field Marshal, and Lieutenant General

of the army; he has never shown any liking for diplomacy or civil activities. His appointment is regarded throughout the world as foreshadowing a revival of the military spirit of Japan, and, though his present utterances are of a pacific character, it is felt that Japan under his leadership will soon become more aggressive. The appointment was regarded in this country, when first announced, as a menace to the open door in China, but the Premier, in an authorized interview, announced that the closing of the doors of China is "a non possumus." "So long as Japan's interests and dignity are not infringed," he said, "Japan will take no aggressive step toward any nation, especially America." He asserts that he does not intend to take up with the United States the questions of immigration and State discriminatory legislation, but a new agitation in California against the rights of Japanese to hold lands might be quickly regarded by the sensitive Japanese as an "infringement on Japan's dignity." He says further:

> Japan's ambition is to have China benefit, like Japan, from the fruits of world civilization and world progress. The Japanese and Chinese people have sprung from the same stock. Our future destiny is a common destiny that is historically involved.

Already this patronizing solicitude regarding China is involved, so it is reported, by the concession to an American company to build for the Chinese Government a railroad through the centre of the country; it is asserted that Japan and Russia have presented representations of disapproval of this enterprise to the Chinese, but they have not yet been officially reported to the United States Government. At best the Terauchi appointment is causing Americans, who have heretofore been most pacifically inclined, to view with firmer complacency the appropriation by the last Congress of $630,000,000 for army and navy development.

* * *

A New Defensive Force

PRESIDENT WILSON has named as the Advisory Commission to be associated with the Council of National Defense: Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; Dr. Franklin H. Martin, a distinguished Chicago surgeon; Howard E. Coffin of Detroit, of the American Automobile Association; Bernard Baruch, a New York banker; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, President of Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, a mechanical engineer, and Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, President of Sears, Roebuck & Co. The commission is formed for the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation. A chief part of its work will be to inform American manufacturers as to the part they can play in a national emergency. The practical object of the commission is to establish well qualified agencies capable of mobilizing to the utmost the productive resources of the country.

* * *

Relief for War Orphans

THE most comprehensive philanthropic undertaking ever organized in this country was formed in New York City, Oct. 14, 1916, by a group of prominent citizens to be known as The American Society for the Relief of French War Orphans. It was announced that the society would raise a fund of $130,000,000. The sum of $125,000 for operating expenses for two years was pledged outside the organization by a number of individuals, so that every dollar of the general fund will be devoted to the support of orphans. William D. Guthrie was elected President; James Stillman, J. Pierpont Morgan, and Ambrose Monell, Vice Presidents; Clyde A. Pratt, General Manager. The directors embrace a number of New York's most conspicuous men, most of whom are well known for their broad philanthropies. The work will be directed from this country, but there will be a Paris committee of seven members.

It is reported that there are already in France 200,000 children orphaned by the war. The membership of the society is divided into Founders, who will contribute $500 or more a year; Benefactors, $250 a year, and Sustaining Mem-

bers, $100 a year. The duration of the corporation is for fifteen years, as the necessity for this charity will continue long after the close of the war. The motive of the promoters is to give expression in a practical way to "the gratitude that Americans have always felt for the aid given to this country by France during the Revolution."

* * *

Debating Irish Conscription

THERE is renewed agitation in Ireland over the threat of conscription. The suggestion was bitterly denounced by John Redmond, head of the Nationalists, but is being strongly urged by the Unionist press. Recruiting in Ireland since the uprising last Spring has fallen to a low ebb, and the necessity for filling in the depleted ranks of British regiments in France caused Lloyd George in a Parliamentary utterance Oct. 13 to intimate that further conscription might be necessary. The Man Power Board has reached the conclusion that every young man in the British Kingdom must be placed in the national service, and this suggestion has started afresh the demand that conscription be applied to Ireland. It is believed by many that if this step is taken there will be a fresh revolutionary outbreak. In the Parliamentary debate on Oct. 18 the proposition of conscription for Ireland was again bitterly denounced by Redmond, and Lloyd George in his reply was rather conciliatory, indicating that the idea of conscription is temporarily at least laid aside and that a further effort will be made to reconcile the Irish Nationalists through a more lenient attitude by the Government.

* * *

Australia's Part in the War

AUSTRALIAN and New Zealand soldiers in the British Army, affectionately dubbed "Anzacs," were christened thus in the Gallipoli campaign, where the official name of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps was shortened to a more convenient word formed of its initials. The British Admiralty reported in August that Australia had thus far sent to the European battlefields 214,000 men and that 50,000 more were in training camps. Australian aviators were winning honors in Asia and Africa, while in Europe the Australian Siege Brigade and Transport had done distinguished work. The task of locally equipping the troops had been gigantic for a country still in the developmental stage, with a population of only 5,000,000. Australia had kept itself and New Zealand supplied with rifles and ammunition up to the time the troops left Egypt. The British Admiralty added that Australia had raised a $150,000,000 war loan and was then engaged in floating a new loan of $250,000,000.

* * *

The Sufferings of Poland

THE effects of the war in Poland seem to surpass in extent and horror all those inflicted upon any other territory. According to a statement made by the Honorary Executive Secretary of Polish War Victims, "the latest authentic reports from Poland are that all children under 7 years of age have ceased to exist, having died from hunger and disease." When the war broke out there was in Poland a population of 34,000,000. At the end of the second year, according to the authority just named, 14,000,000 human beings had perished from various causes in Poland. The property damage in that country due directly to the war is estimated at about $11,000,000,000. More than 200 towns and 20,000 villages have been razed to the ground; 1,600 churches have been destroyed. As an instance of the vastness of the destruction of human life occurring in Poland, the following is given: "In Galicia, Austrian Poland, in the district of Gorlice, where a battle raged for several months, 1,500,000 civilians, caught between the lines of the contending armies, have perished right there from starvation while in hiding." All these facts help to emphasize the pitiful significance of the recent official announcement that the belligerents have been unable to agree on any plan for admitting American aid to Poland.

* * *

THE City of Paris, through Kuhn, Loeb & Co., has offered a loan of $50,000,000 in five-year 6 per cent. bonds to the American public to provide funds

for the alleviation of suffering due to the war. The loan was put upon the market Oct. 1 at 98¾, yielding 6.30 per cent., and the entire amount was eagerly absorbed within one day. It was a fresh instance of the sentimental response from the American investing public to any appeal from the French.

* * *

THE total of exports from the port of New York during September was $269,981,000, or $10,796,000 per business day, against a total of $271,243,000, or $10,046,000 per day in August. New York is now by far the largest exporting port in the world. The total exports from the United States in August were $510,000,000; imports, $199,247,391; for the first eight months of 1916 the exports were $3,436,280,815, against $1,515,182,157 same period in 1913. Imports in eight months were $1,667,066,965, against $1,156,300,228 in 1913.

* * *

WHEN the war began, in 1914, there were only three important Government munitions factories in the British Isles; now some 4,000 Government-controlled firms employing 2,000,000 men and women are working to full capacity solely on war material; a staff of 5,000 persons has been required to supervise the work. People of all classes of society have joined in the manufacture of munitions. The daughter of an Earl has worked for nine months as a lathe hand in a munitions factory.

* * *

BOTH the German and French war loans were successes. The German loan was the fifth and aggregated 10,590,000,000 marks, or over $2,500,000,000. The subscriptions to the latter loan were in larger amounts than the preceding: 725 subscribers took over 1,000,000,000 marks each, as against 151 in the preceding loan; 19,375 took over 50,000 marks each, as against 16,762 before. The details of the French loan are not made public, but it exceeded 10,000,000,000 francs. In September the French Minister of Finance asked the Chamber of Deputies for 8,347,000,000 francs for the last quarter of 1916, 500,000,000 more than the preceding quarter. This brings the total appropriations asked since August, 1914, to 61,000,000,000 francs, ($12,200,000,000.)

* * *

THE committee appointed by the British Board of Trade, of which Lord Faringdon is Chairman, to consider means of meeting the needs of British firms after the war as regards financial facilities for handling foreign business recommends the formation of an industrial bank with a capital of $50,000,000 to act as the link between home and colonial banking institutions. The committee, in discussing the advisability of the bank, recommends, among other things, that it act as agent for the Government in advancing capital to give a start to laboring men and others who would be "unwilling," after the war, "to settle down again to the humdrum of the office, and would be desirous of going to the colonies and to foreign countries to push business on their own account."

* * *

FROM July 1 to Sept. 18, 1916, the Entente Allies claim the capture of 490,668 prisoners, 1,131 guns, and 2,624 machine guns, divided as follows, as respects prisoners: By the French, 33,699; by the English, 21,450; by the Russians, 402,471; by the Italians, 33,048.

THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES

Silence Reigns at Verdun

ONE of the French officers who took part in the earlier defense at Verdun, and who returned thither in the month of September, has put on record his impressions: Le Mort Homme and 304-Meter Hill still silhouette the horizon, but, on the ground, plowed, excavated, dead, not a shell now bursts; in the distance, toward Froideterre and Souville, a few black smoke wreaths mark the work of weary gunners. When the fighting flares up toward Vaux-Chapitre and Le Reteignebois it is the French who

are the aggressors. It has taken thirty weeks, but the result has been accomplished. During these weeks the assailant of Verdun maintained a fury of aggressive such as the world had never seen, but without exhausting the strength of the defenders. A day came, even for him, formidably armed though he was, when the cost was too heavy.

Many cannon are still in line, and many divisions of troops. But the divisions are immobilized, and the guns are silent. What, asks this French officer, has Germany gained by this thirty weeks' assault? Almost nothing, he answers; on the left bank one or two hillsides, on the right bank a wood and a ruined fort. Inviolate Verdun continued firm, and even its approaches were unfallen. The victory was with the French.

That Verdun is an allied victory is the view of all the Allies; and decorations have been presented not to the intrepid General Pétain who made the defense, but to the City of Verdun itself, an honor almost unparalleled in history. First, the white enameled Cross of Saint George, presented by the Russian Emperor; then the Military Cross of England, with its white and violet ribbon, presented by King George; the French Cross of the Legion of Honor, and the French War Cross; the gold medal for valor, with the arms of the House of Savoy and the inscription "Alla città di Verdun, 1916," sent by Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy; the Serbian gold medal for military courage, on a scarlet ribbon; then, in the name of King Albert of Belgium, the Belgian Cross of Leopold I., with a ribbon of amaranthine purple; and, last, the gold medal of Montenegro, on a ribbon of the national colors, red, blue, and white. On Sept. 13 these decorations were presented to the city by the President of France.

Mineral Lands and the War

IT has been more than once made clear that a very large part of the steel and iron now used by Germany in the manufacture of her cannon and shells comes, not from German iron mines, but from the mines in the Briey district in French Lorraine, on the railroad which runs due west from Verdun to Metz, and therefore actually on the present German frontier. In drawing the boundary between the new German Empire and France, after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, Bismarck evidently overlooked these very valuable deposits of iron ore, which a slight divergence of the line would have included within the confines of Germany, thus giving her an enormous economic advantage.

A correspondent in Germany has announced that German steel interests are determined to rectify the Iron Chancellor's oversight—to annex, after the present war, the iron mines then overlooked. The correspondent asserts that, when he was present at a meeting of German steel magnates at Düsseldorf, in the heart of the Rhenish manufacturing district, a German ironmaster, showing him a map of the deposits in the Briey district, declared that that was what Germany was fighting for; that Germany must have that additional district of Lorraine because, without it, the steel industry of Germany would live under the stress of great dangers. The German ironmaster was also very much in favor of annexing Belgium, because the possession of that country would admirably protect the Rhine provinces; Belgium would be "a pistol pointed at the heart of England."

On the other hand, it has been suggested by a distinguished American economist, Dr. Macfarlane, who studied economics at a German university, that, should the Entente Powers be successful in the present war, they could best guarantee themselves against future attacks by Germany by annexing the western German coalfields, the loss of which would so restrict Germanys' industrial development and curtail her wealth that it would be impossible for her to organize future aggressive wars. Another American authority has announced that French engineers have recently discovered large and valuable deposits of coal and iron along the Rhone, in the basin of the Loire, and in Brittany and Anjou. At present France's richest coal mines are in the northern regions occupied by German armies; but these new deposits, when opened, will make her self-supply-

ing and render unnecessary further importations from England, which, since the war broke out, has been practically supplying France with both coal and iron. Meanwhile, France is preparing to make extensive use of "white coal," harnessing the waterfalls of the Pryenees and the mountains of Central France.

Jules Verne and the U-53

WHILE the question of the real purpose of the activities of German submarines on this side of the Atlantic and their relation to international law are being debated it is interesting to remember that the real inspiration of this exploit comes from a Frenchman of genius who, in his own day, was considered rather a writer of "fantastical lies," as Shakespeare has it, than a serious scientific man. It was, in fact, the submarine Nautilus, under the guidance of the relentless Captain Nemo, that made the first undersea raid on commerce, and it was precisely in the Atlantic lane of navigation, not far from Nantucket lightship, that her first exploits were accomplished; a liner was sunk there, and from among the few survivors of this liner came the unwilling visitors to Captain Nemo's submarine, who tell the great tale of "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea."

Up to the present, therefore, it is neither the intrepid Captain of the Deutschland nor the master of the U-53, but the commander of the Nautilus, who holds the record. And it is noteworthy that, in almost every detail, Jules Verne anticipated the actual developments of submarines, though he worked out his conceptions as long ago as the time of the Franco-Prussian war. The cigarlike hull, the electric storage batteries, the renewal of oxygen by the use of chlorate of potash, all follow his lines. In one important detail only he seems to have guessed wrongly—the Nautilus carried no torpedoes and was unprovided with torpedo tubes. She rammed her victims, instead of torpedoing them. But it is interesting to note that another distinguished Frenchman, not a writer of romances, but one of the foremost naval authorities of France, has recently suggested that "commercial submarines" like the Deutschland may easily be provided with rams, and, while showing neither guns nor torpedo tubes, may nevertheless be quite effective commerce destroyers. He thus goes back to the original idea of Jules Verne.

In passing, it may be noted that another idea of Jules Verne's, the use of hydrogen gas for the inflation of long-distance airships, is actually in use in all aircraft of the Zeppelin type. Jules Verne's great gun, the Columbiad, is still unrivaled, but it is being steadily approached by the monster guns created by the present war.

Refitting the Belgian Army

THOSE who knew Belgium before the war will remember, as one of its most characteristic sights, the little wagons drawn by dogs which brought to the early morning markets treasures of fruit and flowers and vegetables, dairy produce, cakes and loaves; a hundred products of Belgian peasant industry. It is an astonishing result of the war that these same dogs, with their little wagons, are now on the firing line, trained to bring supplies of cartridges to the Belgian machine guns. It is true that, even before the war, the Belgians had hit upon this idea, and had already trained numbers of dogs for this work.

Another somewhat extraordinary military development is the new Belgian military harpoon. We have all read accounts of the formidable entanglements of barbed wire—first used in the Boer war in South Africa—which each belligerent army erects before its trenches, and of the destruction of these entanglements by concentrated gun fire. The service rifles of certain armies are further equipped with a wire-cutting device attached to the muzzle, and wire cutters of various forms are generally in use. But the Belgian device is the most original; a harpoon, which bears considerable resemblance to the old device of the whalers, is fired among the strands of barbed wire which protect the enemy trenches; a light steel rope attached to it is warped around a windlass, and men in the Belgian trenches set the windlass

turning, and haul over to their own trenches the whole material of the entanglement, wire, posts and all.

The new Belgian troops have recently been equipped with the French steel trench helmets, which have proved invaluable as a defense against fragments of shrapnel. The question is certain to be asked: Where do these new Belgian troops come from, seeing that practically all of Belgium is under German rule? The answer is simple. After the occupation of Antwerp, not only what remained of the Belgian Army, but great numbers of Belgian men, not then in the army, retreated to France, or escaped to England. When King Albert subsequently called for volunteers these men offered themselves for service, and the Belgian Government, installed at Le Havre, on the estuary of the Seine, set itself to establish training schools both for men and officers, the latter task being much the more difficult. It thus comes that Belgium, like Serbia, has a new army ready to fight for the reconquest of their native land, which, it must be remembered, was, before the war, one of the most densely populated in the world, having a population of 652 to the square mile, as against 310 for the German Empire, which we are accustomed to think of as densely populated.

The Transylvanian Battlefield

THE fighting of the Rumanian armies for some time to come is likely to cling about the passes of the Carpathians and their continuation, the Transylvanian Alps. It is, therefore, well worth while to survey these chains.

We may begin at the north at the lofty pyramid of Pietrosul, almost 7,000 feet high, at the meeting point of Bukowina, Transylvania, and Rumania; Borgo Pass, 3,900 feet high, joins Bistritz in Hungary with Kimpolung in Bukowina by an excellent road which appears to be in the hands of the Russians. From Pietrosul southward, the Carpathians form a formidable wall everywhere above 5,000 feet and often reaching 5,500; the first important pass is the Gyimes, at a height of about 3,000 feet, through which a railroad passes from Hungary to Rumania. A little further to the southwest the Oitoz Pass is no higher than 2,775 feet. This brings us to the corner, where the name of the range changes to Transylvanian Alps. Just westward of the corner one comes, on the Transylvania side, to the town of Brasso or Kronstadt, about which there has been heavy fighting and which is joined with Bucharest by a railroad over the Tomos Pass, at a height of about 3,500 feet; this is the main door of Rumania, and just inside the door, on the slope of the mountains, is Sinaia, the Summer hill station of the Rumanian King. Further west one comes to the Red Tower Pass, where there is really a red tower, beneath which the Aluta River flows through a narrow mountain gorge from Transylvania into Rumania; a road and a railroad pass through to Rumania from Hermannstadt, at the very moderate height of 1,154 feet, the lowest of all the passes. Further west is the Vulkan Pass, 5,326 feet high, on whose Transylvania side is Petroseny, in the midst of the coalfields, worked, in this land of contradictions, by Frenchmen. From this point westward to the Iron Gates there are no important passes. But the Iron Gates—the name really belongs to a reef in the Danube, comparable to Hell Gate before it was blasted — form a very important highway, both by water and by land.

The waterway is at present in the hands of the Rumanians, who are using their power to close the Danube to steamships carrying Teutonic munitions to Bulgaria and Turkey.

Russia and a Separate Peace

A WELL-AUTHENTICATED story comes from Russia of semi-official negotiations renewed by Germany, in the hope of detaching the Russian Empire from the cause of the Entente Allies. The story is told by M. Rodzianko, President of the Imperial Duma, and concerns the conversation between M. Protopopoff, Vice President of the Duma, and a German diplomatist, attached to the German Embassy at Stockholm; the occasion, apparently, was the passage through Sweden of a group of Russian parliamen-

tarians on their way to or from England and France.

At the house of a friend in Stockholm they found among their fellow-guests the German diplomatist referred to, who, according to the President of the Imperial Duma, was "both insidious and promising." He did not hide from his auditors that the situation of the Central Powers was critical, and that Germany, to escape from her difficulties, was willing to have recourse to heroic remedies. He insinuated that his Government had very exact information as to the altogether unexpected surprise which England was reserving for Russia after the war. He added that the Quadruple Entente could not exist in its present shape longer than the end of the war; that, sooner or later, Russia would see that her allies were pursuing only their own interests, and cared very little about Russia. In conclusion, he announced that the German Government was ready to reach out its hand to the Imperial Russian Government, and to begin peace negotiations; only a peace immediately concluded could save Germany and Russia from England. Recognizing the gravity of the hour Germany would make unexpected concessions to Russia. Germany was not opposed to the reconstruction of Serbia, nor to the compensation of Serbia for injuries received. Germany would, moreover, consent to settle the Polish question in a manner satisfactory to Russia. As for the question of the Dardanelles, it could be decided at once, in a manner exceedingly favorable for Russia, since it was just there that Russian and German interests were least in opposition. And commercial treaties between the two countries could be drawn up very favorable to Russia.

The President of the Duma tells us that M. Protopopoff merely listened, contenting himself with making a correction, whenever any misstatement slipped into the recital of the German diplomatist. M. Rodzianko concludes his narrative by declaring that persons for whom international treaties are "scraps of paper" may be listened to, but not answered. The Russian armies, in concert with those faithful allies who every day became dearer to Russia, would, with God's aid, know how to forge a solid and lasting peace whose treaties could never be transformed into "scraps of paper." He characterized the German diplomatist's declaration as "another attempt to shake the Allies' union, which is solid as a rock."

Forty-four Zeppelin Raids

IN the month ended Oct. 2, 1916, there were four Zeppelin raids on London, the last attacks being made by airships of a newer and larger type. On Sept. 2 one Zeppelin was struck while flying over the London district and fell in flames; in that raid two English civilians suffered death and thirteen were injured. In a raid on Sept. 23 two Zeppelins were destroyed; thirty-eight persons were killed and 125 wounded. On Sept. 24 another raid followed, when thirty-six were killed and twenty-seven wounded. On Oct. 2 there was a fourth raid, when two Zeppelins were brought down. There have been in all forty-four Zeppelin raids on London—twenty-three in 1915, twenty-one in 1916. The total killed by the raiders is 431, 1,146 wounded. No serious material damage has been done.

The Political Status of Crete

THE Entente Powers have recognized the Government recently established by Eleutherios Venizelos in the island of Crete, and have instructed their Consular agents to give official effect to this recognition. Thus the long, narrow island to the south of the Greek capes passes through yet one more change of government.

Crete was under the rule of Venice for 548 years, ending in 1669—four years after New York passed from under the sway of the Dutch—and it is said that the Greek statesman whom we have mentioned takes his family name from the Venetian republic. Then Crete fell under the power of the Turks, and was governed as a Turkish vilayet, or administrative province, until 1830, when it was made a dependency of the Viceroy of Egypt, being thus detached from Europe and attached to the African Con-

tinent. In 1840 Crete entered an epoch of insurrections, its predominantly Greek population carrying on a perpetual guerrilla warfare against the Turkish authorities, much as the population of Cuba did against Spain, and for very similar reasons. To bring this period of insurrection to an end, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy—the four chief powers of the present Entente—intervened in 1898, as the United States, in the same year, intervened in Cuba, and constituted Crete an autonomous State, with a nominal suzerainty of Turkey, but with no tribute payable to the Sultan. Cuba, liberated in the same year, had been almost two centuries longer under the yoke—from its discovery by Columbus.

Beginning with 1906 the four powers recognized certain interests of the Kingdom of Greece in Crete, and the local gendarmerie was organized under Greek officers. Two years later, in 1908, Crete declared for annexation by Greece, but this claim was not admitted by Turkey until the close of the first Balkan war, in 1912. The treaty of peace between Greece and Turkey, which was signed on Nov. 14, 1913, formally made Crete a part of Greece, and this incorporation was recognized by the four powers. After less than three years the situation is again changed. Crete declares herself once more autonomous, and the four powers announce their recognition of that autonomy.

"Grey's Elegy"

WHEN Sir Edward Grey sent to neutral Governments on July 7 the text of the "Maritime Rights Order in Council, 1916," (printed on Page 792 of August CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE,) he also sent out the following memorandum—"Grey's Elegy," the London papers called it—in which the British and French Governments explained their action:

At the beginning of the present war the allied Governments, in their anxiety to regulate their conduct by the principles of the law of nations, believed that in the Declaration of London they would find a suitable digest of principles and compendium of working rules. They accordingly decided to adopt the provisions of the Declaration, not as in itself possessing for them the force of law, but because it seemed to present in its main lines a statement of the rights and the duties of belligerents based on the experience of previous naval wars. As the present struggle developed, acquiring a range and character beyond all previous conceptions, it became clear that the attempt made at London in time of peace to determine, not only the principles of law, but even the forms under which they were to be applied, had not produced a wholly satisfactory result. As a matter of fact, these rules, while not in all respects improving the safeguards afforded to neutrals, do not provide belligerents with the most effective means of exercising their admitted rights.

As events progressed, the Germanic powers put forth all their ingenuity to relax the pressure tightening about them and to reopen a channel for supplies; their devices comprised innocent neutral commerce and involved it in suspicions of enemy agency. Moreover, the manifold developments of naval and military science, the invention of new engines of war, the concentration by the Germanic powers of the whole body of their resources on military ends, produced conditions altogether different from those prevailing in previous naval wars.

The rules laid down in the Declaration of London could not stand the strain imposed by the test of rapidly changing conditions and tendencies which could not have been foreseen.

The allied Governments were forced to recognize the situation thus created, and to adapt the rules of the Declaration from time to time to meet these changing conditions.

These successive modifications may, perhaps, have exposed the purpose of the Allies to misconstruction; they have therefore come to the conclusion that they must confine themselves simply to applying the historic and admitted rules of the law of nations.

The Allies solemnly and unreservedly declare that the action of their warships, no less than the judgments of their prize courts, will continue to conform to these principles; that they will faithfully fulfill their engagements, and in particular will observe the terms of all international conventions regarding the laws of war; that, mindful of the dictates of humanity, they repudiate utterly all thought of threatening the lives of noncombatants; that they will not without cause interfere with neutral property; and that if they should, by the action of their fleets, cause damage to the interests of any merchant acting in good faith, they will always be ready to consider his claims and to grant him such redress as may be due.

The Cause and Effect of the War

By H. G. Wells

The Noted Novelist

This remarkable letter is from Mr. Wells's latest novel, "Mr. Britling Sees It Through," (the Macmillan Company,) which is regarded by many critics as his masterpiece. Mr. Britling, an English father who has lost his son in the war, is addressing the German parents of his son's former tutor, of whose death he has just learned. The letter is assumed to represent the mature views of Mr. Wells and of an influential group of English intellectuals.

DEAR SIR: I am writing this letter to you to tell you I am sending back the few little things I had kept for your son at his request when the war broke out. Especially I am sending his violin, which he had asked me thrice to convey to you. Either it is a gift from you or it symbolized many things for him that he connected with home and you. I will have it packed with particular care, and I will do all in my power to insure its safe arrival.

H. G. WELLS

I want to tell you that all the stress and passion of this war have not made us forget our friend, your son. He was one of us, he had our affection, he had friends here who are still his friends. We found him honorable and companionable, and we share something of your loss. I have got together for you a few snapshots I chance to possess in which you will see him in the sunshine, and which will enable you, perhaps, to picture a little more definitely than you would otherwise do the life he led here. There is one particularly that I have marked. Our family is lunching out of doors, and you will see that next to your son is a youngster, a year or so his junior, who is touching glasses with him. I have put a cross over his head. He is my eldest son; he was very dear to me, and he, too, has been killed in this war. They are, you see, smiling very pleasantly at each other.

If you think that these two boys have both perished, not in some noble cause but one against the other in a struggle of dynasties and boundaries and trade routes and tyrannous ascendencies, then it seems to me that you must feel as I feel that this war is the most tragic and dreadful thing that has ever happened to mankind.

If you count dead and wounds this is the most dreadful war in history; for you as for me, it has been almost the extremity of personal tragedy. * * * Black sorrow. * * *

But is it the most dreadful war?

I do not think it is. I can write to you and tell you that I do indeed believe that our two sons have died not altogether in vain. Our pain and anguish may not be wasted—may be necessary. Indeed, they may be necessary. Here am I bereaved and wretched—and I hope. Never was the fabric of war so black; that I admit. But never was the black fabric of war so threadbare. At a thousand points the light is shining through.

War is a curtain of dense black fabric across all the hopes and kindliness of mankind. Yet always it has let through

some gleams of light, and now—I am not dreaming—it grows threadbare, and here and there and at a thousand points the light is breaking through. We owe it to all these dear youths.

Our boys have died, fighting one against the other. They have been fighting upon an issue so obscure that your German press is still busy discussing what it was. For us it was that Belgium was invaded and France in danger of destruction. Nothing else could have brought the English into the field against you. But why you invaded Belgium and France and whether that might have been averted we do not know to this day. And still this war goes on and still more boys die, and these men who do not fight, these men in the newspaper offices and in the Ministries plan campaigns and strokes and counterstrokes that belong to no conceivable plan at all. Except that now for them there is something more terrible than war. And that is the day of reckoning with their own people.

What have we been fighting for? What are we fighting for? Do you know? Does any one know? Why am I spending what is left of my substance and you what is left of yours to keep on this war against each other? What have we to gain from hurting one another still further? Why should we be puppets any longer in the hands of crowned fools and witless diplomatists? Even if we were dumb and acquiescent before, does not the blood of our sons now cry out to us that this foolery should cease? We have let these people send our sons to death.

It is you and I who must stop these wars, these massacres of boys.

Massacres of boys! That indeed is the essence of modern war. The killing off of the young. It is the destruction of the human inheritance, it is the spending of all the life and material of the future upon present-day hate and greed. Fools and knaves, politicians, tricksters, and those who trade on the suspicions and thoughtless, generous angers of men, make wars; the indolence and modesty of the mass of men permit them. Are you and I to suffer such things until the whole fabric of our civilization, that has been so slowly and so laboriously built up, is altogether destroyed?

When I sat down to write to you I had meant only to write to you of your son and mine. But I feel that what can be said in particular of our loss need not be said; it can be understood without saying. What needs to be said and written about is this, that war must be put an end to and that nobody else but you and me and all of us can do it. We have to do that for the love of our sons and our race and all that is human. War is no longer human; the chemist and the metallurgist have changed all that. My boy was shot through the eye; his brain was blown to pieces by some man who never knew what he had done. Think what that means! * * * It is plain to me, surely it is plain to you and all the world, that war is now a mere putting of the torch to explosives that flare out to universal ruin. There is nothing for one sane man to write to another about in these days but the salvation of mankind from war.

Now, I want you to be patient with me and hear me out. There was a time in the earlier part of this war when it was hard to be patient because there hung over us the dread of losses and disaster. Now we need dread no longer. The dreaded thing has happened. Sitting together as we do in spirit beside the mangled bodies of our dead, surely we can be as patient as the hills.

I want to tell you quite plainly and simply that I think that Germany, which is chief and central in this war, is most to blame for this war. Writing to you as an Englishman to a German and with war still being waged, there must be no mistake between us upon this point. I am persuaded that in the decade that ended with your overthrow of France in 1871 Germany turned her face toward evil, and that her refusal to treat France generously and to make friends with any other great power in the world is the essential cause of this war. Germany triumphed—and she trampled on the loser. She inflicted intolerable indignities. She set herself to prepare for further aggressions; long before this killing began she was making war upon land and

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY

sea, launching warships, building strategic railways, setting up a vast establishment of war material, threatening, straining all the world to keep pace with her threats. * * * At last there was no choice before any European nation but submission to the German will, or war. And it was no will to which righteous men could possibly submit. It came as an illiberal and ungracious will. It was the will of Zabern. It is not as if you had set yourselves to be an imperial people and embrace and unify the world. You did not want to unify the world. You wanted to set the foot of an intensely national Germany, a sentimental and illiberal Germany, a Germany that treasured the portraits of your ridiculous Kaiser and his litter of sons, a Germany wearing uniform, reading black letter, and despising every Kultur but her own, upon the neck of a divided and humiliated mankind. It was an intolerable prospect. I had rather the whole world died.

Forgive me for writing "you." You are as little responsible for that Germany as I am for—Sir Edward Grey. But this happened over you; you did not do your utmost to prevent it—even as England has happened, and I have let it happen over me. * * *

When I bring these charges against Germany I have little disposition to claim any righteousness for Britain. There has been small splendor in this war for either Germany or Britain or Russia; we three have chanced to be the biggest of the combatants, but the glory lies with invincible France. It is France and Belgium and Serbia who shine as the heroic lands. They have fought defensively, and beyond all expectation, for dear land and freedom. This war for them has been a war of simple, definite issues, to which they have risen with an entire nobility. Englishman and German alike may well envy them that simplicity. I look to you, as an honest man schooled by the fierce lessons of this war, to meet me in my passionate desire to see France, Belgium, and Serbia emerge restored from all this blood and struggle, enlarged to the limits of their nationality, vindicated and secure. Russia I will not write about here, let me go on at once to tell you about my own country; remarking only that between England and Russia there are endless parallelisms. We have similar complexities, kindred difficulties. We have, for instance, an imported dynasty, we have a soul-destroying State Church which cramps and poisons the education of our ruling class, we have a people out of touch with a secretive Government, and the same traditional contempt for science. We have our Irelands and Polands. Even our Kings bear a curious likeness. * * *

Politically the British Empire is a clumsy collection of strange accidents. It is a thing as little to be proud of as the outline of a flint or the shape of a potato. For the mass of English people India and Egypt and all that side of our system mean less than nothing; our trade is something they do not understand, our imperial wealth something they do not share. Britain has been a group of four democracies caught in the net of a vast yet casual imperialism; the common man here is in a state of political perplexity from the cradle to the grave. None the less there is a great people here even as there is a great people in Russia, a people with a soul and character of its own, a people of unconquerable kindliness and with a peculiar genius, which still struggle toward will and expression. We have been beginning that same great experiment that France and America and Switzerland and China are making—the experiment of democracy. It is the newest form of human association, and we are still but half awake to its needs and necessary conditions. For it is idle to pretend that the little city democracies of ancient times were comparable to the great essays in practical republicanism that mankind is making today. This age of the democratic republics that dawn is a new age. It has not yet lasted for a century, not for a paltry hundred years. * * * All new things are weak things; a rat can kill a man-child with ease; the greater the destiny, the weaker the immediate self-protection may be. And to me it seems that your complete and perfect imperialism, ruled by Germans for Germans, is in its scope and outlook a more antiquated and smaller

and less noble thing than these sprawling emergent giant democracies of the West that struggle so confusedly against it. * * *

But that we do struggle confusedly, with pitiful leaders and infinite waste and endless delay; that it is to our indisciplines and to the dishonesties and tricks our incompleteness provokes, that the prolongation of this war is to be ascribed, I readily admit. At the outbreak of this war I had hoped to see militarism felled within a year. * * *

I do not think you Germans realize how steadily you were conquering the world before this war began. Had you given half the energy and intelligence you have spent upon this war to the peaceful conquest of men's minds and spirits, I believe that you would have taken the leadership of the world tranquilly—no man disputing. Your science was five years, your social and economic organization was a quarter of a century in front of ours. * * * Never has it so lain in the power of a great people to lead and direct mankind toward the world republic and universal peace. It needed but a certain generosity of the imagination. * * *

But your Junkers, your Imperial Court, your foolish vicious Princes; what were such dreams to them? * * * With an envious satisfaction they hurled all the accomplishment of Germany into the fires of war. * * *

Your boy, as no doubt you know, dreamed constantly of such a world peace as this that I foreshadow; he was more generous than his country. He could envisage war and hostility only as misunderstanding. He thought that a world that could explain itself clearly would surely be at peace. He was scheming always therefore for the perfection and propagation of Esperanto or Ido, or some such universal link. My youngster, too, was full of a kindred and yet larger dream, the dream of human science, which knows neither King nor country nor race. * * *

These boys, these hopes, this war has killed. * * *

Let us make ourselves watchers and guardians of the order of the world. * * *

If only for love of our dead. * * * Let us pledge ourselves to service. Let us set ourselves with all our minds and all our hearts to the perfecting and working out of the methods of democracy and the ending forever of the Kings and Emperors and priestcrafts and the bands of adventurers, the traders and owners and forestallers who have betrayed mankind into this morass of hate and blood —in which our sons are lost—in which we flounder still. * * *

Paying the Price for Citizenship

Eden Phillpotts, the English novelist, voices the present British war spirit in the closing passage of his latest book, "The Green Alleys," in these words:

That's why I ask for conscription, to help the young men see they can't have anything for nothing. * * * To be content to be an Englishman and take the privilege as a matter of course: What an insult to your mother! * * * It is something to look around the world and be English today. And it will be something bigger still a year hence. Too big a thing, indeed, to take for nothing —surely a thing to strengthen a man's mind with reverence and quicken his heart with pride. * * * Everybody's up against it today, from God on his throne to the smallest girl-child sewing buttons on a soldier's coat. We're recasting the whole world in the crucible of this war, and if it's the Almighty's master-work to see that the new-born earth shall roll sweeter and wiser through His heaven afterward, it's ours, to the least of us, to help stoke the furnace fires and purge the dross from the melting pot.

The War's Legacy of Hatred

By Maurice Maeterlinck

Belgian Essayist and Dramatist

[Translated from Les Annales, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

BEFORE we reach the end of this war, whose days of grief and terror now seem to be numbered, let us weigh for the last time in our minds the words of hatred and malediction which it has so often wrung from us.

We have to deal with the strangest of enemies. He has deliberately, scientifically, in full possession of his senses, without necessity or excuse, revived all the crimes which we had believed to be forever buried in the barbarous past. He has trampled under foot all the precepts which the human race had so painfully gleaned out of the cruel darknesses of its origins; he has violated all the laws of justice, of humanity, of loyalty, of honor, from the highest, which almost touch the divine, to the simplest and most elementary, which still appertain to the lower orders. There is no longer any doubt on this point; the proof of it has been established and re-established, the certitude definitively acquired.

MAURICE MAETERLINCK

But, on the other hand, it is no less certain that the enemy has displayed virtues which it would not be right for us to deny; for one honors one's self by recognizing the valor of those whom one combats. He has gone to death in deep, compact, disciplined masses, with a blind, obstinate, hopeless heroism, for which history furnishes no example equally sombre, and which often has compelled our admiration and our pity.

I am well aware that this heroism is not like that which we love. For us heroism should be, above all, voluntary, free from all restraint, active, ardent, joyous, spontaneous; whereas with them it is mixed with much of servility, of passivity, of sadness, of gloomy, ignorant mass submission, and of fears more or less base. Yet in a moment of peril these distinctions vanish for the most part; no force on earth could drive toward death a nation that did not have within itself the will to confront death.

Our soldiers have not deceived themselves on this point. Ask those who return from the trenches. They execrate the enemy; they have a horror of the aggressor, unjust, arrogant, gross, too often cruel and perfidious; they do not hate the man, they pity him; and, after the battle, in the defenseless wounded or the disarmed prisoner they recognize with astonishment a brother in misery who, like themselves, has been trying to do his duty, and who has laws which he considers high and necessary. Underneath the intolerable enemy they see the unfortunate mortal who likewise is bearing the burden of life.

Leaving out of account the unpardonable aggression and the inexpiable violation of treaties, very little is lacking to make this war, despite its madness, a bloody but magnificent testimonial of grandeur, of heroism, of the spirit of sacrifice. Humanity was ready to raise itself above itself, to surpass all that it had achieved up to this hour. And it

has done it. We had not known of nations that were capable, through months and years, of renouncing their rest, their security, their wealth, their well-being, all that they possessed and loved, even life itself, to accomplish what they believed to be their duty. We had never seen whole nations that were able to understand and admit that the happiness of each of those living at the moment of trial does not count when it is a question of the honor of those no longer living or of the happiness of those not yet living.

Here we stand on summits that had never before been attained. And if, on the part of our enemies, this unexampled renunciation had not been poisoned at its source, if the war which they wage against us had been as beautiful, as loyal, as generous, as chivalrous as that which we wage against them, one might believe that it was to be the last war, and that it was to end, not in mortal combat, but in the awakening from a bad dream with a noble and fraternal astonishment. They have not permitted this to be so; and it is their deception, we may rest assured, that the future will have the greatest difficulty in pardoning.

Now, what are we going to do? Must we go on hating to the end of our days? Hatred is the heaviest load that man can bear on this earth, and we should be bowed down by the burden. But, on the other hand, we do not wish to be again the victims of trust and love. Here once more our soldiers, in their clear-eyed simplicity and nearness to truth, anticipate the future and teach us what is best to do and not to do. As we have seen, they do not hate the individual, but they do not trust him. They do not see the human being in him until he is without arms. They know from sad experience that as long as he has weapons he does not resist the mad impulse to injure, to betray, to kill, and that he becomes good only when he is powerless.

Is he thus by nature, or has he been made thus by those who lead him? Have the chiefs carried away the whole nation, or has the whole nation driven its chiefs? Have the leaders made the people like themselves, or have the people chosen the leaders and supported them only because they resembled themselves? Did the disease come from below or from above, or was it everywhere? This is the great obscure point of the awful adventure. It is not easy to explain, and it is still less easy to find an excuse.

If they prove that they have been deceived and corrupted by their masters, they are proving at the same time that they are less intelligent, less firmly grounded in justice, honor, and humanity—in a word, less civilized—than those whom they pretend to have a right to subjugate in the name of a superiority which their own demonstration annihilates; on the other hand, if they do not prove that their errors, their perfidies, and their cruelties, which it is no longer possible to deny, are to be imputed solely to their masters, these sins fall back upon their own heads with all their pitiless weight. I do not know how they will escape the jaws of this dilemma, nor what decision will be rendered by the future, which is wiser than the past, even as the morning, to quote the old Slavic proverb, is wiser than the night. Meanwhile let us imitate the prudence of our admirable soldiers, who know better than we do what path to follow.

U-BOAT THAT BROUGHT THE WAR ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

The German Super-Submarine U-53, First Underseas War Vessel From Europe to Enter an American Port, Which Sank Six Vessels Near Nantucket After Having Called at Newport, R. I.

(Photo © O. W. Waterman.)

FRENCH MONOPLANES AWAITING COMMAND TO ATTACK

Glimpse of an Aviation Camp on the Somme, and of the Swift and Deadly Craft That Have Given the French the Mastery of the Air.

(Photo © International News Service.)

Situation of the Jews in Russia

By Henry Sliozberg

Jurist, Chairman of Jewish Relief Committee in Petrograd, Former Counsel to Russian Minister of Interior

This luminous and deeply discerning summary of the present situation of the Jews in Russia, and their future prospects, was written in the form of a letter to Professor Samuel Harper of the University of Chicago. Mr. Sliozberg is an authority on Russian law, being counselor in Petrograd of one of the largest American insurance companies, and has been an active communal worker among the Jews of Russia for nearly three decades.

DURING the years just preceding the war the Jews in Russia were passing through a grievous period; the Government's anti-Semitism had increased, being expressed in a more intensified system of limitations of rights and in a tendency to extend this system not only by the application of already existing limitations but also by the elaboration of new legislation. The laws concerning Jews have always been characterized by a remarkable vagueness; they had to do with such elementary human rights as the right to live in this or that locality, the right to carry on trade and industry, the right to receive an education, and so forth; yet these laws constantly and invariably raised doubts when they had to be applied to the complicated and varied conditions of life which did not fit into the framework of the prohibitory laws. They were so all-embracing that the mere application of the laws in a more restrictive or in a more liberal sense, without any change in the law itself, would mean either the oppression of many millions of Jews in Russia or a slight alleviation of their condition.

Official Anti-Semitism

The vital interests of this population and the corresponding interests of the whole population were therefore more dependent on the practice in the application of the laws than on the laws themselves. It was the Government's policy to adapt the administrative apparatus of circulars and edicts to the requirements of its anti-Semitic state of mind. The Government did not need to issue new restrictive laws in order to manifest its anti-Semitism; the same results—restriction and limitation—could be secured by a simple circular or by an edict of the Senate.

This is why it was always possible for every local administrator—not to speak of persons in the Higher Central Government, from Governors of provinces down to the lowest police agents—to follow their individual policy with regard to the Jews. At any given moment one could divide Russia into regions, and, on a general background of absence of rights, note that the situation of the Jews was comparatively better or worse, according to the administrator of the district, although the laws were equally binding for all localities. There was still greater variety according to epochs, in spite of absence of new legislative measures.

For more than twenty-five years I have been in very close touch with the question of the application of the restrictive laws on Jews, and I must state that there never was a more oppressive period than that of the several years just preceding the war. Without the enactment of any new laws, the noose of legal limitations on Jews was pulled tighter every month by interpretative circulars of the Minister of the Interior, Maklakov, and by edicts of the Senate, under the direction of the Minister of Justice, Shcheglovitov.

[These two Ministers resigned in June, 1915, under the pressure of public opinion.—Translator.]

Again the political law was confirmed of the direct correspondence between the increase of reaction in general and the increase of Governmental anti-Semitism. The Jewish question has for a long time been a political question; and recently, from 1905 on, it has been the main axle around which turned the wheel of re-

action. The centre from which the reaction derived its strength supplied the Governmental circles with the energy in their anti-Semitism. This centre was the frank, and, to a greater degree, the concealed, activity, of the so-called Council of the United Nobility, which introduced in the Governmental circles the policy of limitations on the rights of Jews.

To Bar Jews From Army

Immediately before the war the United Nobility began to take the initiative, to put through a law excluding Jews from the army, and substituting for military service in the case of Jews either taxes in money or a special form of military service. This project of the law naturally met with the approval of the former Minister of War Sukhomlinov, who was acting under the direct influence of the Chief of the General Staff, General Yanushkevich, one of the most active members of the Council of the United Nobility. Perhaps in no other branch of public life has anti-Semitism been imposed from above with such insistence as in the military.

The documents on this side of the question are unbelievably eloquent. During the last years before the war there was no instance of the promotion of a Jewish soldier to the rank of non-commissioned officer; Jewish volunteer recruits were unable, without the help of special protection, to gain admittance to regiments of their choice; and the attitude of the regimental officers toward the Jewish soldiers was tinged with hate, and inspired constant animosity toward them in the army. Just as the attitude of the Minister of the Interior always went rapidly down the hierarchic ladder to the very lowest steps, so the attitude of the Minister of War, and, particularly, that of the Chief of the General Staff, was passed on to the lowest commanding ranks in the army.

Thus Governmental anti-Semitism reached its highest point during the last few years, and, similarly, the legislative bodies showed the same degree of anti-Semitism. To one who knows Russian political life it is quite clear that both the Third and the Fourth Dumas, in their majorities, performed simply the wishes of the Government and were under the exclusive influence of the Governmental policy. Though there could be difference of opinion on any general question among the parties forming the majority of the Duma, nevertheless, on the Jewish question—the main axle of reaction—unanimity prevailed. The Octobrist Party, trained to obedience from the time of the late Stolypin, never had the courage to give evidence of its comparative liberalism when it came to the Jewish question.

Masses Sound at Heart

On the other hand, the better section of Russian public opinion remained true to the best traditions of genuine liberalism. It always recognized, as did the Jews, that the Governmental anti-Semitism. It always recognized, as did the weapon of reaction, that reaction and anti-Semitism were Siamese twins. Therefore, not by reason of any agreement, but by a common, similar understanding of the political situation, the Jews always went hand in hand with the genuinely liberal groups of the public. The latter, struggling against reaction, also struggled against the Governmental policy toward the Jews; and the Jews, fighting for their civil and national rights, fought reaction. If one adds that anti-Semitism in Russia has never had any roots, or at least any deep roots, in the psychology of the broad popular masses, it becomes clear that the Jews of Russia had no ground for refusing to believe in a brighter future, and confidently to wait till the gloom of reaction should be dispelled, and with it the limitations for the Jews.

Such was the situation in the Jewish question when the war broke out. Contemporaries will never forget, and history will certainly note, the general enthusiasm which seized also upon the Jewish population of Russia in August, 1914. It would have been hard to presume a few weeks before that the Jewish population, so oppressed and exhausted morally and physically, would be able to show such enthusiasm for the

common cause of Russia. But such was the fact. Instinctively, the whole Jewish population felt that events of world importance were beginning, and that these events must lead to a general, radical change and to a revaluation of all values.

Jews, together with others, felt instinctively that this was a war of liberation. The Jews also showed every variety of public enthusiasm. The general state of mind of the Jews was reflected in the declarations of representatives of various parties and national groups in the Imperial Duma, not excluding Jewish representatives.

But the army that went to the front did not witness this general state of mind; it went off to the war, educated during the preceding years in the policy of Sukhomlinov and General Yanushkevich.

Propaganda in the Army

Military operations began in Poland, and from the very first day one was made to feel the extremely aggravated Jewish-Polish relations. I shall not stop to describe in detail these relations. By indisputable documents and facts it is, however, established that there was an unheard-of propaganda in the army of calumnies against the Jews—calumnies which gradually developed into legends of Jewish espionage. These legends found a solid backing, already prepared, and, in the main, they were supported by the fact that the army met in the Jewish population of Poland, as well as of Galicia, a society quite strange to it, differing from the Jewish population of Russia both in language and in external appearance.

The customary and inevitable occurrence of separate instances of excesses, which in many places reached the point of destruction of property, immediately terrified the local Jewish population. This state of mind supported the estrangement, which, in turn, kept alive the legends which were being spread along the whole front. The very same stories, all absolutely absurd, were spread everywhere, finding an echo in the orders of the higher army commanders, under the direction and leadership of the Chief of Staff of the Imperial Commander in Chief, General Yanushkevich, the author of the law to exclude Jews from the army and a member of the Council of the United Nobility.

The result of all this was the issuing of military orders referring exclusively to the Jewish population. The wholesale expulsion of Jews from various cities and towns laid the foundation for the so-called fugitive movement. Fugitives began to rush to Warsaw from the localities near the line of battle, and very soon there were gathered in Warsaw more than 120,000 fugitives, left without roof or food. Gradually the attitude toward the Jewish population began to influence the attitude toward Jewish soldiers and, in general, toward all Jews having to do with the army. Hundreds of documents, absolutely authentic, testify to the constant issuing of orders by commanders of armies and by the staff of the Commander in Chief, referring not only to the Jewish population, but also to the Jews in the army. The Jewish population was literally dumfounded by the events which followed, feeling them with particular sensitiveness because of the crisis just experienced. The next events —the wholesale expulsion of Jews from the provinces of Kovno and Courland even before military operations had reached these localities—created an atmosphere of complete perplexity and dejection.

One must note that by this time the difference between the attitude of the military and the civil authorities toward the Jews had become clear. Not as the result of a weakening of Governmental anti-Semitism, but by reason of the realization of the economic and social consequences of the policy adopted by the army commanders in their relations to Jews, the Government, in a series of representations, attempted to temper the severity of the military orders. The Government was able to stop the wholesale expulsions of the Jewish population from the western provinces, gradually substituting an expulsion of the entire population from localities threatened by the enemy.

Breach in So-Called Pale

Under the influence of the expulsions, and as the result of the occupation by the enemy of certain portions of the western provinces, a breach was made in the so-called Pale of Settlement. At first Jews were forcibly transferred to eastern provinces, (Voronezh and Penza.) On Aug. 4, 1915, came the well-known order of the Council of Ministers, and, in a circular, the Minister of Interior, Prince Shchebatov, stopped temporarily, until a general revision of the laws on Jews, the application of the restrictive law on residence of Jews in the interior provinces of Russia, not excluding Siberia, except the capitals, Petrograd and Moscow, regions under the authority of the military, the Territory of the Don Armies, the Ter and Kuban Territories in the Caucasus, and cities under the control of the Minister of the Court.

This measure, which at any other time would have meant a considerable reform in the field of the Jewish question, could not, however, make a serious impression when expulsion of Jews from western provinces continued to be the practice. One cannot deny that the Jewish population received this measure, essentially one of beneficence, with distrust, which has not been dispelled at this moment of writing. For the Jews this was simply a measure called forth by the war. It was felt that, if the attitude toward the Jews was not radically altered, this measure might be repealed after the war, if it were not sanctioned by the legislative authorities.

The present phase of the Government's policy with regard to the Jews is, therefore, somewhat different from that which we had before. If a few months ago, as I have pointed out, the Governmental authorities opposed, to a certain degree, the spreading of malicious calumnies against the Jews, and repealed certain measures taken by the military authorities, now, however, there is no such attitude of opposition, and the best evidence of this fact is the well-known circular of Jan. 9, 1916, of the former Minister of the Interior, Hvostov, which gave rise to an interpellation in the Duma.

It is clear to any one acquainted with the internal life of Russia that a bitter internal struggle is going on, with the war as a general background, between the Government and the various organizations of Russian society. In this struggle, which is a struggle of reaction against liberal tendencies, the Jewish question continues to play the same rôle which it played before the war—the rôle of a lightning rod, all the more necessary because the war has introduced notable complications into the internal life of the country. Now here, now there, attempts are being made to put off on the Jews the responsibility for the high cost of living and for various other manifestations of disorder.

[The circular, addressed to local Governors, suggested that the Jews were responsible for the increase in the cost of living because of speculative operations conducted by them, and urged that local officials keep their eyes open to this possibility. The circular was not made public at the time, and the Minister interpreted this as indicating that it was simply a measure of precaution, and not in any sense a measure of anti-Semitic propaganda.—Translator.]

Aid from Duma Progressives

A very important factor bearing on this Jewish question was the formation in the Imperial Duma of the Progressive members; apart from its general political significance, the Progressives indicated the practical isolation of the Government in the popular representative bodies. The Progressives had a direct relation to the Jewish question, for its program included certain points indicating a desire and tendency to relieve the weight of the restrictive laws on Jews. But unfortunately the expectations inspired by the Progressives—expectations, however, which not all had entertained—were not realized, and at the present moment it has become clear that the Jews cannot expect from the Progressives in the near future, in view of the policy being adopted by the Government, any amelioration of their position.

But at the same time one must note that there is no Jewish group, representing this or that political tendency, which would not recognize that the events that are taking place today, so far as they affect the Jews, are simply the fruit of the policy of the last ten years,

and that neither the war itself nor the events connected with it—that is, all that preceded the war—created that strained situation which is now felt. All recognize that now, as formerly, the solution of the Jewish question is closely connected with the solution of the general question of the internal policy in Russia. Reaction will be accompanied by anti-Semitism. All thinking Jewish groups, who are able to understand the political events that are taking place, are absolutely unanimous on this point. They are unanimous in the belief that after the war reaction must give way to a liberal régime, and that therefore the Jewish question, though at the present moment in a most difficult situation, is not, however, without hope.

Concerning the attitude of the Jews toward the war itself, one must note that there is not a single category among Russian Jews which would not bind its lot to the lot of Russia in general and see in a Russian victory the guarantee of well-being for Russia, and, in particular, for the Jews within Russia. This attitude is dictated especially by the realization that the 7,000,000 Jews of Russia are so closely attached to Russia in their moral and material interests that it is quite impossible for them to think of their own welfare except in terms of the welfare of Russia. Thinking Jews have always recognized that Germany is the home of anti-Semitism, and that the most reactionary elements in Russia have been the officials of German origin. Thinking Jews believe that the more decisive the victory the quicker will Russia proceed along the road of progress in her internal life.

Victory in this war will not be a victory of the Government, but a victory of the people, a victory of the social forces, and, in view of the constant opposition of Government to society, the coming victory will mean the victory of these same social forces. The social forces of Russia have always been opposed to reaction, and, by this same fact, opposed to the main flag of reaction—anti-Semitism.

Recognizing all this, we are now passing through a very complicated state of mind. Jews are experiencing great bitterness; they are outraged by the injury to their national and human feelings and their feelings of common citizenship. This bitterness increases as the attitude dictated by the spheres of the commanding personnel of the army does injury not only to their material and civil rights, but also to their national rights. The prohibition to publish newspapers in the Jewish popular language has made a crushing impression, equal only to the impression resulting from the wholesale expulsions from the provinces of Kovno and Courland. The Jewish population has been deprived of proper leadership, and it is therefore very difficult for an outside observer to grasp the actual state of mind of the Jews.

To what has been said I must add that Jewish political circles were astounded by the impudence of two Jews who took part, it would seem, in some kind of declaration against Russia, addressed to the President of the United States, drawn up in Stockholm in the name of all non-Russian elements of the empire. I stand very close to all Jewish political spheres, and must testify directly that these persons are unknown to Jewish political leaders in Russia and that they had no authorization from any Jewish groups or circles.

[*Maxim Gorky, the distinguished Russian author, discusses the situation of the Jews in Russia from a different viewpoint; his brief article will be found on Page 275 of this issue of* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *The two articles are especially interesting as evidence of the transition period through which Russia is now passing, as proved by the recent sudden changes in the Cabinet. No parallel to this situation is found in modern European history. Apparently the Russian Government has difficulty in finding reactionaries in the bureaucratic circles who are strong enough intellectually to meet the demands due to the war. After having tried nearly all the eligible bureaucrats in the last two years and having found them wanting, as their frequent dismissals show, the Government finally turned to the public. The latest appointment, that of M. Prototopov as Minister of the Interior, is a distinct departure from the old policies of the Czar's Government. While Prototopov is a man of no unusual ability or reputation, he is still neither bureaucrat nor reactionary, and his appointment encourages the liberals*—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Central Powers Standing Fast

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

THE new great surprise of the weeks from Sept. 15 to Oct. 15 was the extension of the theatre of the world war to the extreme western waters of the Atlantic, close to the American coast. This was brought about by the appearance and activity of the German submarine U-53 under command of Captain Lieut. Hans Rose. From a military viewpoint, the opening of a new war theatre in these waters must be considered in connection with the general situation. That Lieutenant Rose did not make this long and dangerous journey merely to leave his card at Newport as a polite gentleman, or to convey the official mail to the German Ambassador, must have been clear to every one at the moment. That the submarine intended merely to destroy a few ships, then to return to her home port, is equally improbable.

The real purpose of this unique trip becomes apparent, however, when one recalls the words of the German Imperial Chancellor in his recent speech in the Reichstag with regard to the "effective weapons" that must be employed against England, the "most selfish, bitterest, and most tenacious enemy." The U-boat which carried the war to this side of the Atlantic belongs to these "effective weapons." It is effective because its employment complies completely with the stipulations of international law as far as it covers the present case, and with the assurances which Berlin gave in reply to the Washington note of April 18 of this year.

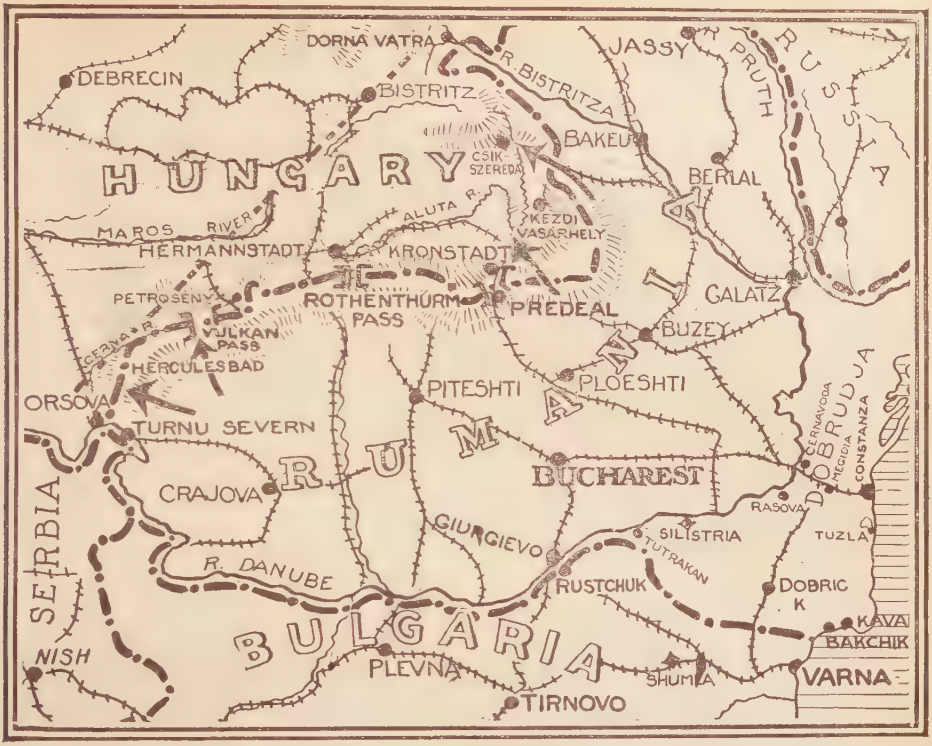
It is an effective weapon, from a military standpoint, because it menaces England's communication with the principal source of munitions, supplies, and every other sort of war material. This menace brings a grave shock to England. Britain had anticipated this danger. It was concern on this point that prompted the recent allied memorandum to neutral Governments, protesting against the admission of submarines to neutral ports.

In order to understand the inner connection between this submarine achievement and the main situation the words quoted from the German Chancellor's speech must be regarded in connection with certain statements made by The London Times. That newspaper has warned its readers against unjustified jubilation over the successes recorded thus far by the great allied offensive on the western front. It asserts that the tremendous questions at issue cannot be solved upon one war theatre alone. Concerning the general situation it admits that the plan of the Allies to bar Germany's way to the Near East has miscarried. The London organ has designated Rumania as the theatre where a decision must come, and the establishment of the Balkan "through-route" as the principal aim for which Germany took up arms. Thus, the present military situation is, as The London Times itself concedes, favorable for the Central Powers.

England, however, is the enemy against which the U-boat weapon must be employed. As long as England is not hit harder than she has been hit thus far, prospects of peace will not improve. Not until England feels in her own body the pangs of this terrible war plague, will the manifold rumors of peace develop into tangible possibilities. Not until then will the most selfish, bitterest, and most tenacious foe be forced into a desire for peace.

The Plight of Rumania

As for the speed, or lack of it, of the general military development in Europe,



RUMANIAN BATTLE FRONTS: ALONG THE DANUBE TO THE SOUTH AND IN THE MOUNTAIN PASSES LEADING TO TRANSYLVANIA ON THE NORTH

the events of the Rumanian campaign may be looked upon as the prospective pacemakers. These events already have led King Ferdinand to cry to the Allies for help. Rumania, which, he said, has risked her all by entering the war, must not be left to share the fate of Belgium and Serbia.

After suffering a severe defeat in the Eastern Dobrudja about the middle of September, the Russo-Rumanian forces were taken back to the new line Rasova-Cobadin-Tuzla, which they still maintain at this writing. In these new positions they are guarding the railway line Czernawoda-Megidia-Constanza. Czernawoda is the second strongly fortified Danube bridgehead, the first, Tutrakan (Turtukai) having fallen to Field Marshal von Mackensen in the first days of the offensive. Constanza is the terminal of the railway Bucharest-Czernawoda-Constanza and is the principal Rumanian port on the Black Sea.

This seaport forms a convenient place of landing for Russian reinforcements. It must, therefore, be closed before the armies of von Mackensen can continue their march in the Southern Dobrudja, overrun the northern part of the province, and cross the Danube, carrying the campaign into Rumania proper.

It was in Constanza that, in the Summer of 1914, the now historic meeting between Czar Nicholas and the Rumanian King Carol took place, a meeting which crowned the Russian efforts to conciliate Rumania.

But the name of the city leads memory back into more ancient days of history. At Constanza ends the wall, traversing the whole of the Dobrudja, built by the Roman Emperor Trajan, (98-117 A. D.) Circumstances again and again repeat themselves, though thousands of years may lie between them. That which caused the Roman Emperor to build this wall has now prompted the Rumanians and Russians, in their retreat to the north, to select this line for their de-

fense. The line is considerably strengthened by the topographical conditions. The terrain in front of it is a valley, stretching as far as six kilometers within Constanza. Immediately behind the swamps rise the walls, one made of earth, the other of stone.

The Rumanians carried out an action on their southern front which, for its adventurous character and its failure, stands unique in this whole war. This was the crossing of the Danube over a hastily constructed pontoon bridge. A force of 15,000 or 16,000 men crossed on Oct. 3 near Rahova, (Liahova.) Without artillery, they began to march into the enemy's realm. Austro-Hungarian monitors in the Danube destroyed the pontoon bridge behind them. Bulgarian forces from the fortress of Rustschuk went to meet the invaders and drove them back toward the river bank. Finding the bridge destroyed, the Rumanians continued their flight-like retirement further eastward in the direction of the fortress of the Tutrakan bridgehead, soon to meet Bulgarian forces coming from that fortress. Thus taken between two fires and engaged from front and rear, the invaders were almost completely annihilated.

Reports vary as to the details of the outcome of this unique adventure, but its utter failure is an acknowledged fact.

The "rolling up" of the Rumanian military forces that had invaded Siebenbuergen through the Transylvanian Alpine passes and partly through the Carpathians has begun. The military situation on this front, the further development of which is to decide the Rumanian campaign and the fate of Rumania, is, at the middle of October, as follows:

1. The Rumanian First Army was put almost completely hors de combat in the three days' battle between Hermannstadt and Rothenturm Pass. The victory of the Teutonic forces was crowned by the equally bold and cleverly executed encircling movement on the part of the Bavarians, who occupied the southern part of the pass.

2. The Rumanian Second Army had vainly tried to take a hand in the battle of Hermannstadt. The First Army defeated, the second was engaged by the troops of General von Falkenhayn, the victor of Hermannstadt, and thrown back from the Alt River, above Fogaras, to the Rumanian frontier. The decisive three-day main battle was fought for and around Kronstadt. Kronstadt fell, Toerzburg, twenty-two kilometers to the southwest, was taken, and the Rumanians were crowded into the Toerzburg Pass and are now being pursued.

3. The Rumanian troops who in conjunction with Russian contingents had invaded Hungary through the passes of the wooded Carpathians from the east, have been forced to retire before the advance of the Austro-Hungarian troops under General von Arz, in the Guergeny Mountains. Szekely Undarhely (Oberhellen) was reoccupied by the Teutons and the positions on the Baba Ludowa were pushed forward. The exits from the Hargitta and Barot Mountains into the upper and lower Alt valleys were taken. The entire Russo-Rumanian northern army is being driven in an easterly direction across the wooded Carpathians. The left wing of this army has been routed, the centre is yielding, and the right wing already is retiring toward the Maros Valley.

4. The general retirement has had its effect upon the Rumanian army west of the Rothenturm Pass, at Petroseny, and around the Vulkan Pass. This army had invaded Hungary through Vulkan Pass and across the Danube around Orsova, at the Iron Gate and had pushed along the Strell Valley as far as Hatzeg, (Hoetzing.) There the advance had come to a standstill; there, also, the retirement set in. The retreat has led the Rumanians back to the frontier heights. South of Hatzeg the Austro-Hungarian troops stormed the frontier mountain Siglen. West of Vulkan Pass Negrului Mountain was captured. At Orsova also the offensive of the Central Powers is developing.

Today the entire southern part and most of the eastern territory of Siebenbuergen already are cleared of the invaders. Bavarian chasseurs have crossed into Rumania through Rothenturm Pass. The invasion of the Danube kingdom

from the north also has begun. The advance from the west, via Orsova, is to join it.

The successes which the Franco-British-Serbo-Italian forces are gaining on the Saloniki front—along the Struma against Seres on the right wing; against Doiran in the centre, and against Monastir (Czerna front) on the left wing—are of a local nature and are by no means capable of bringing the general basic idea of the Allies' operations nearer to its realization.

Nor is the possible entrance of Greece into the war likely to alter the military situation in the Near East. The Greek Army as a military factor has been eliminated. Its usefulness has been shattered by the Allies themselves through the violation of the Hellenic kingdom's neutrality and sovereignty, an act which reached its climax in the seizure of the Greek fleet and the occupation of the port of Piraeus by French troops.

On the Western Front

To figure out how long it would take the allied forces in France to advance, at their present rate of speed—or lack of it—to the German frontier, is silly child's play. The question at issue, the decisive question, is merely this: How long will the elasticity of the German lines hold out? And the second decisive factor is the height of the attackers' losses: the question, how long can they keep it up?

The most important allied success on the Somme during the period under discussion was the capture of Combles on Sept. 25. Combles was the immediate goal of the great offensive. It took the attackers three months, and it cost them tremendous sacrifices, to reach this goal. The strategy of the German defensive aims at the greatest possible saving of lives—for military as well as national reasons. Even the smallest position is defended by the Germans to the very last bounds of possibility—but not beyond these bounds. At no time, in no case, do the German commanders risk big losses in attempts to hold a totally battered trench. Thus, Combles was evacuated.

The basic idea of the great offensive on the west front, which consisted in the expulsion of the German armies from the whole of Northern France and Belgium, can be realized in two ways: either by actually breaking through the German lines in a sector strategically so important that the whole front must crumble, or by exerting such a menace against a sector as to force the enemy to take back his front voluntarily. The occupation of Combles certainly does not constitute a break in the German lines. Nor does it present a menace to a strategically vital sector.

Even behind Bapaume and Péronne new German defensive positions already have been established, precluding a "tearing up" of the lines. The Germans would have to be pushed back a very great distance to lose contact with the adjoining fronts and thus to be compelled to give up, say, Roye, Noyon, Laon, St. Quentin.

As matters stand today, the allied advance on the Somme is a ticklish proposition. The further the apex is removed from the base of attack the longer grow the two sides of the triangle. The danger of hostile flanking attacks grows accordingly. The British and French are therefore making strenuous efforts to lengthen the base line of the attacking front. From this standpoint the capture of Thiepval, (Sept. 26,) the northernmost tip of the British line, is significant. On the very opening day of the offensive, July 1, the British had begun to attack Thiepval. For nearly three months they battled for possession of this one place. During that long period a huge grave was dug in that region.

The French on their part extended their front on the extreme southern edge, first via Soyecourt to the region south of Vermandovillers. Further south, battles have been fought during the last few weeks at Ablaincourt, against Chaulnes, and in front of Chilly, which latter point is in French hands. In the present circumstances Chaulnes is the most important point. It is situated on two railways, the St. Just-Douai and the Tergnier-Rouen lines. A further extension of the French front on its south-

ern end toward Chaulnes was carried out by the occupation of the Genermont and Bovent Farms, (Oct. 10.) This at the same time had the result of crushing in a salient in the German front. This region, too, the Germans evacuated methodically by retiring to positions further in the rear, previously fixed for the purpose.

Lately the number of German counterblows has been growing. The German lines have been shaken neither by the loss of Combles nor by the extension of the enemy's front on the northern and southern ends.

Battles on Eastern Front

On the eastern front three gigantic battles were fought during the period under discussion:

1. In the area between Vladimir Volynsky and Lutsk, in Volhynia.

2. Before Halicz, in Eastern Galicia.

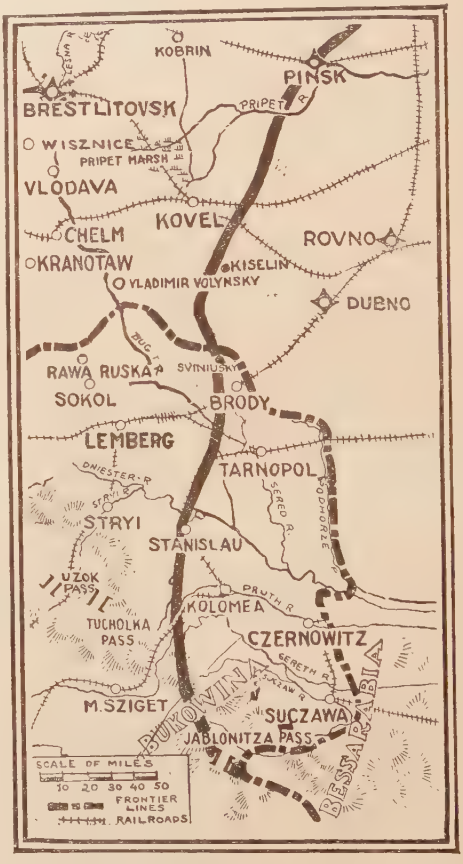
3. Northwest of Kovel, on the middle Stokhod.

These battles, which began in the third week of September, lasted weeks—yet the situation remained the same. In Volhynia and in East Galicia the Russians were on the offensive; on the Stokhod the Teuton armies attacked.

From the south, in the region of Lutsk, and from the east, across the Stokhod, the Russian offensive was directed from the outset against the Kovel line. This front was to be pierced, first, to gain the important railway line, the intersection of which is Kovel, in order subsequently to win a base for an attack against Lemberg from the northeast. Again and again the attempt to break through was repeated. The Teutonic armies were forced to remain on the defensive for a long time, and their front was bent back, but it proved unbreakable.

Thereupon the Teutons themselves assumed the offensive. They attacked to the northeast of Kovel, on the middle Stokhod. German and Hungarian forces belonging to General von Bernhardi's army, and under the direct command of Lieut. Gen. von Clausius, were hurled against the Russians. In a gallant dash they stormed the strong Stokhod bridgehead at Zarecza and threw the Russians back upon the east bank of the river.

From Halicz the way to Lemberg was to be hewn clear for the Russians from the southeast. The Muscovites advanced from the Halicz-Brzezany line along both



RUSSIAN FRONT IN VOLHYNIA

banks of the Narajowska, a tributary of the Gnila Lipa, in the region north of Stanislau, and on the first day of the battle made some gains. On the second day began the counterattack of the Teutons, under the lead of the Württemberg General, von Gerok. They wrested from the Russians what had been lost on the previous day, and then threw them out of their own positions.

This victory removed the pressure against Halicz. It removed, for the present at least, the danger of the Russians capturing the Halicz-Lemberg line and the menace to the Galician capital itself. After the Russian advance against

Lemberg via Halicz had come to a standstill, the goal was to be reached by starting the offensive from Brody. The Russians attempted to advance on the road from Brody to Krasne, but the movement collapsed.

A murderous battle has been raging for weeks, day and night, in Volhynia. The Russians are bent upon forcing the "break-through" to Vladimir Volynsky. Again and again the "numbers," which are the ally in the east, as time is the ally in the west, are put into play. Again and again masses of troops are thrown into the curtain of fire; bullets whip them out of the trenches when they hesitate to fling themselves into certain death. The region west of Lutsk, where the Russians attack ceaselessly, resembles at once hell and a huge graveyard.

On the twenty-kilometer front from Pustomity to Zaturcy rages the gigantic battle, through days and through nights. To the north the fighting extends as far as Kiselin. The Siberian Fourth Army Corps, decisively defeated at Korytnica, drops out of the line. Russian corps attack twelve times at Szelwow; the two Russian Guard Corps are hurled into battle seventeen successive times against the enemy's machine-gun front at Swinjuchi. The guard is decimated, refilled, and again mowed down. "Break through!" is the word. The mountains of corpses tower higher and higher—the attackers fail to break through. Through rivers of blood the attackers here and there wade toward a momentary local success. And each time the tide of the storming masses flows back. The Teuton lines, under the chief command of the Hungarian General Tersztyansky and the leadership of the group under Cavalry General von der Marwitz and Lieut. Gen. Schmidt von Knobelsdorf, stand like walls.

[American View]

The Month's Military Developments

From September 15 to October 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE month opened with great activity in many quarters. On the western front the battle of the Somme was in full swing; in the east Russia was resuming her drive toward Lemberg; Rumania, the new belligerent, was overrunning Transylvania, even though pressed in Dobrudja; the guns of Sarrail were beginning to boom along the Saloniki front; Italy, relaxing somewhat after the capture of the Gorizia bridgehead, was still conducting more or less spasmodic operations. But the month's end has brought almost a suspension of activity. There is no sustained effort, merely spasmodic pushes which soon lapse and die out.

The period was ushered in by the most pretentious effort the British and French have yet made since the battle of the Somme began. The object was the village of Combles, the most important point that remained in German hands between the Allies' lines and Bapaume. The French had previously pushed their lines well to the east of the village, and when the British, north of the town, advanced to a point even with the French lines Combles was caught in a pocket two miles deep and only a mile across the mouth. The closing of the pocket after this point was reached was but a matter of hours. The next day, Sept. 6, saw the entire Combles position in the Allies' hands.

The fighting about Combles was still in progress when, on the 27th, the British with unexpected suddenness cut across the gap which separated their lines north of Thiepval and enveloped that town. This was, if anything, a more important operation than the capture of the Combles position. Thiepval was the most strongly defended position in this entire

salient. It threw the British back in their first great attack early in July, and was a stumbling block in every succeeding effort of the Somme battle. Its capture was due entirely to a surprise attack made in the midst of the fighting in another sector miles away.

Germans Slow to React

The most noticeable thing in all this fighting was the slowness of the Germans to react. Several days elapsed before a counterstroke was attempted. And even when it did come it was conspicuously lacking in the dash which has characterized similar movements. It is as if for the time being the Germans were thoroughly shaken by their inability to hold their positions, and were going into action doubtful of the result. All doubt was removed, however, by the British and French, who clung tenaciously to every foot of the ground they had gained.

Ten days later, another push established the British lines beyond Le Sars—another gain of a mile toward Bapaume. The next attempt was made south of the Somme, this time by the French alone. It was directed against Chaulnes and succeeded in wiping out the salient between the Chaulnes Woods and Hill 91 and in drawing a straight line between these two points. The sequence of the allied attacks, each one of which resulted in a material gain of ground, is worthy of note:

Sept. 17—Berny and Vermandovillers taken.
Sept. 26-27—Combles and Thiepval taken.
Oct. 7—Le Sars taken.
Oct. 11—Bovent taken.

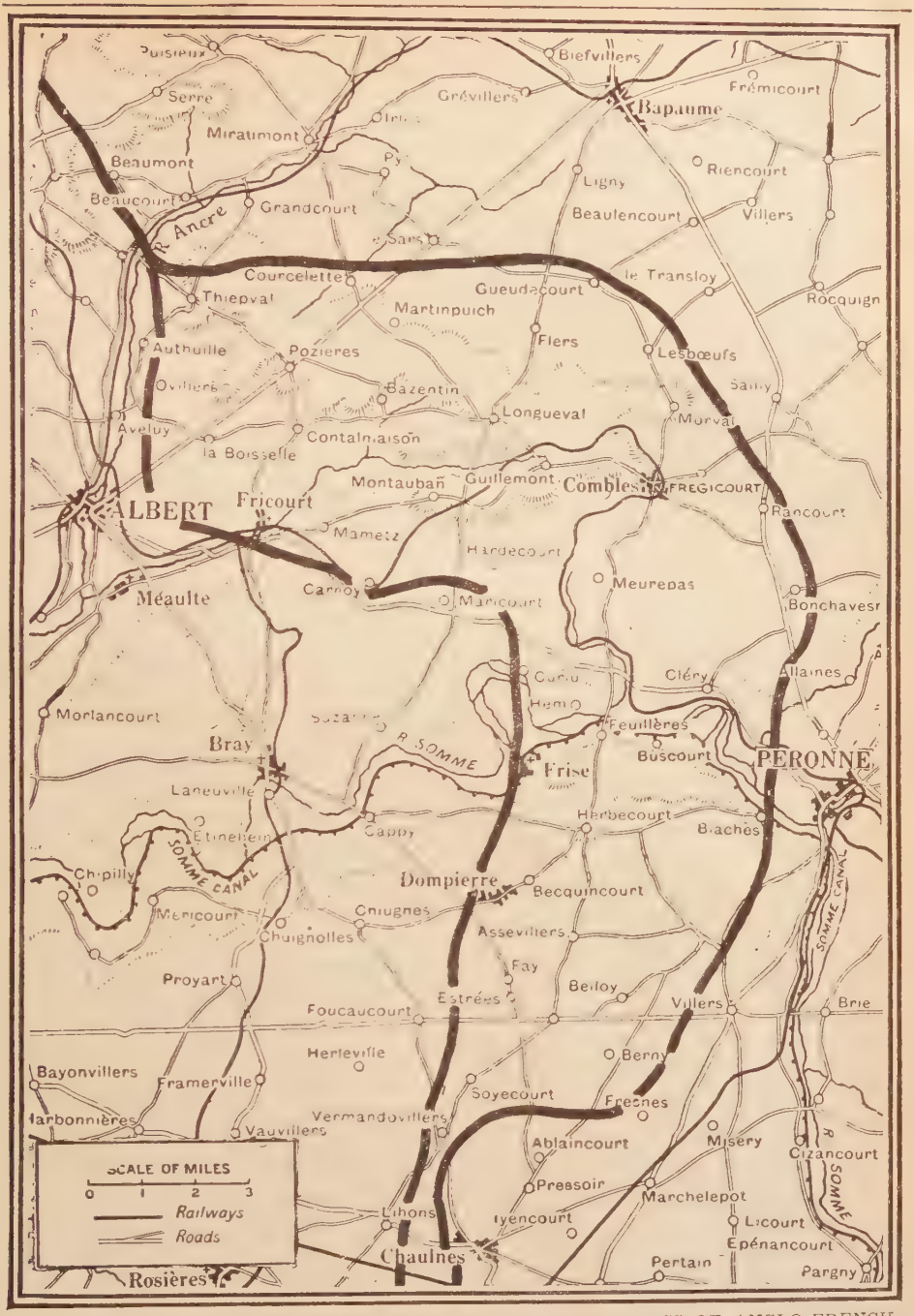
It may be seen that there have been four attacks made, one by the British alone, two by the French alone, and one combined attack. Between the three major attacks (that of Oct. 11 being a minor move over a narrow front) there was an interval of ten days. In other words, it takes ten days' preparation before an attack; ten days of shell accumulation, consolidation of newly acquired territory; ten days of beating off counterattacks.

The value of the attacks on the Somme cannot be measured alone by the actual territory regained. The measure of value must be the relative amount of permanent damage done by the Allies compared to the damage which they themselves suffer.

First, there is the question of losses in men. For a period of two years, the German casualty lists show the relation between the number of prisoners and the total casualties to be as 1 to 7. The Allies have reported over 70,000 prisoners taken since July 1. This figure is undoubtedly correct. The one thing the Allies cannot afford to do—largely because if they did they would be caught at it—is to misstate this feature of the fighting. If this relation of 1 to 7 holds in the Somme fighting, the minimum German losses have been at least 500,000 men. As a matter of fact the total is probably greater. Never before have the Germans had to fight as they do now. The intensity of artillery fire, which they themselves admit is unprecedented, has been shown literally to blot out of existence everything in its path.

Allies' Losses, 500,000

Now, as to the losses of the Allies in this series of attacks, we have Germany's official estimate of 500,000. This is probably not far out of the way, as the Allies have saved lives at the expense of shell. The thoroughness of the artillery preparation is shown by the fact that when the infantry goes forward it is seldom halted until it has penetrated the German positions to a depth of a mile or more. The British, whose reports of casualties are generally accepted as exact, report a total of approximately 320,000, and it must be realized that the British have had the hardest fighting to do. This is another reason for accepting the German estimate. It is true that one German authority advanced the theory, two or three days after the above estimate of 500,000 was given out, that the Allies' losses were well over 1,000,000. This is, however, too absurd to be taken seriously. It is undoubtedly meant for local consumption, and the author evidently forgets Verdun. If the Allies' loss in three months on the Somme reaches this enormous total, what was the German loss at Verdun in six months, the difference in tactics being considered? Ob-



MAP OF BATTLE OF THE SOMME, SHOWING TOTAL PROGRESS OF ANGLO-FRENCH OFFENSIVE UP TO OCTOBER 15, 1916

viously nearly two million, and, equally obvious, absurd.

In its final analysis, then, the losses of both sides have been approximately equal. Here we have the meat of the whole thing. Germany cannot stand this exchange of man for man because she is outnumbered several to one. She must

exact at least three to one on this front before she can be considered to have broken even.

The question of territory, too, deserves consideration, although, as we have seen so often in this war, the occupation of territory of itself has but little influence. The situation of Germany in France is not unlike a flagpole held erect by means of guy ropes. A rat, gnawing these ropes, cutting them apart, fibre by fibre, would eventually reach the point where one absolutely essential strand was cut. The pole would then fall. The German resistance is upheld by lines of communication and supply, consisting of the railroads and highways of France. As the Allies gnaw into the German position one road after the other will be cut, and the Germans will be forced to retire. There is no alternative. The Germans must halt the Allies' advance or they must move back toward the Rhine.

Reverses of Rumania

In Transylvania, the Germans have experienced the first taste of success they have had in many months. In the first days of Rumanian intervention the greater part of the army broke through the Transylvanian passes in an ill-advised attempt to stretch their line from Orsova to the southern tip of Bukowina. The Teutonic allies countered with the invasion of Dobrudja, the object of which was to take the great bridge at Cernavoda, the only crossing of the Danube east of Belgrade, and thereby pave the way for an invasion of Rumania from the east. The arrival of Russian reinforcements brought this movement to a dead halt. Attention was then turned to Transylvania, where the Rumanians had succeeded in establishing an interrupted line, about thirty miles from the frontier.

The first effort was a raid against the Rumanian line of communications through Red Tower Pass, south of Hermannstadt. This raid was completely successful, and the Rumanians were forced to retire from Hermannstadt to the frontier. The Germans then began a terrific frontal attack along the whole line and forced the Rumanians back almost to their own border, where the German advance was checked.

The Russians had previously undertaken a terrific drive at Lemberg, directed from Brody, Bozezany, and Halicz. The Rumanian defeat forced the abandonment of this move and the diversion of the Russians to the Transylvanian theatre. The situation created by the German success evidently produced a panic throughout Rumania and provoked King Ferdinand into giving an interview to the press which laid bare his fear that Rumania was about to suffer the fate of Belgium and Serbia. The Allies, however, appreciate thoroughly the strategic importance of Rumania's position and seem to have shown that Ferdinand's fears were groundless.

Italy in the Carso

On the Italian front we have seen a renewal of the offensive against the Carso Plateau. Striking hard at the western edge of this calcareous tableland on a front reaching from Lake Doberdo to the Vipacco River, the Italians have firmly established themselves on the western tip of the plateau. About 8,000 prisoners have been taken and the Italians seem to be pressing their success to the limit, although it has not yet developed to the point where it assumes importance.

On the Saloniki front, Sarrail's main force is ominously quiet. There is considerable activity at the two flanks, one in the Monastir section, the other along the Struma, but between these two widely separated areas no fighting has occurred. The Serbs have consistently forced the Bulgars back, reaching a line almost due east and west through the railroad station at Kevali, about eight miles south of Monastir. The British operating along the Struma have crossed the river and at one point have cut the important railroad line from Drama to Demihissar. These movements, however, cannot as yet be considered as primary operations; on the contrary, they seem essentially secondary. But the season is getting late and with the approach of Winter fighting in the mountains must slow up if it does not cease altogether. It is beginning to be doubtful, therefore, if we shall see an advance from Saloniki before the Spring.

Submarine Warfare Off the American Coast

THE most sensational naval development of the month just past was the act of Germany in carrying submarine warfare to the American side of the Atlantic. The event has created new problems for the American Government and furnished the Chancelleries of belligerents and neutrals alike with new themes of controversy.

In the afternoon of Oct. 7 a German war submarine of the largest type, the U-53, rose out of the sea at Newport, R. I., lay in the harbor there for three hours, dispatched a letter to the German Ambassador at Washington, and entertained visitors on its spotless decks. The commander, Lieut. Captain Hans Rose, with his crew of thirty-three men, stated that the U-53 was seventeen days out of Wilhelmshaven, and that they had food, water, and all supplies for a cruise of three months. The vessel was one of the monster U-50 group that had devastated allied shipping in the Mediterranean a year ago, being 213 feet long and carrying four torpedo tubes besides two deck guns. The U-53 is the first European war submarine to enter a United States port, and the first underseas naval craft to cross the Atlantic without a convoy or a supply ship. The Deutschland, which reached Baltimore on July 9, was a merchant submarine. The American flotilla that went from San Francisco to Honolulu in 1915, and the British flotilla that sailed from the St. Lawrence to Gibraltar a year ago were both under convoy. The U-51 and sister submarines that voyaged from the Weser to the Dardanelles in May and June, 1915, had supply ships. The sinister visitor at Newport, so far as known, operated without any external base of supplies.

After paying formal visits to Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight, Commandant of the Second United States Naval District, and Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, commanding the American destroyer flotilla at Newport, Captain Rose departed with his vessel at sunset without disclosing his purpose or destination.

The next day, Sunday, Oct. 8, the world was startled by the news that the U-53 was sinking British and neutral vessels near Nantucket Shoals lightship, a hundred miles from Newport, and leaving the crews and passengers in small boats on the open sea. The underseas craft had stationed itself in the steamer lane where nearly all incoming and outgoing vessels from New York must pass, and its day's work consisted in sending five ships to the bottom, as follows:

The Strathdene, a British freighter, bound from New York to Bordeaux, torpedoed and sunk. Crew taken aboard the Nantucket Shoals Lightship and later removed to Newport by American torpedo boat destroyers.

The West Point, a British freighter, bound from London to Newport News. Torpedoed after the crew had taken to small boats in obedience to a warning shot from the submarine. Officers and men picked up by a destroyer.

The Stephano, a British passenger liner plying regularly between New York and Halifax, intercepted on the southward trip and sunk by opening the sea valves after the passengers and crew had been set adrift in small boats. These were rescued later by the destroyer Balch.

The Blommersdijk, a Dutch freighter, bound from New York to Rotterdam, sunk south of Nantucket; crew taken aboard a destroyer.

The Christian Knudsen, Norwegian freighter, bound from New York to London; met the same fate as the Blommersdijk.

The German raider also stopped the American steamer Kansan, but allowed it to proceed after being convinced of its American ownership.

The fact that the 216 human victims of this sea raid were saved, apparently without the loss of a single life, was due largely to the promptness with which Admiral Knight dispatched the Newport destroyer flotilla to the rescue. An hour after the first wireless distress signal told what was happening, seventeen naval greyhounds were racing to the scene of operations. The Navy Department also placed its entire wireless department at the disposal of Admiral Knight, and all commercial messages were stopped to give a clear field to distress calls from attacked vessels.

Destruction of the Red Cross liner Stephano was the heaviest blow dealt by the raider, and also the one most productive of legal issues. Setting adrift 164 people forty-two miles from land is regarded by Entente critics as a violation of the German promise to take due precautions against the imperiling of the lives of noncombatants. Captain Clifton Smith's account of the episode may be given here as typical of the German procedure:

We were about three miles east of the Nantucket Lightship and about 42 miles from the mainland when I first saw the submarine. This was at 5:55 P. M. I was on the bridge. The weather was somewhat hazy and it was a little dark, but I could make her out plainly. She was about half a mile away, and was lying next a fairly large ship, which was apparently a supply ship.

She fired a shot across our bows and I slowed down. There were four such shots fired by her altogether, about two minutes apart. None of them hit us. There were two American destroyers near by about this time. I ordered the boats lowered, and prepared to abandon the ship. There were 97 passengers and 67 crew, and we used six out of eight boats. While we were doing this the submarine went under the lee of the Stephano. I could not see much of her, but could tell by her lights that she was going along by the side of the ship.

When we were in the boats it was dark, but we saw the submarine leave the Stephano and go off about a mile and a half and sink a freighter. We could not make out what vessel it was or whether her crew left, but we saw her sink.

Then the submarine returned to the Stephano. She fired thirty shots into the hull of the vessel, but they apparently did little harm. They did not even put the dynamo out of commission, and the vessel remained fully lighted. Then the submarine drew off and fired one torpedo. The Stephano went down in seven minutes after being hit. We were later picked up by the destroyer.

An immediate result of the episode was the suspension of many sailings, amounting to a temporary blockade of American ports; but as the intruder disappeared as swiftly as it had come, trade soon resumed its normal course. Up to the present writing the American Government has acted on the theory that the U-53 did not violate either international law or the German promises made to the United States regarding the conduct of submarine warfare. There is some resentment manifest, however, in England, as voiced by the press and by members of Parliament. Early in the war the United States Government intimated to Great Britain that there was some annoyance over the patrol by British war vessels just outside the three-mile limit, in the vicinity of our chief ports. After several protests the British method of patrol was modified. The statement that the United States destroyers stood by while the German U-boat was engaged in sinking a passenger liner, and made no protest, is therefore resented in England. It is intimated that Great Britain will eventually present claims for damages inflicted by the U-53 against our Government because she was not detained at Newport.

It was announced just after the U-53 episode that Norway had notified the Allies that no German submarines would be permitted in Norwegian waters without internment, but on Oct. 19 this was officially denied by Norway, the Government maintaining that there will be no prohibition against U-boats, and that merchant U-boats will have the status of merchant ships. Holland, on the other hand, will intern any submarines that enter her waters. The whole matter of the status of submarines in neutral ports is under discussion and in process of formulation.

Is the Deutschland a Merchant Ship?

By Rear Admiral Degouy
Of the French Navy

[Translated from La Revue des Deux Mondes for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

ON July 7 telegrams announced to the whole world that a big submarine, the Deutschland, had just arrived at Norfolk, Va., claiming to be a merchant ship. * * * The difficulties overcome by the Deutschland appeared to be great; all the greater the merits of the submarine and of its crew—an excel-

MAP SHOWING CHANGE OF GERMAN FORTUNES IN FRANCE

Graphic Exhibit of Germany's Furthest Reach Before the Marne Battle, Her Present Front, and the Next Strong Defense Line to Which She May Have to Retire.

(Drawing © Mid-Week Pictorial, New York Times.)

TYPES OF BRITISH SOLDIERS ON THE PICARDY FRONT

A Listening Patrol Leaving the Trench for Dangerous Service in the Shell-Shattered Strip of Ground Between the Lines

(Photo from Medem Service.)

lent moral effect, to the profit of Germany.

The United States faced a novel and delicate problem: Was the Deutschland really a merchant ship? Was she not rather a disguised warship, and even, from an absolute point of view, could a submarine ever be regarded as anything else than an engine of war?

It is known that the Washington Cabinet decided that the Deutschland was really a merchant ship, since neither weapons nor emplacements for them were found on her. * * *

Perhaps the Entente Powers had counted on an attitude less inspired by the desire to keep on good terms with both sides; but they do not seem to have made decisive efforts to press their views, which were intended to establish the point that a submarine cannot be, and is not, anything but a warship. Let us examine this contention.

To begin with, it is evident that the carrying of a cargo is not enough to make any vessel a merchant ship. Nothing would prevent a cruiser from taking on board goods of high value filling a small space. The cruiser would be none the less a war vessel. Yes, but would she cease to be one, and could she enter a neutral port to remain there more than twenty-four hours, if she proved that her guns had been disembarked? Perhaps; but the port authorities would not require very strong evidence to make them believe that her guns had simply been put away, on board another ship lying out at sea, all ready, on signal, to rejoin the pseudo-merchant vessel and restore them as soon as she had left territorial waters.

Now, if this operation is not at all impossible, applied to guns of moderate calibre, it would evidently be even easier to restore automobile torpedoes to a submarine. Our American friends would surely grant this, if the question were put to them. They believe they have settled the difficulty by proving that the Deutschland had no torpedo tubes. Unfortunately, this guarantee is a delusion, for the good reason that the German submarine might be armed with torpedoes inclosed in simple skeleton tubes which could easily be fixed to the deck by means prepared in advance.

To these automobile torpedoes it would be quite a simple matter to add automatic mines. These could be placed on the deck, out of the axis of the torpedo tubes. Or they might be taken aboard like simple packing cases and lowered into the hold through scuttles. They could easily be thrown overboard at favorable points, since they would probably be floating mines.

There remains the question of guns. I admit that it would not be easy to install these aboard a submarine on the open sea, and that, in any case, the necessary preparations could not have escaped the scrutiny of competent examiners. But the fact seems to be that the Deutschland already mounts, and quite openly, two light guns, of 57 millimeters (2¼ inches) according to some, of 76 millimeters (3 inches) according to others. But the Captain affirms that they are only "for defense" against armed merchant ships, and—why not?—against English or French submarines, such guns as are allowed by the new jurisprudence of the United States to the most consistently pacific steamship or sailing ship of commerce. One could not, without crying injustice, refuse to the innocent submarine the privilege granted to the ships of the Allies. Agreed. But, unfortunately, nothing so resembles a gun "for attack" as a gun "for defense"!

Perish the thought! cried the pro-Germans; the Deutschland carries only blank cartridges. She wishes only to fire signals of alarm, in case of imminent peril! So be it, but—even supposing that there are no shells hidden in a double bottom, a convoy ship supplying torpedo tubes would not have the slightest difficulty in supplying the necessary munitions for guns.

Now, let us note this well, for it touches the root of the matter: Once they are placed aboard a submarine—essentially an engine of surprise, which can emerge within a few yards of a liner taken at short range—these light guns are much more dangerous and have a much greater offensive power than if they were mounted on a surface ship.

The latter can be seen approaching at a great distance, and precautions can be taken at leisure against an eventual attack. And nothing shows better how great an error is committed, no doubt in good faith, by those who consent to accept the Deutschland as an ordinary merchant ship.

But I go further and affirm that the submarine, even if she had been absolutely devoid of weapons, might still have the offensive character which is the essential mark of the military instrument. For this it would be sufficient to have supplied her with a reinforced bow, backed by a shock compartment well supplied with bulkheads. This submersible, which suddenly emerges, as I said a moment ago, at a few yards distance from a liner—what prevents her ramming the thin-skinned hull and ripping it up below the water line? Oh, this would be quite accidental, of course, and due to poor steering, or to the whim of an engine that would not back in time. But meanwhile the hapless liner would go to the bottom, with the Allies' munitions or other useful cargo, which had come under the notice of the submarine's commander while in American ports.

I insist again, and I beg that it shall not be forgotten, in all discussions as to applying to a submarine the rules of international maritime law: By its very character a submersible is always "in itself" an engine of offense, which can be instantly used as a warship. Therefore it should be so considered.

Official Correspondence as to Barring Submarines From Our Ports

FOLLOWING is the text of a joint memorandum sent to neutral nations last August by the Entente Powers, apropos of the Deutschland episode, urging the exclusion of all submarine vessels of belligerent nations from neutral waters:

In view of the development of submarine navigation and by reason of acts which in the present circumstances may be unfortunately expected from enemy submarines, the allied Governments consider it necessary, in order not only to safeguard their belligerent rights and liberty of commercial navigation, but to avoid risks of dispute, to urge neutral Governments to take effective measures, if they have not already done so, with a view to preventing belligerent submarine vessels, whatever the purpose to which they are put, from making use of neutral waters, roadsteads, and ports.

In the case of submarine vessels, the application of the principles of the law of nations is affected by special and novel conditions: First, by the fact that these vessels can navigate and remain at sea submerged, and can thus escape all control and observation; second, by the fact that it is impossible to identify them and establish their national character, whether neutral or belligerent, combatant or noncombatant, and to remove the capacity for harm inherent in the nature of such vessels.

It may further be said that any place which provides a submarine warship far from its base with an opportunity for rest and replenishment of its supplies thereby furnishes such addition to its powers that the place becomes in fact, through the advantages which it gives, a base of naval operations.

In view of the state of affairs thus existing, the allied Governments are of the opinion that submarine vessels should be excluded from the benefit of the rules hitherto recognized by the law of nations regarding the admission of vessels of war or merchant vessels into neutral waters, roadsteads, or ports, and their sojourn in them. Any belligerent submarine entering a neutral port should be detained there.

The allied Governments take this opportunity to point out to the neutral powers the grave danger incurred by neutral submarines in the navigation of regions frequented by belligerent submarines.

Reply of the United States

The full text of Secretary Lansing's reply to the foregoing is given below. It is a refusal, with reasons therefor:

Washington, Aug. 31, 1916.

The Government of the United States has received the identic memoranda of the Governments of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan in which neutral Governments are exhorted "to take efficacious measures tending to prevent belligerent submarines, regardless of their use, to avail themselves of neutral waters, roadsteads, and harbors."

These Governments point out the facility possessed by such craft to avoid supervision or surveillance or determination of their national character and their power "to do injury that is inherent in their very nature" as well as the "additional facilities" afforded by having at their disposal places where they can rest and replenish their supplies. Apparently on these grounds the allied Governments hold that "submarine vessels must be excluded from the benefit of the rules heretofore accepted under international law regarding the admission and sojourn of war and merchant vessels in neutral waters, roadsteads, or harbors; any submarine of a belligerent that once enters a neutral harbor must be held there," and therefore the allied Governments "warn neutral powers of the great danger to neutral submarines attending the navigation of waters visited by the submarines of belligerents."

In reply the Government of the United States must express its surprise that there appears to be an endeavor of the allied powers to determine the rule of action governing what they regard as a "novel situation" in respect to the use of submarines in time of war, and to enforce a compliance of that rule, at least in part, by warning neutral powers of the great danger to their submarines in waters that may be visited by belligerent submarines. In the opinion of the Government of the United States, the allied powers have not set forth any circumstance, nor is the Government of the United States at present aware of any circumstances, concerning the use of war or merchant submarines which would render the existing rules of international law inapplicable to them. In view of this fact and of the notice and warning of the allied powers announced in their memoranda under acknowledgment, it is incumbent upon the Government of the United States to notify the Governments of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan that, so far as the treatment of either war or merchant submarines in American waters is concerned, the Government of the United States reserves its liberty of action in all respects, and will treat such vessels as, in its opinion, becomes the action of a power which may be said to have taken the first steps toward establishing the principles of neutrality and which for over a century has maintained those principles in the traditional spirit and with the high sense of impartiality in which they were conceived.

In order, however, that there should be no misunderstanding as to the attitude of the United States, the Government of the United States announces to the allied powers that it holds it to be the duty of belligerent powers to distinguish between submarines of neutral and belligerent nationality, and that responsibility for any conflict that may arise between belligerent warships and neutral submarines on account of the neglect of a belligerent to so distinguish between these classes of submarines must rest entirely upon the negligent power. LANSING.

Seizure of Neutral Mails at Sea—Anglo-French Reply to Our Protests

Following is the full text of the latest memorandum of Great Britain and France in defense of their practice of seizing and censoring all transatlantic mails, including those from neutral nations to neutral nations. It is a reply to the note of May 24, 1916, in which the United States protested against certain definite infringements of neutral rights by the Allied Powers. [*That note was published in* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *for July.*] *In the present communication the Allies refuse to concede any of the points in question, thus leaving the matter is as unsatisfactory a state as before.*

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

British Embassy, Washington,
Oct. 12, 1916.

SIR: In comformity with instructions received from Viscount Grey of Fallodon, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of the memorandum, agreed upon by his Majesty's Government and the French Government, embodying the joint reply of the Allies to your note of May 24 regarding the examination of the mails.

1. By a letter of May 24 last the Secretary of State of the United States was pleased to give the views of the American Government on the memorandum of the allied Governments concerning mails found on merchant ships on the high seas.

2. The allied Governments have found that their views agreed with those of the Government of the United States in regard to the postal union convention, which is recognized on both sides to be foreign to the questions now under consideration; post parcels, respectively, recognized as being under the common rule of merchandise subject to the exercise of belligerent rights, as provided by international law; the inspection of private mails to the end of ascertaining whether they do not contain contraband goods, and, if carried on an enemy ship, whether they do not contain enemy property. It is clear

that that inspection, which necessarily implies the opening of covers so as to verify the contents, could not be carried on board without being attended with great confusion, causing serious delay to the mails, passengers, and cargoes, and without causing for the letters in transit errors, losses, or at least great risk of miscarriage.

That is the reason why the Allies had mail bags landed and sent to centres provided with the necessary force and equipment for prompt and regular handling. In all this the allied Governments had no other object in view than to limit, as far as possible, the inconveniences that might result for innocent mails and neutral vessels from the legitimate exercise of their belligerent rights in respect to hostile correspondence.

3. The Government of the United States acknowledges it agrees with the allied Governments as to principles, but expresses certain divergent views and certain criticisms as to the methods observed by the Allies in applying these principles.

Differences of Views

4. These divergencies of views and criticisms are as follows:

5. In the first place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice of the allied Governments is said to be contrary to their own declaration in that, while declaring themselves unwilling to seize and confiscate genuine mails on the high seas, they would obtain the same result by sending, with or without their consent, neutral vessels to allied ports, there to effect the seizure and confiscations above referred to and thus exercise over those vessels a more extensive belligerent right than that which is theirs on the high seas.

According to the Government of the United States there should be, in point of law, no distinction to be made between seizure of mails on the high seas, which the Allies have declared they will not apply for the present, and the same seizures practiced on board ships that are, whether willingly or not, in an allied port.

6. On this first point and as regards vessels summoned on the high seas and compelled to make for an allied port, the allied Governments have the honor to advise the Government of the United States that they have never subjected mails to a different treatment, according as they were found on a neutral vessel on the high seas or on neutral vessels compelled to proceed to an allied port. They have always acknowledged that visits made in the port after a forced change of course must in this respect be on the same footing as a visit on the high seas, and the criticism formulated by the Government of the United States does not, therefore, seem warranted.

7. As to the ships which of their own accord call at allied ports, it is important to point out that in this case they are really "voluntarily" making the call. In calling at an allied port the master acts, not on any order from the allied authorities, but solely carries out the instructions of the owner; neither are those instructions forced upon the said owner. In consideration of certain advantages derived from the call at an allied port, of which he is at full liberty to enjoy or refuse the benefits, the owner instructs his Captain to call at this or that port. He does not, in truth, undergo any constraint.

In point of law the allied Governments think it a rule generally accepted, particularly in the United States, (U. S. vs. Dickleman, U. S. Supreme Court, 1,875; 92 U. S. Rep. 520; Scott's cases, 264,) that merchant ships which enter a foreign port thereby place themselves under the laws in force in that port, whether in time of war or of peace, and when martial law is in force in that port. It is, therefore, legitimate in the case of a neutral merchant ship entering an allied port for the authorities of the allied Governments to make sure that the vessel carries nothing inimical to their national defense before granting its clearance.

It may be added that the practice of the Germans to make improper use of neutral mails and forward hostile correspondence, even official communications dealing with hostilities, under cover of apparently unoffensive envelopes, mailed by neutrals to neutrals, made it necessary to examine mails from or to countries neighboring Germany under the same conditions as mails from or to Germany itself; but as a matter of course mails from neutrals to neutrals that do not cover such improper uses have nothing to fear.

As to The Hague Rules

8. In the second place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice now followed by the allied Governments is contrary to the rule of Convention XI. of The Hague, 1907, which they declare their willingness to apply, and would, besides, constitute a violation of the practice heretofore followed by nations.

9. In regard to the value to be attached to the Eleventh Convention of The Hague, 1907, it may first of all be observed that it only refers to mails found at sea and that it is entirely foreign to postal correspondence found on board ships in ports. In the second place, from the standpoint of the peculiar circumstances of the present war, the Government of the United States is aware that that convention, as stated in the memorandum of the Allies, has not been signed or ratified by six of the belligerent powers, (Bulgaria, Italy, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, and Turkey;) that for that very reason Germany availed itself of Article IX. of the Convention and denied, so far as it was concerned, the obligatory character in these stipulations, and that for these several reasons the convention possesses in truth but rather doubtful validity in law. In spite of it all, the allied Governments are guided in the case of mails found on board

ships in ports by the intentions expressly manifested in the conferences of The Hague, sanctioned in the preamble to Convention XI., and tending to protect pacific and innocent commerce only. Mails possessing that character are forwarded as quickly as circumstances permit.

In regard to mails found on vessels at sea, the allied Governments have not for the present refused to observe the terms of the convention reasonably interpreted, but they have not admitted and can not admit that there is therein a provision legally binding them, from which they could not possibly depart. The allied Governments expressly reserve to themselves the right to do so in case enemy abuses and frauds, dissimulations, and deceits should make such a measure necessary.

10. As for the practice previously followed by the powers in the time of former wars, no general rule can easily be seen therein prohibiting the belligerents from exercising on the open seas as to postal correspondence the right of supervision, surveillance, visitation, and, the case arising, seizure and confiscation, which international law confers upon them in the matter of any freight outside of the territorial waters and jurisdiction of the neutral powers.

11. On the high seas, under international law, it is for the belligerents to seek and prevent transportation or other acts by which neutral vessels may lend their co-operation and assistance to hostile operations of the enemy. Now, as long as has been observed, (among others, Lord Stowell in The Atlanta, 6 Robinson, 440, 1, English Prize cases, 607; Scott's cases, 780,) a few lines of a letter delivered to an enemy may be as useful as or even more useful than a cargo of arms and ammunition to promote his war operations. The assistance rendered in such cases by the vessel carrying such a letter is as dangerous for the other belligerent as the assistance resulting from the transportation of military cargoes.

As a matter of fact, experience has, in the course of the present war, demonstrated the truth of this remark. Hostile acts, which had been projected in mails, have failed. Dangerous plots, from which even neutral countries are not safe at the hands of the enemy, were discovered in the mails and baffled. Finally, the addressees of certain letters, which the Allies had seen fit to respect, have evidenced a satisfaction, the hostile character of which removed every doubt as to the significance of those letters.

12. The report adopted by the conference of The Hague in support of Convention XI. leaves little doubt as to the former practice in the matter. The seizure, opening the bags, examination, confiscation, if need be, in all cases delay or even loss, are the fate usually awaiting mail bags carried by sea in time of war. (Second Peace Conference Acts and Documents, Vol. 1, p. 226.)

13. The American note of May 24, 1916, invokes the practice followed by the United States during the Mexican and civil wars; the practice followed by France in 1870; by the United States in 1898; by Great Britain in the South African war; by Japan and Russia in 1904, and now by Germany.

14. As regards the proceedings of the German Empire toward postal correspondence during the present war, the allied Governments have informed the Government of the United States of the names of some of the mail steamers whose mail bags have been, not examined, to be sure, but purely and simply destroyed at sea by the German naval authorities. Other names could very easily be added. The very recent case of the mail steamer Hudikswall, (Swedish,) carrying 670 mail bags, may be cited.

15. The allied Governments do not think that the criminal habit of sinking ships, passengers, and cargoes, or abandoning on the high seas the survivors of such calamities, is, in the eyes of the Government of the United States, any justification for the destruction of the mail bags on board, and they do not deem it to the purpose to make a comparison between these destructive German proceedings and the acts of the Allies in supervising and examining enemy correspondence.

16. As to the practice of Russia and of Japan, it may be permitted to doubt that it was at variance with the method of the allied Governments in the present war.

17. The Imperial Russian decree of May 13-25, 1877, for the exercise of the right of visit and capture, provides (Paragraph 7): "The following acts, which are forbidden to neutrals, are assimilated to contraband of war: The carrying of dispatches and correspondence of the enemy." The Russian Imperial decree of Sept. 14, 1904, reproduces the same provision. The procedure followed in regard to the mail steamers and the prize decision bear witness that public or private mails found on board neutral vessels were examined, landed, and, when occasion arose, seized.

18. Thus, in May and July, 1904, postal correspondence carried on the steamships Osiris (British) and Prinz Heinrich (German) was examined by the Russian cruisers to see whether it contained Japanese correspondence. Thus again, in July, 1904, the steamer Calchas, (British,) captured by Russian cruisers, had sixteen bags of mail, that had been shipped at Tacoma by the postal authorities of the United States, seized on board and landed, and the prize court of Vladivostok examined their contents, which it was recognized it could lawfully do. (Russian prize cases, p. 139.)

19. As regards the practice of Japan, the Japanese rules concerning prizes, dated March 15, 1904, made official enemy correspondence, with certain exceptions, contraband of war. They ordered the examination of mail bags on mail steamers unless there was on board an official of the Post Office, making a declaration in writing and under

oath that the bags contained no contraband; it was even added that no account should be taken of such a declaration if there existed grave suspicions. On the other hand, the Japanese prize court rules acknowledged the power of those courts in the examination of prize cases to examine letters and correspondence found on board neutral vessels. (Takahashi, "International Law Applied to Russo-Japanese War," p. 568.)

French Practice in 1870

20. The French practice during the war of 1870 is found outlined in the naval instructions of July 26, 1870, under which official dispatches were on principle assimilated to contraband, and official or private letters, found on board captured vessels, were to be sent immediately to the Minister of Marine. Subsequently the circumstances of war permitted of the rule in additional instructions, under which, if the vessel to be visited was a mail steamer having on board an official of the Post Office of the Government whose flag she displayed, the visiting officer might be content with that official's declaration regarding the nature of the dispatches.

21. During the South African war the British Government was able to limit its intervention in the forwarding of postal correspondence and mails as far as the circumstances of that war allowed, but it did not cease to exercise its supervision of the mails intended for the enemy.

22. As to the practice followed by the Government of the United States during the American civil war, particularly in the Peterhoff case, cited in the American memorandum of May 24, 1916, the following instructions issued in that case by the Secretary of State of the United States do not seem to apply to anything but the forwarding of correspondence which has been found to be innocent. "I have, therefore, to recommend that in this case, if the District Attorney has any evidence to show the mails are simulated and not genuine, it shall be submitted to the court; if there be no reasonable grounds for that belief, then that they be put on their way to their original destination." (Letter of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, April 15, 1863; VII., Moore's Dig. p. 482.)

23. Finally, as regards the free transit granted to mails by the United States during the Mexican war, one may be allowed to recall the circumstances under which this proceeding was adopted. By a letter, dated May 20, 1846, notified on the following July 10, the commander of the United States cruiser St. Mary announced the blockade of the Port of Tampico. Although that measure authorized, without a doubt, the seizure and confiscation of all correspondence for the blockaded port, the American naval authorities, on learning the circumstances of the case, declared "neutral non-commercial mail packets are free to enter and depart," and it was even added that "Mexican boats engaged exclusively in fishing will be allowed to pursue their labor unmolested." (British State papers, Vol. 35, 1846-47.)

24. It seems difficult to compare the blockade of the port of Tampico in 1846 with the measures taken by the Allies in the course of this war to reduce the economic resistance of the German Empire, or to find in the method then adopted by the United States a precedent which condemns the practice now put in use by the allied Governments.

25. To waive the right to visit mail steamers and mail bags intended for the enemy seemed in the past (Dr. Lushington, "Naval Prize Law," introduction, Page 7) a sacrifice which could hardly be expected of belligerents. The allied Governments have again noted in their preceding memorandum how and why, relying on certain declarations of Germany, they had thought in the course of the Second Peace Conference of 1907 they could afford to waive that right. They have also drawn the attention of the Government of the United States to the fraudulent use Germany hastened to make of this waiver of the previous practices above mentioned.

What Is Postal Correspondence?

26. After pointing to a certain number of specific cases, where American interests happened to be injured from the postal supervision exercised by the British authorities, forming the subject of the special memorandum of the Government of his Majesty, dated July 20, 1916, the Government of the United States was pleased to make known its views as to what is to be and is not to be recognized as not possessing the character of postal correspondence.

27. In this respect the Government of the United States admits that shares, bonds, coupons, and other valuable papers; money orders, checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and other negotiable papers, being the equivalent of money, may, when included in postal shipments, be considered as of the same nature as merchandise and other property, and, therefore, be also subjected to the exercise of belligerent rights.

28. Yet the American memorandum adds that correspondence, including shipping documents, lists of money orders, and documents of this nature, even though referring to shipments to or exports by the enemy, must be treated as mail and pass freely unless they refer to merchandise on the same ship that is liable to capture.

29. As regards shipping documents and commercial correspondence found on neutral vessels, even in an allied port and offering no interest of consequence as affecting the war, the allied Governments have instructed their authorities not to stop them, but to see that they are forwarded with as little delay as possible. Mail matter of that nature must be forwarded to destination as far as practicable on the very ship on which it was found or by a speedier route, as is the case for certain mails inspected in Great Britain.

30. As for the lists of money orders to

which the Government of the United States assigns the character of ordinary mail, the allied Governments deem it their duty to draw the attention of the Government of the United States to the following practical consideration:

31. As a matter of fact, the lists of money orders, mailed from the United States to Germany and Austria-Hungary, correspond to moneys paid in the United States and payable by the German and Austro-Hungarian Post Offices. Those lists acquaint those Post Offices with the sums that have been paid there which in consequence they have to pay to the addressees. In practice, such payment is at the disposal of such addressees and is effected directly to them as soon as those lists arrive and without the requirement of the individual orders having come into the hands of the addressees. These lists are thus really actual money orders, transmitted in lump in favor of several addressees. Nothing, in the opinion of the allied Governments, seems to justify the liberty granted to the enemy country so to receive funds intended to supply by that amount its financial resisting power.

32. The American memorandum sees fit to recall firmly that neutral and belligerent rights are equally sacred and must be strictly respected. The allied Governments, so far as they are concerned, wholly share that view. They are sincerely striving to avoid encroachment by the exercise of their belligerent rights on the legitimate exercise of the rights of innocent neutral commerce, but they hold that it is their belligerent right to exercise on the high seas the supervision granted them by international law to impede any transportation intended to aid their enemy in the conduct of the war and to uphold this resistance. The rights of the United States as a neutral cannot, in our opinion, imply the protection granted by the Federal Government to shipments, invoices, correspondence, or communications in any shape whatever, having an open or concealed hostile character and with a direct or indirect hostile destination, which American private persons can only effect at their own risk and peril. That is the very principle which was expressly stated by the President of the United States in his neutrality proclamation.

33. Furthermore, should any abuses, grave errors, or derelictions, committed by the allied authorities charged with the duty of inspecting mails, be disclosed to the Governments of France and Great Britain, they are now, as they ever were, ready to settle the responsibility therefor in accordance with the principles of law and justice, which it never was, and is not now, their intention to evade. I am, &c.,

CECIL SPRING-RICE.

An Eventful Month in the Balkans

By Charles Johnston

THERE has been a month of fierce fighting in the Balkan Peninsula, on three fronts, the only result of which, at first sight, has been very heavy loss to all belligerents—and practically all the warring nations are represented in this small area—without definite military advantage to either group of the warring powers.

Let us begin with the Dobrudja front: The battle line drawn across the oblong plateau which, standing in the direct path of the Danube's eastward flow to the Black Sea, forces the great river northward for a distance of ninety miles, after which it once more flows to the east, along the Russian frontier. The first announcement here was that the ancient fortress of Turtukai had been taken by German, Turkish, and Bulgarian troops; that 20,000 Rumanians had been captured, and that a strong army of the Central forces was driving northward, shortly afterward capturing Silistria. To this the Rumanians rejoined that the force reported captured was larger than their entire armed force in that region, and that, for military purposes, neither Turtukai nor Silistria had any value.

The first thing that strikes one here is the smallness of the Rumanian force; on their own showing, the Rumanian Staff had less than one division to guard the only piece of territory by which an invading force could easily enter her boundaries; this, coming on the heels of the statement that Rumania had mobilized or would immediately mobilize an army of 800,000, or twenty army corps, was sufficiently extraordinary, and lends color to the published rumor that there had been an understanding between Bulgaria and Rumania that neither should invade the other's territory. Rumania declared war against Austria-Hungary, in an elaborately argued document; Ger-

many replied by declaring war against Rumania; but whether Rumania was also at war with Germany's allies, Bulgaria and Turkey, was left in doubt. It almost seems that Field Marshal von Mackensen, knowing that Rumania thought herself safe on her Bulgarian frontier, had made a surprise attack in this direction, feeling assured that he would find practically no Rumanian forces there.

Two reasons for an attack at this point are obvious: Bulgaria entered the war, in fierce resentment against the clipping of her territories by the Treaty of Bucharest after the second Balkan war in the Summer of 1913, and Kaiser Wilhelm appears to have promised King Ferdinand of Bulgaria that, if the Bulgars joined the Central Powers, the territory then lost to her, perhaps excepting the Adrianople region then retaken by Turkey, would be restored to her with interest. And the region in which Turtukai and Silistria lie was precisely the "Naboth's vineyard" which Rumania had wrested from Bulgaria, by the threat of an attack on Sofia, while Serbia and Greece attacked Bulgaria in Macedonia. The second motive was the capture of the Cherna-Voda bridge over the Danube, the only bridge east of Belgrade, which would have opened the way for an attack direct on Bucharest; with the simultaneous capture of Constanza, where are immense grain elevators and oil reservoirs, both greatly needed by the Central Powers.

Rumania was, in fact, taken by surprise, and only after the army of Mackensen had advanced more than half way from the frontier to the Bucharest-Constanza railroad was any effective bar offered to his progress. Fighting began on a line some fifty miles in length, stretching from the Danube to the Black Sea. Strong reinforcements were hurried up, probably by rail, across the Cherna-Voda bridge, both from Rumania and from Russia. For a few days the result was in doubt; then Mackensen was evidently checked, and was reported to be very hard pressed by his adversaries. The fighting sawed backward and forward without any conclusive result, but, in a month, Mackenson has made no real progress toward his goal—the railroad to Bucharest.

It seems likely that no considerable forces were employed on either side. Mackenson's force gives evidence of being short-handed, with few possible reserves in sight, and with a slender supply of munitions, perhaps of food also; nor, unless a very large Russian force descends from the north, is it clear how the deadlock at this point can be broken.

All the way up the Danube to the Iron Gates at Orsova, a distance of between two and three hundred miles, Bulgaria and Rumania touch frontiers; yet there has been almost no fighting at any point except one, just east of Rustchuk, where the Rumanians built a pontoon bridge, brought a small force across the river, and were almost immediately compelled to withdraw it, with severe losses. This again gives color to the suggestion that there was some kind of understanding between Rumania and Bulgaria; and also seems to show that the forces and resources of both combatants are somewhat sharply limited.

At Orsova and the Iron Gates Rumania made one conspicuous gain, which is likely, if she can maintain it, to be of high importance throughout the whole Near Eastern theatre of war; she established her forces on both sides of the river and, by bringing artillery to bear, closed the Iron Gates of the Danube, thus stopping the export of munitions along the great river to the Turks and Bulgars, and stopping the return stream —somewhat slender, it is true—of food to the Central Empires from the grainfields of Asia Minor.

When we come to that part of the battle line which stretches northward from the Iron Gates to Bukowina, we find exactly the opposite situation. Here it was the Teuton forces that were taken by surprise by Rumania's sudden declaration of war; here Rumanian armies made immediate gains as spectacular and more extensive than those of Mackensen in Dobrudja.

While it seems true that Rumania may have had, when she declared war against Austria-Hungary, some 400,000 men

under arms, with an equal number within easy reach, the whole appearance of the fighting seems to show that the forces which she sent through the passes of the Carpathians and Transylvanian Alps were comparatively small; hardly more than a covering force, designed, first to fix the fighting line beyond Rumania's own territory, thus sparing her the ruin and desolation which have become a part of modern warfare; and, at the same time, serving as an advance guard, behind which much more considerable Rumanian forces could later be built up to meet the counterattack from the Teuton side which was naturally to be expected. Austria-Hungary seems to have been caught completely off her guard; to have had almost no armed forces in Transylvania; no doubt, the few who were there were elderly men, practically of the quality of militia. Austria-Hungary has been losing men far too heavily on the Russian and Italian fronts to make it likely that she would have left any considerable force of good troops in Transylvania, on a line which she evidently thought entirely immune from attack.

So even light Rumanian forces were able to get pretty far forward in the first two or three days, capturing cities which are like Teuton islands in the sea of mixed Magyar, Rumanian, and Slavonic populations. Between Transylvania, which belongs politically to Hungary, and Rumania there are several easy passes; through three of these railroads cross at moderate elevations: the Gyimes, Tomos, and Red Tower Passes; other passes are crossed by good roads. None the less, armies going through in either direction are inevitably cut up into fractions by the hills which separate the passes, and find themselves in mutually inaccessible valleys on the other side. Practically, they cannot act together.

General von Falkenhayn, who seems to have been put at the head of the counterblow against Rumania after his somewhat abrupt dismissal from the post of German Chief of Staff, took full advantage of this inherent weakness in the position of the Rumanian invading armies, and, served by a network of excellent railroads, seems to have directed a series of heavy blows against what we have suggested was the Rumanian advance guard, compelling most, if not all, the Rumanian detachments to fall backward and, at several points, driving them back to, or across, the geographical frontier of Rumania, which runs along the mountain tops, often at elevations of over 5,000 feet. It is clear that Falkenhayn, by this advance, immediately incurs the strategical disadvantage under which Rumania had labored: if he gets through the passes, he thereby cuts up his armies, which may then be attacked in detail from the Rumanian side. Further, while it would seem likely that the rapidity with which he drove in the Rumanian advance guards was due to the concentration upon them of heavy artillery, against which they could make no corresponding reply, having run ahead of their heavy guns; yet, as he climbs up the mountain slopes, Falkenhayn will find it increasingly difficult to bring his heavy artillery effectively to bear. Every mile he advances will make his progress more difficult and at the same time more hazardous.

If he actually gets through the Rumanian wall he will thereby lay himself open to new dangers: separate attacks, served by the admirable system of strategic railroads which Rumania owes to her first Hohenzollern King, and which, intimately linked with the Russian railroad system, could rapidly bring up reinforcements from the depots of Southern Russia. On the other hand, every mile the Rumanians draw backward brings them nearer to their bases of supplies, and so is likely to stiffen their resistance, and to give larger opportunities to their heavier guns.

Another consideration points the same way. We do not know even approximately how large Falkenhayn's force is, but with the enormous and continuing losses of the Teutons on the Russian and Somme fronts, following on the tremendous Teuton losses at Verdun, it seems highly improbable that any considerable force of first-class troops should have been available for the drive against Rumania. If Rumania can continue a resistance equal to that which she has already put up, it

seems very likely that we shall see Falkenhayn's drive exhaust itself, as the Crown Prince's far more formidable drive against Verdun exhausted itself. In the circumstances it seems probable that Rumania may be able to hold her own. If she does no more than this it will be immensely profitable to the Entente Powers, since it means a steady diversion from the main battle fronts of large Teutonic forces, which neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary is in any position to spare.

One is inclined to say that Falkenhayn's drive against Rumania was dictated rather by political than by sound strategical considerations; that its purpose was rather to punish Rumania for defying the Central Empires than to achieve any real military advantage. For, even in the very improbable event of Rumania's being overrun as Serbia was overrun a year ago, this, while impairing the prestige of the Entente cause, would not inflict upon them any considerable military injury, so far as the major operations of the war are concerned, while, at the same time, it would very seriously injure the cause of the Teutonic Empires, by eating up carefully husbanded reserves, whom it is now completely impossible to replace.

While not touching Rumania geographically, the fighting on the Macedonian line before Saloniki has, indirectly, a very important bearing upon Rumania's military problem, in that it immobilizes the bulk of the Bulgarian Army, numbering on this front perhaps 250,000 to 300,000 men, who might, were they free to move, invade Rumania across the Danube. But they are not free to move; if they were withdrawn to the north, the armies of the Entente Powers would instantly follow on their heels, and would, if the movement continued, shortly find themselves in possession of Sofia and of the railroad from Hungary to Constantinople, along which a stream of munitions constantly runs to the armies of the Sultan.

To sum up, whether, for the moment, the Rumanian armies are moving westward or eastward on the Hungarian front, their presence there, and the presence there of Falkenhayn's forces, is a very valuable asset for the powers of the Entente.

The Dangerous Plight of Greece

By the Editor

GREECE, caught in the maelstrom of the European war, has been thrown into a state of political chaos bordering more and more upon tragedy. King Constantine's determination to hold Greece neutral in circumstances where neutrality is impossible has brought him and his people into a plight as painful as war, yet without any of war's satisfactions. His tragic dilemma is indicated in the simple statement that his wife is Kaiser Wilhelm's sister, and that the vast majority of his people, with ex-Premier Venizelos, their idolized leader, are heart and soul with the Entente Powers. Add to this the presence of the British and French armies, invited to Saloniki a year ago to aid Greece's ally, Serbia, with their growing suspicion of King Constantine's German affiliations, and the subsequent course of events is already explained.

The Allies have distrusted Constantine and his Cabinets from the first, and still distrust them, perhaps unjustly; this suspicion explains the high-handed manner in which they have imposed their will upon him, compelled the demobilization of his army, occupied his capital, confiscated his navy.

The Greek people, if we may judge through the voice of Venizelos, have not doubted the sincerity of their ruler; but they have for many months been telling him, with increasing boldness and severity, that his vain attempt at neutrality

was leading them into ruin. This popular note of admonition reached its climax, first in the remarkable manifesto adopted by a mass meeting in Athens, and printed in full at the close of the present article; and later in the deliberate organization of a provisional Government, with Venizelos at its head, for the avowed purpose of carrying Greece into the war on the side of the Entente Allies.

Thus is revolution added to the harrowed nation's other troubles; not an ordinary revolution, apparently, but one whose object, thanks to the rare patriotism of its leader, is simply to compel the King to do the people's will. For one of the most memorable features of this whole strange situation is the patriotic self-abnegation of Eleutherios Venizelos, the man whose honorable leadership has made him more powerful than the King, yet who declares, even now, that he will support any Cabinet appointed by the King which will honestly fulfill Greece's treaty obligations as an ally of Serbia and make war upon Bulgaria.

When we look for the cause that has stirred Greece to revolution it is not far to seek. While the nation's hands were tied a Bulgarian army came early in September and occupied the Macedonian territory which Greece had won in the second Balkan war. Kavala was captured, with its forts, and the garrison—the Fourth Army Corps—was taken prisoner in a body and carted away to Goerlitz, in Prussian Silesia, while the population fled from the invaders by thousands, destitute and starving. The Greek commandant stated that he was ordered to give up the fortress of Kavala to the advancing German and Bulgarian troops without resistance.

So the Germans hold neutral Greek prisoners, the Bulgars hold Greek territory, the Allies hold Athens, Piraeus, and Salokini; the Venizelist rebels hold Crete, Mitylene, Samos, Chios, and the other islands, while Constantine holds a throne without sovereignty.

Before leaving Athens on Sept. 25 to place himself at the head of the revolutionary movement in Crete, M. Venizelos thus summed up the situation:

Already we have suffered all the agonies of a disastrous war, while remaining neutral. We have had ten months of mobilization with all the consequent hardships to the families of the men mobilized, while both Balkan wars included only thirteen months, with greater funds available for the relief of the families of the soldiers. Our boundaries have been invaded; towns, crops, and farms have been destroyed, and all horrors enacted. We have had all the financial burden of war and the cost of maintaining a useless mobilization. The morale of the army, which three years ago was at the topmost pitch, has been destroyed by inaction and is now completely gone. Then we had a victorious, now we have a beaten, army.

We have even over an entire army corps of Greeks held prisoners of war in a foreign country and already we have paid the Bulgars an immense war indemnity, amounting, in military equipment, property destroyed, and loot of the Greek cities occupied, to over $40,000,000. And, finally, we are perhaps on the verge of making now, at last, that war which we have not fought, but have paid for in blood, tears, and treasure.

At the same time M. Venizelos published the following statement regarding the object of the revolt of which he and Admiral Condouriotis were about to take command:

The betrayal of Kavala after the loss of Fort Rupel, Seres, Drama, and of the greater part of Greek Macedonia has brought matters to such a crisis in the very existence of my country that I can no longer resist the cry of my compatriots calling me to help them and save them from extermination at the hands of Bulgaria.

I can no longer wait. I have exhausted in vain every means of inducing those who govern Greece to take up arms in defense of their country. I have offered to support unconditionally any Ministry in Greece that should be ready to carry out the policy of intervention—the only policy compatible with the national interests of Greece.

Do not think I am heading a revolution in the ordinary sense of the word. The movement now beginning is in no way directed against the King or his dynasty. This movement is one made by those of us who can no longer stand aside and let our countrymen and our country be ravaged by the Bulgarian enemy. It is the last effort we can make to induce the King to come forth as King of the Hellenes and follow the path of duty in the protection of his subjects.

M. Venizelos and Admiral Condouriotis landed in Crete on Sept. 26, and on that day, amid the plaudits of the troops and the populace, a Provisional Government was then established, "with full authority to organize the forces of the country

with the object of joining the Allies and fighting by their side against all their enemies." On Oct. 12 the Provisional Government was strengthened by the addition of a third member, General Zimbrakatis, as Minister of War, and preparations were made to order the mobilization of the Greek Army. On Oct. 17 the Entente Allies formally recognized the new Government, at the same time withholding recognition from King Constantine's latest Cabinet, headed by Professor Spyridon P. Lambros. All the outlying portions of Greece have rallied swiftly to the Venizelos Government. Apparently only Athens and the Peloponnesus remain predominantly loyal to King Constantine, and here the Entente Powers are laying an increasingly heavy hand on things.

Their most drastic measure in the month just past was the seizure of the Greek fleet. Vice Admiral d'Artige du Fournet, commander of the Anglo-French fleet in the Mediterranean, presented an ultimatum demanding that Greece hand over to the Entente Powers the entire Greek naval fleet, except the armored cruiser Averoff and the battleships Lemnos and Kilkis, by 1 o'clock on Wednesday, Oct. 11. The Admiral further demanded that the three warships to be retained by Greece be disarmed and their crews reduced to one-third of the regular complement; that the forts on the seacoast be dismantled, and that the two which command the mooring place of the allied fleet be turned over to the Admiral. On Oct. 17 King Constantine issued the following Order of the Day:

Officers, Sailors: In these hours, when, stricken and with bleeding hearts, each new moment forms new wounds deep in our souls, which so short a time ago were proud in a united and victorious Greece, my Government has been obliged to order you to leave the ships upon which you brought the news of the freeing of our liberated brothers; you came with tortured hearts and eyes wet with tears, every man faithful to his oath, to the side of your King.

I thank you and congratulate you, O my faithful sailors. I thank you, not only as King and chief of the fleet, but as the representative of the fatherland you love so much, to which you have given so much, for which you are ready to give and suffer all.

May our hopes soon be realized and may the hours soon come when you will be able to return to your ships. The holy ikons that have protected you in the past will protect you in the future, and the glorious flag, once more caught by the winds of the Greek seas, will bring hope and consolation wherever Greek hearts beat.

At the same time the Allies took control of the Greek police, and demanded that Greek citizens be prohibited from carrying arms, that the sending of war munitions to Thessaly be stopped, and that the embargo on Thessalian wheat be lifted. Again the Cabinet complied. The French and British also took possession of various buildings in Athens for their own use. These acts of high-handed precaution against betrayal were followed by anti-Entente riots in Athens. The French Admiral and the French Minister were greeted on the street with jeers and hisses, and a crowd before the British legation shouted "Down with England!" For a time there was danger of bloodshed, but a few hundred French marines with machine guns quelled the disturbances. Meanwhile the revolution is making rapid headway all over Greece.

Address of the Greek People Admonishing Their King

Following is the text of the remarkable address to King Constantine which former Premier Venizelos drew up and which was approved by a great concourse in Athens on Aug. 27, 1916. As an example of plain speaking to an enthroned ruler it is doubtful whether it has its equal in history:

SIRE:. You are the victim of persons who destroy the work of the revolution of which we are today celebrating the seventh anniversary, and to re-establish their system of corrupt government have not hesitated to exploit the respect which the nation owes to the Crown and the love it bears for you, and are ready to imperil the work of regeneration achieved by five years of labor and two glorious wars in order to strike at

one of those who co-operated in that work. You are the victim of your military advisers, who, taking a narrow military view and anxious to establish a system of absolutism which would make them in effect masters of the country, have convinced you that Germany will emerge victorious from the European war.

Finally, you are the victim of your natural and human weakness. Accustomed to admire everything German, astounded by this unparalleled military preparation as by every other German organization, not only have you believed in German victory, but you have desired it. You hoped that after a German victory you would be able to concentrate in your own hands the whole power of Government and sweep aside our system of liberty.

Today we see the consequences of these blunders. Instead of expanding in Asia Minor, Thrace, and Cyprus; of ending forever our quarrels of more than a thousand years with our national enemies; of creating Greece great, powerful, and rich, fulfilling our loftiest national dreams, we see the Bulgars invading Greek Macedonia, occupying Seres and towns and forts, and making prisoners of detachments of the Greek Army there, without our being at war, declared or not declared, with the invader.

While we receive them with the irony of friendly assurance, we see them seize our munitions of war, which cost us hundreds of millions, and which the General Staff criminally abandoned after our general demobilization. Although our national enemy has mobilized, this war material was left concentrated in towns near the frontier, and so became easy prey of the invading neighbor.

From the position in which we placed Greece we see her today reduced again to a position to which she was cast down before the revolution. Instead of Greece being respected by friends and redoubtable to foes, we see her today pitied by the one and despised, scorned, and chastised by the other. Ignorant of the vital conditions of the group of powers in which alone Greece can, I do not say grow, but even live as a free State, they are driving her to an assured catastrophe.

Today's demonstration has been summoned to express the grief of the nation's soul and to manifest in perfect order the nation's anguish and anger at the misfortunes into which the country has been led and is still being led by the present policy. This demonstration seeks to enlighten you and to persuade you that, in spite of perfidious efforts, the nation does not approve what has been done, whatever they may say who surround you; to appeal to your love of the fatherland to find the strength to break with the evil influences which, as we said, exploit the love of the people for you, and which are dragging you, and with you your royal house and Greece and the nation, to a national catastrophe.

Elections are due to take place so that the people may have national representation, but these elections alone cannot give a salutary solution of the question now in issue. So long as you permit, Sire, an unworthy use to be made of your name as an enemy of a great political party, what good can come from these elections which under such conditions do no more than mask an undeclared fratricidal war? How could the Liberal Party carry out its policy should it judge it necessary to do more than observe benevolent neutrality, as the Entente Powers rightly ask of us, since the criminal conduct of the General Staff has literally dissolved the army and rendered Greece incapable of fighting? For you must learn that even if your Government were to pronounce for intervention by the Greek Army you would no longer find an army to lead to victory.

Proclamations of the association calling itself the Pan-Hellenic Association of Reservists, professing their readiness to shed their blood anew at a sign from you, in no way correspond to the reality. These proclamations are made because those who make them have been assured Greece will never depart from the neutrality policy adopted, and, above all, the manner in which this policy has been followed has provoked a very grave malady in the national organism.

We do not say this malady is incurable, but to treat it the forces of the nation must be concentrated, not divided. This reunion of forces must be carried out at once, for tomorrow may be too late. Leave to others the rôle of party leader, to which those who exploit your throne would debase you, and boldly face the enemy. By impious and satanic action they have tried, and, unhappily, with success, to divide the national forces, from the union of which alone the nation's soul expects health and the greatness of the fatherland. * * *

Apply yourself at once with your Government, and helped by us all, to revise the national sentiment weakened by prolonged mobilization, the teaching of the barracks, and the poison of the foreign propaganda, so that Greece may once again have an army, so that when the circumstances demand it—and we are sure they will demand it—it will be able to defend her vital interests, so far as they may be safeguarded side by side this time with powerful allies, traditional protectors and benefactors of Greece.

You will see by today's demonstration that the Liberal Party is not the enemy of the Crown, nor the enemy of the royal house, nor the enemy of yourself. It is only the respectful guardian of free institutions, and will suffer no one to injure them. That is the true interest of the Crown, and only those who are exploiting the Crown seek to persuade you to the contrary. They are your worst enemies.

The Italian Offensive on the Carso

By Robert Vaucher

French Correspondent on the Italian Front

[Translated from L'Illustration for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

AN ancient legend of Frioul recounts that God, after He had created the world, was getting ready to throw into the sea all the stones which remained to Him after His work was ended. He had gathered them all in a large bag, and was passing along the Isonzo, when the devil decided to play a trick on Him. Creeping up behind Him, the devil slit the bag. The stones fell upon the earth and formed the desolate plateau of the Carso.

The legend must be true. The more one traverses the Carso the more this desert of stones, with its few, very poor villages, appears to be a diabolic creation. Last year, writing from Gradisca, I had already described the immense difficulties which met our Italian allies, who were compelled to capture trench after trench, working uphill, under the fire of very powerful artillery and in spite of fortifications which seemed inexpungable.

The Italian lines formed an immense semicircle, running from Monfalcone to Boschini. At the extreme right the enemy was, to the north and east of Monfalcone, in possession of a series of heights, the most important of which, the Debeli and Cosich, completely dominated the Italian works. At the extreme left, on the sides of St. Michael's Mount, the situation was identical. In the centre there was nothing but an entanglement of trenches and approach works climbing up from the plain of the Isonzo along the steep slopes of Selz, Monte Sei Busi, and Bosco Capuccio.

The offensive of July, October, and November had made it possible to rectify favorably the Italian front, but our allies had been able to climb only one stage of this Calvary, which led them up to the Doberdo Plateau. In spite of obstacles, the Italian troops were not discouraged. From the end of May battles succeeded each other at Monfalcone. On June 28 the 85-Meter Height was attacked. On July 3 and 4 progress continued; on Aug. 4 a general attack was opened on the extreme right with such vigor that the Italians captured 85-Meter Hill.

The Italian troops were commanded by an old General, ill with cancer, who followed the development of operations in an invalid chair. He had persistently refused the advice of his doctors to leave his troops and undergo treatment behind the lines. His malady grew worse; it had almost carried him away when the attack was decided. The Italian troops, with superb dash, went up to the assault, overthrew the defense works, and, with the bayonet, conquered the positions. Then the General, with tears in his eyes, gravely said to those who surrounded him: "You can take me away now to die in the hospital; the battle is won." He has just been gazetted Corps Commander.

The enemy, deceived by this activity of General Cadorna's troops to the east of Monfalcone, sent important reserves to that point. For two days the Italians were forced to abandon some advanced trenches. But this action was only a demonstration. The principal attack was planned against that part of the Carso which had been best defended by nature —San Michele and Monte Sei Busi.

The system of fortifications which our allies were to attack was composed of three lines:

The first, which was certainly the most solid, followed the crests of San Michele, descended before San Martino del Carso, ran between the burned woods and the rocks dominating Sagrado, Fogliano, and Polazzo, traversed the heights of Sei Busi, overhung the Isonzo plain at the Selz caverns, ran around La Rocca, and descended to the sea on the east of Monfalcone.

The second line followed the first a slight distance further back as far as San Martino del Carso, passed behind Doberdo, climbed up the Crni Hrib hil-

lock, and supported the first line of the Debeli.

The third line descended from the valley of the Vipacco, at the height of Rupa, and gained the heights to the east of Oppacchiasella, passed Novavas and 208-Meter and 114-Meter Hills, reached 77-Meter Hill, crossed the Lissert, and reached the sea at 21-Meter Hill.

Suddenly, on Aug. 6, a terrible bombardment was begun on the Italian side. While Podgora and Monte Sabatino were shaken, the attack began from San Michele to Monte Sei Busi and Selz, also with unaccustomed vigor. A hurricane of fire was poured down upon the stone trenches. On this Carso, where so many struggles had already been fought and where so many thousands of men had found their graves, a new phase of the war was developed—the entry on the scene of powerful Italian artillery. Once the way was opened for them, the Italian regiments went up to the assault with an indescribable ardor. For long months they had suffered, in the trenches of the Carso, all possible privations. They had had to accept the furtive struggle underground. Today they were taking their revenge.

Monte San Michele, which dominated all this region west of the Carso—the most arid of all—is composed of four summits, following each other from west to east, their heights varying from 810 to 902 feet. The battle there lasted two days. The Twentieth Division of Honveds, (Hungarian Landwehr,) which was defending the positions, multiplied counterattacks, sending clouds of asphyxiating gas against the assaulting columns. On both sides the losses were terrible, but the Italians continued their advance; one by one the summits were conquered, the trenches turned, in order to be able to meet the attacks of an enemy which felt that, once San Michele was lost, the Doberdo Plateau would be invaded, the first line would be taken and the second hard hit. The innumerable machine guns hidden in the caverns spat out their fire incessantly, hand grenades flew on all sides. The attackers had to climb over heaps of dead in order to continue their advance.

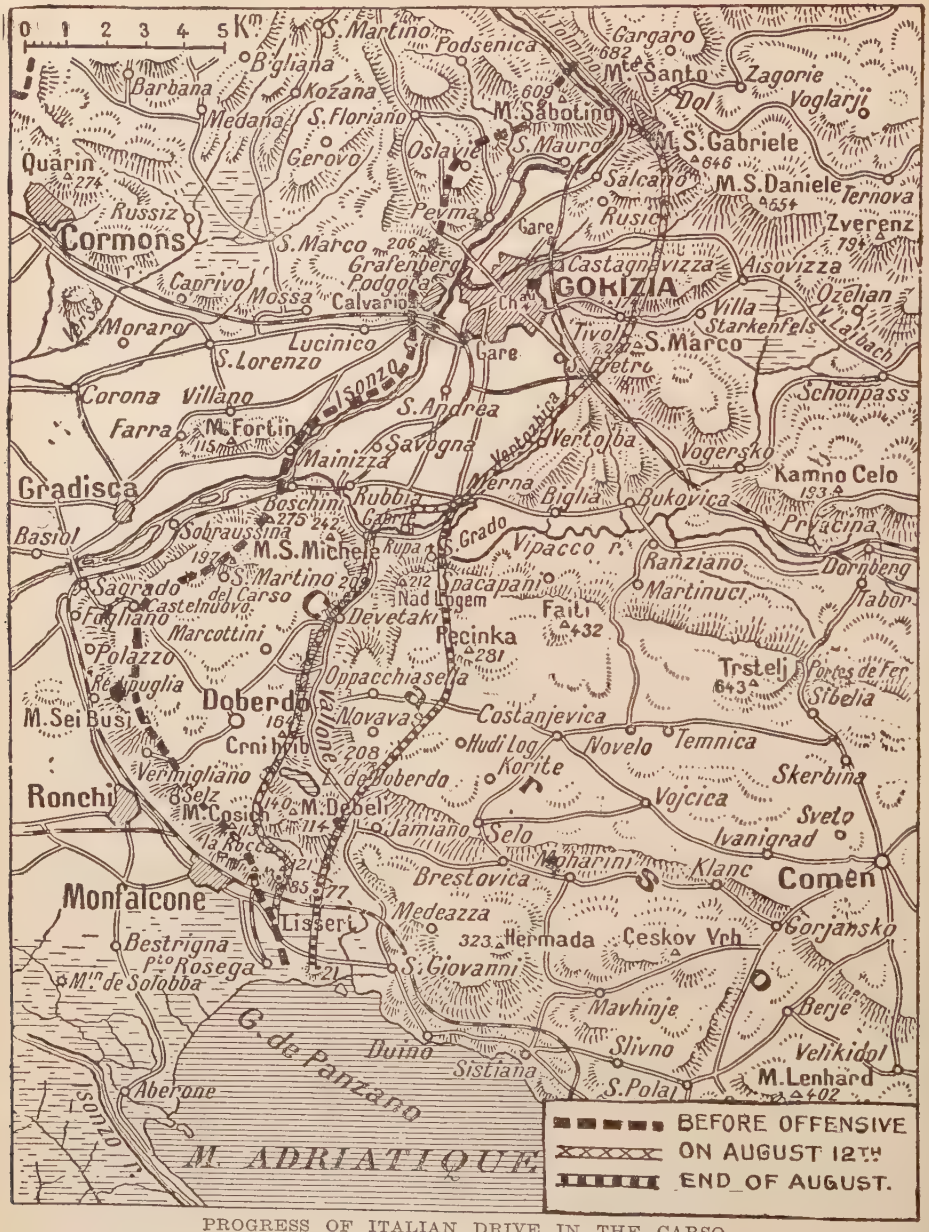
When the last height had fallen the infantry, the grenadiers, and the Bersagleri (light infantry) rushed toward the high plateau. The Austrians suffered enormous losses. A Budapest regiment numbering 2,500 men ceased to exist.

On Aug. 9 the Italians captured San Martino del Carso, a little village completely ruined by shellfire, where the Carso cave dwellers, whom the Italians had driven forth from their grottoes, were putting up a last defense. Then the action continued with vigor; Cadorna's armies swept the whole Doberdo Plateau. One by one the positions were cleared. Doberdo, the bare peak of Cosich, Marcottini, and, to the north of San Michele, the village of Boschini were conquered by vigorous assault. The whole western part of the Carso was in the hands of the Italians; the Austrian troops withdrew to the east of Vallone.

They were not given time to fortify themselves there; the dash of the Bersaglieri and the Italian infantry was so impetuous that Oppacchiasella was soon in their hands. And, on the wooded slopes of Nad Logem, a violent action was begun.

To the south of the Carso, the forward march was more difficult; 85-Meter Hill definitely taken, the struggle began for the possession of 121-Meter Hill. The enemy had transformed that stony hill into a veritable fortress. Behind the trenches the troops had as shelters deep caverns which could contain several battalions. Confident that they would never be beaten back, the Austrians had fitted them out luxuriously; the walls were paneled, electricity was installed everywhere, ventilating ducts made it easy to change the air, water mains brought good drinking water. Along the Vallone ridge, every regiment had its numbered cavern. The officers' rooms were sumptuous; bed, chairs, sofas, tables, carpets, nothing was missing in them. The newspapers found there were dated Aug. 3, and reported the declarations of Premier Tisza, assuring his auditors that the Austrian Staff had taken all the necessary measures to keep the Italians forever out of Gorizia.

* * * * * * *



PROGRESS OF ITALIAN DRIVE IN THE CARSO

For several days I visited the conquered positions, and I had an opportunity to watch the fights to the northeast of Oppacchiasella. Between the trenches the corpses are numerous. Some of them have lain there a year, and are only withered skeletons, bleached by the rain and the sun, in the zone of death, which none dared to enter to give them burial. But others are more recent, and look like mummies. The faces are like parchment, their clothes in rags. Others were killed but yesterday, and on these clouds of black flies rested. They were waiting to be buried by companies of territorials, and sent up a frightful stench.

One is struck by the enormous mass of

German Soldier Killed Near His Machine Gun at the Entrance to His Dugout.

Underground Home of French Artillerymen on the Somme Front, Battered by German Shells.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

A ZEPPELIN THAT ATTACKED LONDON

Great German Airship That Fell in a Turnip Field in Essex, Destroyed, with Its Crew, by British Aviators.

(Photo © International Film Service.)

Medals from Entente Governments Presented to Verdun for Its Heroic Resistance.

French Poilus Dining at a Captured German Observation Post.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

material abandoned. The violence of the attack did not allow the Austrians to transport to the rear the stores heaped up during months at San Michele, Monte Sei Busi, Doberdo, Selz, and on the Cosich and Debeli Hills. There are supplies of every kind; explosives in considerable quantities, rifles, munitions, trench-building material, tools of every kind, even machinery for the manufacture of asphyxiating gas.

Not all the weapons taken from the Austrians can be employed by the Italians. Without doubt, they will not use either the famous steel-spiked maces with which the Honveds "finish off" the wounded, nor the explosive bullets. The climax of barbarism was attained by the Honveds. Yesterday, while making my way through trenches still full of débris and corpses, I was witness of an atrocious scene. Detachments of territorials were busy burying the bodies, rapidly decomposed by the torrid heat of this stony desert. Suddenly a detonation was heard, a bomb had just exploded. The gravediggers fell, horribly torn and mutilated.

There was even found in the trenches north of San Michele a brand new gibbet. The Austrians had hoped to erect it in one of the villages of the Isonzo Plain. At Rubbia, Bersaglieri were hanged on trees and mutilated. * * *

Today we are in a period of calm. Our Italian allies are strengthening the positions which they occupy on the heights to the west of Pecinka. Italian artillery is ceaselessly bombarding the enemy's ways of communication. The enemy is experiencing grave difficulties in renewing his supplies, and particularly in bringing the water necessary for his troops. The water mains which he had established have been destroyed by Italian artillery.

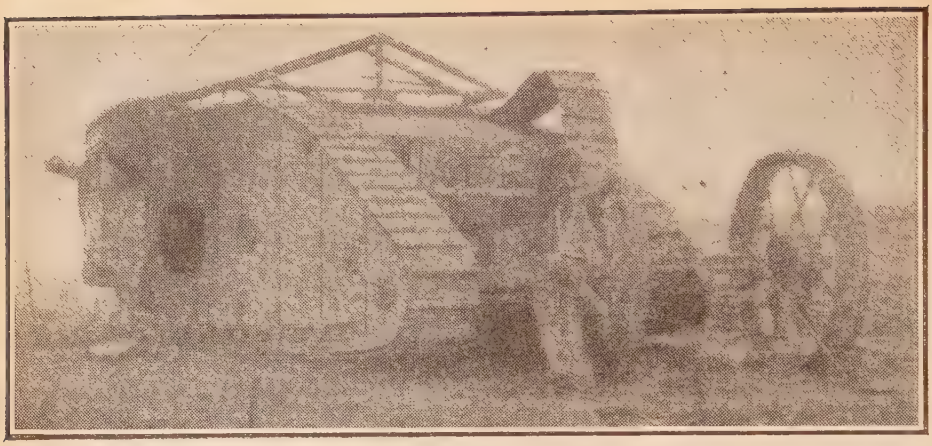
Quite recently, when the Nad Logem was taken, as soon as the 2,000 Honveds who were defending it had fired their last cartridges, the Italian soldiers suddenly saw their adversaries coming out of the trenches on the run, unarmed and waving white handkerchiefs. They easily made 1,500 prisoners, who asked one thing only: water!

At the present moment the Austrian batteries are in position behind the line of hills to the east of Oppacchiasella are furiously bombarding the shores of Lake Doberdo and the few wells which are scattered over the Carso. But our Italians fortunately have a marvelously organized supply. Auto-cisterns, barrels and reservoirs mounted on carts drawn by mules, everything is provided so that the men may not suffer from thirst. "My troops," a General said to me this morning, "have at their disposal 15,000 gallons of water per day." Here is a great problem solved.

The Austrian prisoners declare that the second system of fortifications, which receives its supplies from the Nabresina-Comen road, is very well organized. Escaped Russians, who had been captured by the Austrians in Galicia, and who are compelled to work at trench digging on the Carso on pain of being shot, tell that 60,000 of them are at work strengthening the Austrian defenses. Therefore our Italian allies have serious difficulties ahead of them.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Aosta is in command of the army of the Isonzo. This Prince, endowed with excellent qualities, of exceptional energy, heedless of danger, full of solicitude for his men, is adored by them. He is with them always, following the highest example. King Victor Emmanuel III. and Emmanuel-Philibert of Savoy (the Duke of Aosta) are the worthy heads of an army which has just gained its first great success, and which is preparing to cull other laurels.

EDITOR'S NOTE: On Oct. 11, the Italian War Office reported as follows: "On the Carso, after the intricate defenses of the enemy had been destroyed by an intense and accurate artillery and trench mortar fire, our infantry captured almost the whole of the line composed of several successive intrenchments between the Vipacco River and 208-Meter Hill, and advanced beyond it. Novavas and the adjoining strong position around the northern part of 208-Meter Hill also fell into our hands after brisk fighting. Prisoners to the number of 5,034, including 164 officers, have been reported, and we also captured a large quantity of arms and ammunition."



British Armored "Tank" Cars

THE most terrifying engine of destruction which the war has developed so far is the British armored motor car, or "tank," as the soldiers have named it. These formidable machines were first mentioned in the official dispatches of Sept. 16, 1916, and were brought into use with important results in the battle of the Somme. Since then they have figured daily in the war news and have become an important factor in the offensive. The cars are capable of moving in shell-torn areas and can negotiate a roadless wilderness of trenches.

No official description of the monster has been permitted to pass the censor, nor have any official photographs been released. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE presents on this page the only picture of the car that has reached this country—a snapshot of one that has seen service.

This land dreadnought is an adaptation of the American caterpillar tractor manufactured at Peoria, Ill., by the Holt Manufacturing Company. Several thousand unarmored cars have been sold to the British Government, which adds the armor and armament. The cars are about 23 feet long and 9 feet wide over all. They weigh, unarmored, from 18,000 to 25,000 pounds, develop 120 horse power, and move from 2½ to 4 miles an hour. Each machine has two fore wheels, used only for guiding purposes. No weight rests on these wheels. The main weight is carried on two chain belts, or caterpillars, having corrugated surfaces, on the inside of which are two lines of steel rails, jointed in short sections and operated by sprocket wheels. As the endless belt turns, the forward sprocket wheel lays down the track and the rear one picks it up again. On the rails thus laid down roll the wheels of the machine.

How the Wheels Work

The pressure on the ground under the caterpillar—the string of steel plates seven feet long and two feet wide on which the entire weight of the machine is supported—is said to be less than that caused by the foot of a horse or even of a man. And owing to the construction and location of the engines the centre of gravity of the whole machine is near the back of the caterpillar and not more than eighteen inches off the ground. For this reason the machine can roll along without danger of tipping over on an almost incredible slope, and it can run considerably more than half its length forward over a chasm without any support at all.

When it moves across a trench the front wheel, on which normally no weight rests, crosses first. The front end of the caterpillar then moves forward over the open part of the trench, and the machine is supported by the rear of the caterpillar, where most of the weight is concentrated, while the guide

wheel on each side in front acts as a stabilizer. Then by the time the rear part of the caterpillar has reached the edge of the trench the forward part will already be across and there will be very little displacement of the machine. In this way the machine can cross a trench almost as wide as the ground length of the caterpillar, and by lengthening these for war purposes the British are able to get across almost any trench or shell crater with little difficulty.

The Monsters in Action

Vivid stories come from the front of the "tanks" in action, and from the mass of material it is clear that the cars strike terror into the hearts of the enemy and accomplish useful and important results. The London Times correspondent describes the exploits in one day's fighting near Combles as follows:

"The pilot, whose steering gear went wrong, found himself astride a German trench on the outskirts of Combles—a little out of his reckoning. Here he halted, enfilading the trench repeatedly, until a chance shell of large dimensions hit the car, making it impossible to move forward or back. For five hours the crew of the 'tank' worked their guns while parties of German and British bombers lobbed their missiles across from opposite sides. Eventually the Germans were killed or driven off, and the crew of the 'tank' returned safely through a deadly enemy barrage.

"A second 'tank' traveled about half way up Bouleux Wood until in a position enabling it to enfilade the enemy's trenches. Then the commander discovered that the infantry were not coming up behind him, so he went back for them. Again he went forward, with the infantry following, passing over enemy trenches and continuing his journey to the outskirts of Morval. Subsequently the commander found that he was again alone. Not wishing to keep all the fruits of victory for himself, he again turned and went back to find the infantry for whom he was acting as a kind of chaperon. He made a return journey of more than 1,500 yards in their direction, and then discovered that the infantry had been held up by a group of machine guns which had been turned on them from a trench previously reported as unoccupied. Calmly hoisting itself astride the trench, the 'tank' took a hand in the firing, knocking out one machine gun after the other until the trench was unoccupied—save by bodies.

A Desperate Encounter

"Unfortunately, the 'tank' became wedged in an unusually deep crater, and the crew could not extricate it, even though they emerged and tried to dig it out—with the enemy firing at them from another trench seventy yards away. Then the fun really started. Parties of German bombers worked around to one side of the car, while British bombers from the infantry took cover on the opposite side. The ensuing duel lasted an hour and a half. The Germans tried to drop their bombs on the roof of the 'tank' without success. A Corporal of the 'tank's' crew seized a German bomb which fell among his companions, and tried to fling it back, but it exploded, blowing him to pieces. Eventually the German bombers were driven off, and the crew returned to the British lines.

"In one group of advancing 'tanks' eight out of ten reached the point to which they were directed at the beginning of the offensive. Northwest of the Ginchy Telegraph one of this group silenced a group of six machine guns in a redoubt, concentrating its fire on one after another. All of them did useful work in clearing other machine-gun parties out of craters. The enemy had poised his guns on the far lip of the crater, and it was extremely difficult to spot them in the tumbled earth. Another 'tank' in this group captured a trench full of Germans just east of Delville Wood. The pilot saw a white flag waving violently and advancing toward him as he was about to halt his 'tank' on the trench and sweep it from both sides. Behind the white flag streamed a long procession of unarmed Germans with their hands in the air. The 'tank' accepted their surrender, and told them to pass back to the British lines. Early in the fighting a 'tank' 'steamed' into a redoubt where a strong detach-

ment of German machine gunners were holding up one part of the British advance, and calmly cruised about, firing in every direction. The enemy took cover, and, being unable to capture the entire position alone, the 'tank' finally came back.

Carrying Off Wounded

"One 'tank' cleared a trench near Delville Wood, and then started on another mission in a northeasterly direction. This accomplished, it halted in a region thickly strewn with British wounded. The crew alighted, and for three hours worked under heavy shell-fire tending the fallen men and helping carry them into shell craters. The 'tank' that silenced a battery outside Gueudecourt had first made a lonely tour through that enemy-held village, advancing from the direction of Flers. No Germans were found in the village—they must have fled to their dugouts when the monster hove in sight—so it came back again, and on the return journey found the field guns referred to. The guns were silenced, but a shell, which must have been aimed pointblank from another hidden battery, knocked the 'tank' out of action. 'When the commander was last seen,' continued my informant, 'he was standing beside the wrecked car dressing his wound, and a machine gun was playing on the group.'

"A curious experience befell the crew of a 'tank' that helped to clear the Germans out of Foureaux (High) Wood. It climbed into the enemy trenches in the wood and did terrible execution with its guns, when the occupants tried to bolt to their support trenches. After raking the ground for half an hour, the commander found that the infantry had not arrived in accordance with his plan. He and the crew got out to reconnoitre, and while in the German trench some of the enemy reappeared. The commander made them surrender at the point of the revolver, and just then the infantry arrived to take charge of the prisoners. 'It was an awkward moment,' said my informant, 'for otherwise he could not have taken them back in the car, and they might have realized that these few men were absolutely alone.' Another 'tank' engaged in the clearance of Foureaux Wood was told to silence the machine guns in a great crater on the eastern edge of the wood. When it rolled into the crater the gunners fled in terror, leaving their twenty-five guns. Foureaux Wood was quite free of the enemy in an hour from the time the 'tanks' began to work."

Another Description

Philip Gibbs, in describing the operations of the "tanks" in the Somme region, proceeds as follows:

"A 'tank' had been coming along slowly in a lumbering way, crawling over the interminable succession of shell craters, lurching over and down and into and out of old German trenches, nosing heavily into soft earth, and grunting up again, and sitting poised on broken parapets as though quite winded by this exercise, and then waddling forward in the wake of the infantry.

"Then it faced the ruins of the château, and stared at them very steadily for quite a long time, as though wondering whether it should eat them or crush them. Our men were hiding behind ridges of shell craters, keeping low from the swish of machine gun bullets, and imploring the 'tank' to 'get on with it.' Then it moved forward in a monstrous way, not swerving much to the left or right, but heaving itself on jerkily, like a dragon with indigestion, but very fierce. Fire leaped from its nostrils. The German machine guns splashed its sides with bullets, which ricochetted off. Not all those bullets kept it back. It got on top of the enemy's trench, trudged down the length of it, laying its sandbags flat and sweeping it with fire.

"The German machine guns were silent, and when our men followed the 'tank,' shouting and cheering, they found a few German gunners standing with their hands up as a sign of surrender to the monster who had come upon them.

"One of the most remarkable 'tank' adventures was in the direction of Gueudecourt, where our troops were held up yesterday in the usual way—that is to say, by the raking fire of machine guns. They made two attacks,

but could not get beyond that screen of bullets.

"Then a 'tank' strolled along, rolled over the trench, with fire flashing from its flanks, and delivered it into the hands of the infantry with nearly 400 prisoners, who waved white flags above the parapet. That was not all. The 'tank,' exhilarated by this success, went lolloping along the way in search of new adventures. It went quite alone, and only stopped for minor repairs when it was surrounded by a horde of German soldiers. These men closed upon it with great pluck, for it was firing in a most deadly way, and tried to kill it. They flung bombs at it, clambered on to its back, and tried to smash it with the butt-ends of rifles, jabbed it with bayonets, fired revolvers and rifles at it, and made a wild pandemonium about it.

"Then our infantry arrived, attracted by the tumult of the scene, and drove the enemy back. But the 'tank' had done deadly work, and between 200 and 300 killed and wounded Germans lay about its ungainly carcase. For a little while it seemed that the 'tank' also was out of action, but after a little attention and a good deal of grinding and grunting it heaved itself up and waddled away.

"These things sound incredible. * * * They are true; and though I write them in fantastic style, because that is really the nature of the thing, it must not be forgotten that these 'tanks' are terrible engines of war, doing most grim work, and that the men inside are taking high risks with astonishing courage."

The Capture of Stanislavoff

By a Russian Correspondent

Stanislau, or Stanislavoff, in the Austrian Province of Galicia, was captured by the Russians on Aug. 11, 1916. The appended sketch of the historic episode has been translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

I HAVE just spent a week in the house of one of the Polish inhabitants of Stanislavoff, (Stanislau,) a certain Pan Michael, a worthy man and an excellent talker. His talk was interesting and valuable, not only because he had closely observed Austrian military developments, but even more because he was on the friendliest terms with many of the Austrian officers with whom Stanislavoff had been filled for months before we captured the city.

Pan Michael hates the Germans and everything German, and rejoices boisterously over the coming liberation of Poland. My knowledge of the Polish tongue completely secured his good graces. So Pan Michael told me about what had happened in Stanislavoff immediately before it fell.

Story of an Austrian Pole

"We who live here," he said, "had known for a long time that things would go badly with Stanislavoff. The Germans were issuing their orders, the Austrians were issuing theirs. Not that the German orders were bad: quite the contrary; but the vanity of our Austrians was touched. 'We are not their lackeys,' I heard them say, 'that they should order us about at their own sweet wills!' Relations between the German and Austrian officers were very strained. During the last week, the two camps would not even go to the same cafés. But not all our officers hated the Germans as badly as that. Some admitted that but for German help there would have been nothing left of Austria long ago. 'Let us put our pride in our pockets for the present!' I heard them say. 'This is not the time to settle personal grudges. We have our country to save!'

"The bitterest feeling against the Germans was among the very youngest, the newly gazetted, or the elderly Generals. The latter were the worst of all. I know

for a certainty that, when your Russian armies took Tlumach, a number of superior German officers were sent to Stanislavoff to direct the defense. But nearly all their orders were counterordered or canceled by the Austrian General in command. The Germans began to send frequent telegrams to some of their authorities. The Austrian General did likewise, but, all the same, he was removed. He went, however, on the very eve of your arrival—too late. How could things have gone well under such conditions?

"Later on, when your armies were approaching, our officers lost their heads altogether. No one knew what to expect on the morrow. Many of the inhabitants wanted to leave, but they were not allowed. 'Be quite easy in your minds,' they were told; 'the Russians will never take Stanislavoff!' When at last they were allowed to go, it was too late." Thus spoke Pan Michael.

Austrians Were Confident

Incredible as it may seem, the Austrians were quite convinced that Stanislavoff was in no danger. The admirable condition of the town proves it. Czernowitz, Snyatin, Kolomea, Zaleschiki, and every other town we took from the retreating Austrians had suffered severely at their hands before falling into ours. But as to Stanislavoff—nothing of the kind. Before they went the Austrians tried to damage the railroad station; a few switches were pulled up, windows were broken in the waiting rooms, a wall was badly damaged by an explosion. Also a few freight sheds about the station had been blown up. But in the city itself neither fire nor explosion had done the least damage.

A captured Austrian officer, angry and embittered to such a degree that for a few minutes he forgot to whom he was speaking, told enough to give me an idea of the anarchy that reigned in Stanislavoff on the eve of its fall. On Aug. 5, early in the morning, two battalions, to one of which he belonged, came by rail from Halicz to Vladislavoff. According to their orders they were to go, immediately on their arrival, to a post in Tiezmenitsa. But at the railroad station they were met by a staff officer, who gave them quite different directions; they were to go to Mariampol, not to Tiezmenitsa; that is, north instead of south. But as there was no official cancellation of the first order accompanying the new order, the misunderstanding had first to be cleared up. This took five days. The two battalions went into battle only on Aug. 10, when the Russians were closing in on Stanislavoff. Without doubt, this confusion in the minds of the Austrian Generals (and perhaps of their German mentors, also) made it possible for the Russians to take Stanislavoff with such unexpected speed.

After the capture of Tlumach on Aug. 8, General Letchitsky's army was sent straight to Tiezmenitsa. At dawn on Aug. 9 the same army, having been allowed no breathing space, began to cross the Vorona. It is not a wide river, nor very deep; but the crossing was greatly hindered by the enemy's wonderfully energetic resistance. Several fresh German battalions were hurried to the assistance of the worn-out Austrians. Without losing a minute, they undertook a series of desperate counterattacks.

Five of our companies had just begun to cross the river at the village of Gorodistche, over a newly built bridge, the enemy artillery doing its best to prevent their passage. But the shells flew considerably above the bridge, so that our crossing proceeded more or less unimpeded.

Meeting an Emergency

Further along the bank there was a narrow strip of meadow; still further, a thick copse. The Austrians had hurriedly dug trenches on the edge of the copse. One of our companies got safely across; then another. We began to attack the Austrians in short runs. Rifle fire had been going on for a half hour. Then suddenly the landing Russians saw thick lines of German troops emerging on their right from the copse. Our position became difficult. We could not cross the narrow bridge rapidly enough. Yet the companies who were across must be helped immediately; otherwise the Germans, by a quick flank attack, would

crumple them up and force them back into the river.

Without losing a moment, two of our companies, who were waiting on the further bank of the river, jumped into the water and, some wading and some swimming, intercepted the German blow. A terrible bayonet fight ensued. The Germans fought desperately. The Austrians in the trenches on the edge of the copse attempted several sorties in aid of the Germans, but were driven back into the trenches by our fire. At last the Germans could stand it no longer. They began to fall back.

When they were thus thrown back from the Vorona River, the Austro-Germans retreated northwest, toward the Khriplin station. But in their retreat they clung literally to every hillock, to every group of trees, to every crease in the soil, in order to check our advance. Our regiments, sometimes by frontal attacks, sometimes by encircling movements, as persistently forced the Austro-Germans backward.

By noon we were directly in front of the Khriplin station. The Austro-Germans, drawing their troops to this centre from considerable distances, opened a furious rifle and machine-gun fire. Our advance on the east and southeast slackened. At this moment a battalion of infantry, coming south across the railroad from Tiezmenitsa to Stanislavoff, forded the river between the Russian and the enemy lines and occupied the high further bank, thence directing an attack on the enemy position south of the railroad. This successful move broke the Austro-German resistance. They began to retreat, after blowing up the station buildings, which vanished in clouds of black smoke, earth, and stones.

The taking of Khriplin station decided the fate of Stanislavoff, which was covered by our artillery fire from that point. On the same day, Aug. 9, our troops captured the village of Poberejie, south of Mariampol. This finally settled the fate of Stanislavoff, for the one remaining railroad from the town, that to Halicz, is less than three miles from Poberejie.

On the morning of Aug. 10 the battle blazed up again. The Austro-Germans centred their attention on the region of the Bystritsa River, which covered the railroad from Stanislavoff to Halicz. It was of paramount importance for them to hold the railroad, if only for a few hours, so that the staffs could escape from Stanislavoff.

Austrian prisoners later told us that the scene at the railway station baffled description. Fifty cars were alloted to every engine, so that the trains moved like tortoises. The least incline stopped them, or sent them sliding backward. Among them was a hospital train overloaded with wounded. In sliding downgrade, this train ran into one loaded with pontoons. Two hospital cars were smashed and their wounded killed. In other cars the wounded were thrown out of their cots. The sight was terrible.

The train carrying the Austrian staff was caught by our artillery fire. One of our shells smashed the car carrying the staff attendants to tinder, killing fourteen men. A flood in the Bystritsa from recent rains greatly helped the Austro-Germans by hindering us.

Our pontoon section, working under the enemy's concentrated fire, succeeded in bridging the Bystritsa at two points west of Khriplin later in the day; meanwhile the Austro-Germans had moved their last supports to positions immediately south of Stanislavoff. A fierce artillery battle ensued.

The decisive stroke came from the east. Six companies of one of our infantry regiments, pressing forward irresistibly, broke into the village of Miketinze. A hand-to-hand fight began. Our men did not give the Austro-Germans time to get away. Quickly crossing the Bystritsa, they reached the outskirts of Stanislavoff from the southeast. That evening Stanislavoff was in our hands.

Typical Battle Between French and Germans on the Somme

(La Maisonnette)

[Translated from L'Illustration for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

Action of July 9-10

ESTABLISHED in reserve in the village of Flaucourt, which had been captured by comrades, and upon which without truce poured the heavy projectiles of the German artillery, the regiment awaited its turn. During the night, in order to make sure of the coming action by reducing the distance of the assault as much as possible, it had, on the right half of its front, driven the enemy from the Barleux-Biaches road, and pushed him some distance to the east, a little beyond the crest of the hill. Thus, on the long ridge running north and south which stretches from the Bazancourt Farm to Barleux, its line lay extended for about 1,500 paces. On the left side its position was slightly behind the military crest; on the right side, a little beyond it. Thus the distance of the assault increased gradually from the left to the right, and varied for the first objective from 250 to 650 paces. The extreme vigilance of the enemy had made it impossible to shorten it.

Powerful German Defenses

In the morning the regiment was stationed facing its objectives. It had to seize 97-Meter Hill, (170 feet above the level of the Somme,) whose summit, a remarkable point of outlook, giving views over Péronne and the Somme Valley, is slightly to the west of the powerful centre of resistance formed by the château of La Maisonnette, with its dependencies and village, and the orchards to the east, which form a veritable wood prolonged on the slopes descending toward the river. The position was preceded by four lines of trenches; the cellars of the houses had been turned into fortresses and gave shelter to artillery of the heaviest calibre, to the posts of the German command and to their reserves; finally, the edges of the orchards and those of the Blaise Wood, to the north of the village, were nests for flanking parties, stuffed with machine guns. By the organizations of the Blaise Wood, La Maisonnette was linked on the north with the village of Biaches; by a strongly held trench called the "Trench of the Porpoises," placed on the counter-slope of the ravine which bounds the 97-meter plateau to the southwest, it communicated with the defenses of Barleux. The whole system, so powerful that the German officers who were captured there affirmed that they had not believed it would be possible for us to take it, was nevertheless carried very swiftly, and by a sudden attack.

In the morning, then, our infantrymen saw the day dawn over the ground of their assault. Facing them, they saw the belfry of Biaches and a factory chimney, the wooded heights of the Valley of the Somme, orchards gloomy-looking in the morning dusk, meadows with gentle slopes, scattered houses, the great trees of the park and the château of La Maisonnette, whose pink stones were struck by the rising sun. Before them spread yellowing fields of wheat and oats, and, among the corn, the Germans.

The Plan of Attack

To succeed in his manoeuvre—to turn La Maisonnette and the Blaise Wood by the south and east after having carried the first enemy lines—the commander had constituted two groups of his regiment. The northern group had as its mission to seize La Maisonnette directly, first carrying a defensive system which was deeply built, an operation demanding much order and method. It was made up wholly of European troops. The southern group had only one trench to

carry, the trench of the Porpoises, but it had a long distance to cover under fire. It was composed of Senegalese contingents, admirable in a fundamental action against a clear and simple objective.

The zone of attack had been well studied; all the observation points had been occupied and used, and, in spite of the fact that the condition of the crops made it possible to judge of the enemy's preparation only along short fractions of the front, we had recognized excellent breaks in the German nets and had cleared out, by a patrol, an unsuspected flanking post, which might have proved awkward for our advance.

Between noon and 2 o'clock, the heavy artillery and the field guns had poured in a violent and concentrated fire; finally, the 58s, uncovered at the last moment, delivered a rapid and sustained fire whose effect on the German trenches, which lacked deep shelters, must have been as demoralizing as could be desired.

An Exciting Charge

At 2 o'clock, preceded by wire-cutters and bombers, the companies of the first line started for the assault. Holding their line firmly, well apart, the men march, shouting and singing. The infantry action of modern warfare, fragmentary, rapid and violent, has begun.

On the front of one company, a few seconds before the hour, a hare started up and ran through the wheat, fleeing toward the Germans. "There is the signal!" cried a soldier, and the "Porpoises" bounded forward with fixed bayonets, in pursuit of the hare; in this way they reached the first trench.

Enemy groups, terror-stricken, are already surrendering. The wide breaches which the French artillery has opened in the barbed-wire entanglements make it possible for our first wave to carry the trench without breaking their rush; in the ravine to the west of our line of departure, the Germans establish a violent barrier fire, but this fire does not disturb our progress. Nevertheless, on the left, while our men are running toward their goal, a German group which has probably not been reached threatens to check the rapid advance by a flanking fire.

Lieutenant Laurent recognizes the danger; he takes a half company and runs toward this kernel of resistance, whose defenders are immediately bayoneted or made prisoners. Unfortunately, Lieutenant Laurent himself was killed in the course of the action; an eloquent mention in the Order of the Day will commemorate his courage.

Leaving a certain number of trench-cleaners behind it, the first wave, intact, pushes on to the second line, seizes it, and makes numerous prisoners there also. Meanwhile, the flank guard detachment has cleared the Triangular Wood (southwest of Biaches) of German patrols, and has got as far as the Biaches graveyard, from which it has driven a small enemy post.

The serious difficulties of the northern group only begin after gaining the second line, whose garrison, less shattered than the preceding, keeps up a violent fire; to the left, the machine guns of the Maisonnette orchard show themselves; to the right, other machine guns take us in the rear.

But the advance is not broken; at most, it is a little slackened on the two wings. In the centre, Lieutenant Carlotti is killed instantly as he is shouting, "Forward! Long live France!" turning toward his men, and he lies on the ground, his arms stretched out toward the enemy. His whole company, with the company officers leading, rushes forward against La Maisonnette, which it penetrates from the south. The neighboring elements, their difficulties lessened by this forward movement, reach the orchard; the machine gun section which was there is overcome by the bayonet.

Death of a Brave Captain

At the same moment the southern end of the third trench to the west of the position falls into our hands, and Captain Quod, the company commander, dies rejoiced by this picture of victory. He had gone ahead of his men, his whistle between his teeth; he had armed himself with a big German sword, found close to the parallel. "With this sword," he had told his men, "we shall take their

trench!" As soon as he was hit, he understood that he must die. He then had himself set with his back against a telegraph post, facing the foe, and continued to encourage his soldiers. He shouted: "Fire! Fire! Look at them, the cowards, they are fleeing in every direction!" Then Captain Quod ended his command and his life, as the French penetrated the village.

All feel their victory; the enthusiasm is admirable. Corporal Millas shows unequaled daring; he tells his comrades, "You shall see how prisoners are taken," and, slinging his rifle, he pulls out a pistol and goes off alone through a field of oats in which some of the enemy are hiding terror-stricken, and three times, by the mere threat of his little pistol, he brings back a prisoner.

Patrols began to search the village. At the moment when a cellar is about to be bombed a German Major comes out headlong, escorted by 6 officers and 150 men. All hold up their hands. The Major advances toward the Sergeant, who is leading the group of grenadiers; he pulls out his pocketbook and offers it to him, thinking to arouse pity in his conquerors. But, in words without sweetness, the Sergeant refuses. Then the German has brought from the cellar cases of wine, of champagne, cigars, biscuits. Prodigally he wishes to distribute everything, his broad face all smiles, and his tranquillity returns when he sees that his presents are accepted. This limpness of the enemy strikes and encourages the French. Some of the prisoners repeat: "End war. Always boom! boom! not caput!" and they are delighted. Some of them rush to our men and wish to shake hands with them. One even shouts, "Bravo, Frenchmen." His comrades approve. The Porpoises answered these flatteries with "Paws down!"

Taken by Surprise

The surprise is such among the enemy that when the French are entering La Maisonnette there are still, on the other side of the Somme, in the nearby supply station, trains made up ready to start. Seven engines pull out, immediately followed by our fire, and an immense quantity of war material remains on the platforms, where our artillery destroys it.

In short, at 3:15 we are in possession of the village and the château; we hold the eastern edge of the orchard, the southeastern horn of the Blaise Wood, and the Biaches road toward the northwest entrance of La Maisonnette.

At 4 o'clock, at the moment when we are beginning to organize the edge of the orchard, a violent counterattack comes out of the Blaise Wood. Once more the Germans make use of the dishonorable method that is customary with them, and which they were to employ several times more in the course of the fighting at La Maisonnette. A company comes through the wheat field in the direction of the orchard. The under officer in command of them shouts, "We are coming to surrender." Several times he is ordered to lay down his arms, but he makes believe not to understand, and the troop continues to advance, holding up its guns, and as the French are about to advance with the bayonet, these soldier felons uncover machine guns and open point-blank fire. Thus were killed two French officers and fifty men. This act of treachery, combined with an outflanking movement, obliges our line to bend back for a short time to the edge of the Blaise Wood. But the enemy is soon driven out and punished. By evening the northern group has taken and held everything that it was to take.

Charge of the Senegalese

Like those of the northern group, the waves of the southern group begin the assault at 2 o'clock, preceded by their patrols. The first wave arrives without loss at the bottom of the valley; but, beginning from this moment, it is caught by the enfilading fire of machine guns hidden at the bottom of the ravine, and suffers heavy losses while crossing the glacis leading to the trench of the Porpoises. Reduced to some forty men, it takes shelter behind a steep slope about sixty paces from the German position, and even while trying to dig out shelters this handful of heroes installs itself in such a way as to keep under its fire the defenders of the trench of the Porpoises. The second wave comes for-

ward to reinforce the first, and its losses are equally cruel; it has watched its comrades falling in front of it, but nothing could turn it aside from its course. When a man falls, automatically the ranks are closed up and the survivors continue to advance.

While this weak line is fastening itself upon the Germans, an intense artillery preparation is resumed, and a platoon proceeds to the north of the trench of the Porpoises, where a kernel of resistance still exists. A bombing contest begins between 6 and 7 in the evening, and is closed by the capture of two machine guns and some thirty men.

It is now 8 o'clock; the bomb contest seems to be drawing near the trench of the Porpoises; the enemy seems to be growing weaker. The moment has come to avenge their comrades, for the heroes who, for hours under an infernal bombardment and under a crossfire of flanking machine guns, remained fixed and bent upon their goal. At the signal of their leaders, Lieutenant Meyer and Sergeant Mamadou-Diarra, they spring up and leap into the trench. The Germans surrender; a single group, urged on by an officer, defends itself to the last; it is exterminated.

Watching the Prisoners

The night has come; the prisoners continue to arrive, frightened, and file toward the rear. Sentinels are placed in advance of the position so valiantly won; the sharpshooter Moussa Tissako has been picked out by the confidence of his Sergeant to watch the movements of the enemy. He has been at his post for some time when the Sergeant calls in a low voice: "Moussa! Moussa!" "Here I am!" And in fact there Moussa is. He is holding two Germans, half upset on the slope; his big, knotty hands grasp their necks and their heads are bent down toward the ground. Moussa loosens his hold; the Germans tumble over, and he explains: "They come. They talk. Then I said, 'Makou,' (silence.) They not know, then I choke a little, a little. Perhaps they gone dead." Sergeant Mamadou approves: "Very good," and goes on his rounds. He can safely leave Moussa to watch over the trench.

At the same time that the survivors of the two waves of the Senegalese assaulting party leaped into the enemy position, European elements had been moved forward to support them. It has been enough for their leader to ask: "Are you ready?" All had understood their duty, and all had started. Without heeding the hollows dug on all sides of them, they had entered the German trenches. They had thus contributed to the success; they were to have their share in the defense.

The night passed in a relative calm; at dawn the Germans make a new effort to deprive us of our conquest. At 6 in the morning, on July 10, a half section established before La Maisonnette falls victim to the enemy, who have repeated the sinister comedy of "kamerade."

At the same time a violent counter-attack is launched against the trench of the Porpoises, and is renewed during three hours. Ceaselessly the Germans spring up in the wheat forty paces before our men. But the Porpoises are electrified by their victory. Men stand up on the parapet and shout: "We'll get them!" Others sing while they are exterminating the enemy with rifle and bomb. The machine guns work wonders; sharpshooters who have fired their last cartridges fight with German weapons and munitions. In vain the enemy fights with desperation. He is compelled to give up the struggle. On the 9th the regiment has taken all that it was told to take; on the evening of the 10th it had maintained its conquests intact.

[Third Installment]

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for Current History Magazine. See Map on Page 221]

FOR several days, beginning with Aug. 10, bad weather, which brought heavy fogs to the valley of the Somme and its plateaus, was a hindrance to operations. Nevertheless the French made interesting progress to the north of the Somme.

During the afternoon of Friday, Aug. 11, after two days devoted to destructive firing, we directed an attack to the south of Maurepas, between the valley traversed by the Combles narrow-gauge railroad and the road from Maurepas to Cléry. Almost the whole of this ground was carried, as well as a strongly fortified quarry, and two small woods to the north of Hem. The Germans, having attempted to retake the quarry, were repulsed. The positions thus won, and organized immediately, enabled us to undertake on the following day (Saturday, Aug. 12) the attack of the German third line. It was a widespreading movement, on six and a half kilometers, (four miles,) from the slopes of Hardecourt as far as the Somme. The assault carried us forward to a depth of from 600 to 1,000 yards, and at one point even to a depth of 1,500 yards. Maurepas was reached; the most important part of it, with the church and cemetery, fell into our hands.

On Wednesday, Aug. 16, new gains, even more important, were made after lively fights.

To the south of the Somme, a German reconnoissance, coming forward under the protection of flaming liquids, was dispersed to the west of Vermandovillers. Two days later, on Aug. 12, the Germans, who had bombarded La Maisonnette, sketched an assault which the fire of our guns and machine guns immediately broke. To the south of the road from Péronne, between Estrées and Soyécourt, we carried several elements of trenches on Aug. 13. On Aug. 16 we won 1,300 yards of trenches to the south of Belloy-en-Santerre.

On the English front our allies had to meet frequent attacks. They, on their part, progressed between Pozières and Thiepval, and to the north of Bazentin-the-Less.

During the period beginning Aug. 17 the struggle was concentrated between Maurepas and Guillemont, where our troops were operating in conjunction with the English. The village of Maurepas, in large part occupied by us the week before, had been the object of vigorous efforts on the part of the Germans. On Friday, Aug. 18, we resumed the offensive and carried the northern part of the village by an assault which gave us 200 prisoners. On the following night the enemy launched several successive counterattacks from Maurepas to the Somme, near Cléry. Our machine guns and the skill of our grenadiers broke all these efforts; the enemy was able to occupy only one trench element, which was taken from him again on Saturday morning, Aug. 19. This success was followed up on Sunday, Aug. 20, by the capture of a little wood between Maurepas and Guillemont, which gave us eight 77-milimeter guns; this operation was followed by an artillery duel.

A further cannonade, begun on Tuesday, Aug. 22, to the south of the loop of the Somme, toward Belloy-en-Santerre and Estrées, preceded an attack which permitted the Germans to gain a footing in one part of the trench elements which we had won the day before.

During these days the English seem to have been more active than ourselves. Each day saw the Germans undertake

ardent counterattacks in an effort to retake the important positions of the Foureaux Wood, (High Wood,) Pozières, and the Mouquet Farm. All failed, in spite of the enemy's immense efforts. The fighting was particularly lively on the night of Aug. 16-17, and at dawn. The Germans, approaching the English positions to the northwest of Pozières, that is, between the Bapaume road and Thiepval, launched six successive waves of assault; all broke under the British fire.

On the following night the attack was renewed; the Germans, coming out from Martinpuich, threw themselves furiously against the trenches; the movement was prolonged as far as the point of contact with the French lines toward Guillemont. Everywhere the assailants were thrown back, leaving many dead on the ground. Our British allies, taking advantage of this success, occupied a part of the German trenches, several of which were filled with corpses. The English got as far as the outskirts of Guillemont and Ginchy. A thousand prisoners were taken during these three days.

The struggle little by little broadened out on an extended front, becoming general on the front of eleven miles separating Thiepval from Guillemont. So sharp had been the repulse that the Germans were thrown back all along the line, yielding 300 yards beyond the Pozières windmill, as far as the Somme and the Pas-de-Calais. From this point the British troops command immense horizons toward Bapaume.

The English have kept up their raids, each time taking elements of trenches and machine guns or prisoners. The enemy in vain tried to react; on Sunday, Aug. 20, he succeeded for a brief period in forcing the British lines near the Wood of Foureaux, from which he was almost immediately driven out. On the following day, Aug. 21, he failed near the Mouquet Farm; that is, before Thiepval. The British troops were then 1,000 yards from this village, to which they approached even closer on Tuesday, Aug. 22.

The Maurepas position, which our troops already held in great part, was completely won on Thursday, Aug. 24, by an assault so well carried out that in a single rush we were carried more than 200 yards beyond the enemy's front line, on a breadth of 2,000 yards, from the Combles Valley half way to Le Forest village, where a hill 12-meters (397 feet) high rises 70 meters (230 feet) above the level of the Somme. On the following night the enemy tried to retake this height; in spite of the ardor of the assailants, they were mown down before they reached our trenches; a new attempt, on the evening of Aug. 25, failed equally. The Germans suffered heavy losses; they left in our hands 600 prisoners and a score of machine guns.

To the south of the Somme nothing took place except a fruitless German attack, on the evening of Aug. 23, against the Soyécourt Wood. In all this zone, and thence as far as Roye, Lassigny, and the peninsula formed by the meeting of the Oise and the Aisne, the artillery fire was almost ceaseless, sometimes reaching an extreme intensity.

On the British front, in spite of repeated counterattacks on the part of the Germans, the troops of our allies continued to make progress along their whole front, from Guillemont to Thiepval. This last village was little by little approached by the capture of trenches to the south, the east, and the northeast, at the same time that the English right wing succeeded in coming into touch with the French left wing on the Maurepas line. In vain the enemy replied by a terrible artillery fire; our allies, who have become masters of grenade attacks, marked each day by the occupation of a few hundred yards of trenches. Besides creeping forward toward Thiepval, there have been remarkable gains along the road from Longueval to Flers, which skirts the Delville Wood. Each of these encounters cost the enemy dear; he left several hundred prisoners in the hands of the English.

The Germans reacted violently on the night of Aug. 25-26 toward Guillemont, and to the east of Thiepval, between this village and the Mouquet Farm, then to the south, toward the Leipsic redoubt. The fighting was furious at this last point, where the Prussian Guard

delivered the assault, after prolonged artillery preparation. These chosen troops, in spite of their efforts, were repulsed; at no point were they able to force the British line. Thereafter the attempts were less far-reaching, but the bombardment was continuous.

About the beginning of September it was known that an intense artillery preparation was going on. But rain and storms had made it impossible to attack the German lines.

During the night of Saturday-Sunday, Sept. 2-3, our fire and that of the English reached an extraordinary intensity. On Sept. 3 at noon the signal was given for a general attack. The British troops launched their attack upon Guillemont, which was brilliantly carried; they occupied Ginchy in part, on the elevated plateau which during the Revolution was chosen for one of the Chappe system of semaphore signals. The French troops were attacking on a wider front, nearly four miles, from the north of Maurepas as far as Cléry-on-the-Somme. Their dash was wonderful; in a very short time all the objectives appointed for our regiments were carried. The village of Le Forest, hidden at the bottom of a narrow basin, was taken; our soldiers pushed past it and got a footing on the eastern slope. At the same time other troops, starting from Maurepas, reached the approaches of the strongly fortified Combles and seized the road which connects it with Le Forest.

From Le Forest to Cléry-on-the-Somme the enemy works were rapidly invaded. Cléry, an important centre lying along a loop of the Somme, was carried. Yet it was a strong position, because of the extent of the town, whose homes were so many points of defense. But all yielded before the ardor of our troops. Almost the whole of Cléry was soon occupied—a precious success, for this is one of the few Somme crossings, its road and bridges having always had a high importance, the Créqui, who were the lords of Cléry, having defended it by a castle in the middle of the Somme marsh, which they named with the motto of their illustrious family; "Nul s'y frotte." But that day we were not able to reach the road.

The Germans immediately called on their reserves. Launched in compact masses between Le Forest and Cléry, near 109-Meter Hill, the highest point of this zone, they were not able to reach our lines. Our adversaries left in our hands 2,500 prisoners, 14 cannon, 60 machine guns, in Le Forest zone alone. On their side, the English had captured several hundred Germans, whether toward Guillemont, or in a fight near the Mouquet Farm, in the direction of Thiepval.

On Monday, Sept. 4, the battle was resumed, this time on both sides of the Somme. To the north of the river, our troops reached the verge of a deep ravine filled by the Marrière Wood. At the same time we had to meet a counterattack directed by the enemy from Combles, and then from the Anderlu Wood, against Le Forest. Our cannon and machine guns dispersed the assailants.

To the south of the Somme, the battle covered a much wider front. The attack developed on a front of twenty kilometers, (twelve and a half miles,) beginning at Barleux. This village is in the loop of the Somme, between Belloy and Péronne; the twelve-mile front reached to the immediate approaches of Roye.

We were in possession of Belloy-en-Santerre on the north of the Roman Road, which has become the road from Amiens to Vermond, and, on the road, we also held Estrées. The enemy was at Barleux, Berny, and Deniécourt, a hamlet of the commune of Estrées, then, further back, at Soyécourt. From Barleux our troops carried the whole first line of trenches, and the entire village of Soyécourt, which had been so fought over. The assault, brilliantly carried out, brought us to the approaches of Deniécourt.

To the south of Soyécourt, less than a kilometer away, the village of Vermandovillers covers an extensive space transformed by the German pioneers into a fortress difficult to approach. However, we reached it and occupied part of it; to the north and south French elements got beyond it, prepared to carry this strong position completely. In the direction of the Amiens railroad we occupied Lihons-en-Santerre; from this point our troops advanced in the direction of Chaulnes,

and reached the long strips of wood which surround this town, a thousand yards from it; they are what remain of the old park of the Dukes of Chaulnes, laid out in the reign of Louis XIV. in the style of Versailles.

In the direction of Roye, beyond the railroad junction, the village of Chilly was taken. The enemy had fortified it by flanking it with a work established on 86-Meter Ridge, dominating the Roye railroad at the village of Hallu. All of this was captured.

In order to stop our progress, the German command asked for reinforcements from Roye; they hastened up by the road from Paris to Lille; but, our observation service having signaled them at the moment when, reaching the region between Liancourt and Fouches, they were about to traverse the valley of the Ingon, they were caught under the fire of our heavy batteries and dispersed.

In spite of the bad weather fighting was resumed on Tuesday, Sept. 5, with success for the English and for us. Our allies, master of Guillemont, extended their progress around this village, got a footing on the little plateau of the semaphore to the east of Ginchy, and pushed the Germans back on the Combles Road for 1,500 yards, as far as a long strip of woods called the Leuze Wood on the right of the road, and the Bouleaux Wood on the left, which they captured on Sept. 6. To the south they carried a ridge fiercely defended, thanks to extensive works based on the Salsemont Farm.

During this time the French troops were advancing from the approaches of Combles to the Somme. The Anderlu Wood, to the north, from which the enemy had directed his last and very violent counterattack, was outflanked from the west; between Le Forest and Bouchavesnes, the farm of L'Hôpital was taken by assault, as was also a thicket called the Reinette Wood; our impetus carried us to the edge of the Marrière Wood, which is long and narrow, and only a kilometer (1,093 yards) from the national road which connects Péronne with Bapaume. These attacks, carried out with irresistible force, brought us at the same time to the road from Bouchavesnes to Cléry, where we got a foothold on a ridge crossed by the high road.

Finally, we completed the capture of Cléry by capturing, on the other bank of the Somme, the loop of *Nul s'y frotte*, and the hamlet of Omiécourt. We had already established ourselves on this winding of the river, for we held the Somme canal, which passes through a deep cut between Buscourt and the Sormont farm. This was the last Somme crossing which the Germans held downstream from Péronne.

In the region of Chaulnes, our soldiers drove the enemy from several salients which he still occupied, from Vermandovillers to Chilly. On Wednesday, Sept. 6, we carried the village of Berny, and further south we pushed our line forward to the outskirts of Chaulnes.

We had already taken a considerable number of prisoners in the fighting of Sept. 6, in this sector 4,047, of whom 55 were officers. The number of cannon captured was 36; 28 are heavy guns, which shows how rapidly the enemy's lines were crossed. More than 100 machine guns were taken.

Besides the fighting at Guillemont in connection with our attack against Le Forest, the British troops were engaged almost every day at different points of the front as far as the Ancre. On the evening of Thursday, Aug. 31, the Germans had tried to reach the Foureaux Wood; repulsed, they turned their efforts to the east, as far as Ginchy; five times they attempted an assault on this line of about two miles; their final effort gave them a footing in certain trench elements. This affair cost them dear in killed and wounded, but it was of no use to them, as during the night the British retook the greater part of the ground they had lost.

On Sunday, Sept. 3, our allies repulsed a counterattack from the direction of Thiepval, to the northwest of the Mouquet Farm. On Sept. 6 they seized the whole of the Leuze Wood, which extends as far as Combles.

[Since Sept. 6 the Allies have made important gains, notably in the capture of Combles and Thiepval. The smaller villages taken include Deniécourt, Rancourt, Vermandovillers, Morval, Les Boeufs, and Eaucourt l'Abbaye.]

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

How I Escaped From German Captivity

By Joseph W. Yoselevitch

A Soldier in the Russian Army

The author of this article, which originally appeared in the Evreyskaya Nedielya of Moscow, is an electro-technical engineer, a Jew born in Samarkand, Turkestan. In spite of his profession, he was sent to the trenches as an ordinary soldier.

I SERVED in the Turkestan Rifle Regiment of Samarkand. In the first months of the war our regiment guarded the railroad lines, but in October we were dispatched to the front. I participated in a series of battles together with my company. At the end of the month the Commander ordered me to take over some telephone apparatus from an officer who arrived from Moscow, to become acquainted with its use, and to instruct several soldiers in it. * * * Later I was appointed the telephone operator of the company. I had three assistants, and was placed in the same trench with the commander.

I was taken prisoner on Nov. 12, 1914, about noon. There were few on our side, only about one company, and of the Germans there were rows after rows. About 400 feet in front of us the Germans stopped and opened such a fire that we were unable to aim with our rifles, and we shot without even raising our heads from the trenches. Thus we held on from morning till noon. But it soon became impossible to hold out any longer. The Germans were getting in back of us. Then some voice shouted: "From left to right, run back one by one!" The enemy, seeing our retreat, opened even a more terrific fire from machine guns and cannon. My turn came to run. I mentally said farewell to my mother and started out. I had scarcely made 200 steps when I heard some one calling me by name. Making a few more steps, I fell into a shell crater. As I was just about to raise my head, a screeching shell flew past me so closely that I felt its heat. It exploded near me, deafening me for the moment and covering me with earth. I lost consciousness. When I came to myself I heard a loud cry, but could not understand it. I began to rise, but was so weak that I fell again. Then I exerted myself again, and succeeded in standing up. What I saw before me congealed the blood in my veins.

Captured by the Enemy

A German, with his rifle trained, was directly in front of me, shouting something which I did not understand. From this position some approaching German cavalry saved me. One of the Uhlans struck me with his sabre and seized me by my collar, dragging me after him. I was dragged for some distance, till we reached a group of Germans. There I saw my comrades who ran out of the trench before me. I broke out in tears, caused by the nervous strain, but soon controlled myself and began to bandage the arm of a wounded comrade, Voliakoff.

But my work was interrupted by the Germans. They fell upon us as a herd of hungry jackals, taking our boots, hats, tobacco, sugar, biscuit, and money. When they were through looting they gave to some of us rags, to others—nothing. They even stripped some of us of our coats, though it was cold at the time. Later, when we passed the battery, the artillerists fell upon us, but except a rope they could find nothing on us.

After a couple of miles of marching the Germans stopped us and asked if we wanted to eat. When they heard our "Yes," one of them said, "You will eat when you get to Germany." Upon this our conversation ended. It was growing dark when we entered the town of Strikow. In the morning it had been in our hands, now it was German. We were led to a place where a gray General met

us. After learning the report of our convoy, he drew his sabre and swung it over our heads. But this pleasure soon tired him and he left us in peace, cursing. Then we were led to an open space near the church, of which only a heap of stone and burned wood remained. The passing Germans searched us, but could find nothing. Thus we spent several hours.

Another party of prisoners joined us here, and we learned from them that they had been captured three days ago, but the Germans would give them no food all the time. For seven days the Germans drove us day and night, stopping only for short intervals to rest near villages or towns. No food at all was given us. When marching through some town the Jewish women would stealthily throw us bread. But the guards kept a sharp eye on them, and often used the butt ends of their rifles upon the women. In these seven days we went through some real horrors. In addition to our receiving no food, we were forced to make thirty-mile marches daily. Our feet were all blisters. When we would by chance stop in a field where potatoes once grew, we would dig with our bare fingers into the frozen ground, and if we found frozen potatoes we ate them raw, so terrible was our hunger.

Woe befell the one whose strength gave out. He would be lifted on bayonets and gunstocks. What became of those who could not rise, I know not, as we were driven forward. Finally, toward the evening of the seventh day we reached a railroad station and were put aboard a a cattle train, seventy men in each car. There were no bunks of any kind in them. The doors and windows were sealed and no pleas of ours would make the Germans open them. It was terribly hot in the car. The air was polluted. * * * When on the night of the second day we were brought to Camp Hameln, and the doors of the cars were opened, we could not look at light. Those two days in which we were hermetically sealed in the cars worked some terrible harm to us. I myself saw several corpses in our car. Thus our journey ended, and we found ourselves in Germany.

The first thing we saw upon leaving our train was wooden barracks, surrounded by barbed wire. All around were little bridges on which sentries with machine guns and rifles stood guard. On one side was a battery of four guns, trained at the camp. We were not led to the barracks, where there were Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Russains, but to mud huts near by, separated by barbed wire from the barracks. Each of us received a number which he had to wear on his neck, a tin spoon and two bowls, one for food and the other for washing.

The huts were about one yard deep and covered with turf. Over the top and the entrance a tarpaulin was drawn, so that the front side was about four feet high. The back of the huts simply adjoined the ground, so that in order to enter them we had to crawl on all fours. It was even impossible to sit up in them, and we had to lie on the ground strewn with wood shavings. It was raining and snowing. The wind would often tear the tarpaulin away and the huts would be filled with water, as they were dug in the slope of a hill. Although each of us received later two blankets, those were useless, as we were always lying in water.

The food we got was poor. Often we would even receive no bread. We suffered terribly from hunger. It is dreadful even now to recall all that. If one fell sick he would be taken to a separate hut, where he lay without any medical attention till he recovered or died. The mortality among us was terrific. We repeatedly begged through the interpreter to be transferred to the barracks, but the commandant refused. We suffered from cold, hunger, and parasites. The latter simply ate us to death. There were cases of men actually dying because of them. And in addition we suffered from the Germans' beatings.

Prisoners Put to Work

Finally, before Christmas, we were ordered into the barracks. There was no end to our joy. Here it was clean, one could walk upright, there were mattresses, pillows, and boxes to sleep on. There was a stove. It was light and dry. Two hours a day we were allowed to smoke.

In February it was announced that we would be sent for "free" labor. On the ninth of the month we were dispatched. Five hundred of us were selected, and I was one of these. We were put on a train and rode for about twelve hours till we came to the station Kuakinbruck. From this station we walked about ten versts. Then we came to a camp of two barracks. The commanding officer divided us in two parties to be located in each of these barracks. We were led to work in groups of fifty. We drained swamps, cut forests, dug canals, leveled fields and did various other jobs. We received no pay in the first three months, then we got thirty pfennigs a day. While at work the guards would often use their bayonets and gun stocks to drive us on. Our food was meagre.

In this camp—Gerberzuschlag was its name—we began writing letters home. We were allowed to write six postal cards a week. Soon we began receiving parcels and mail from home. If they were lost on the way we were not allowed to complain about it. The money sent to us by our relatives was paid out to us in special tickets issued for war prisoners and accepted in the camp store. We could buy tobacco, sugar, cigarettes, cards, salt, and, later, black beer. Here we also had a bathhouse and a "hospital" where our own sanitary officer and a German medical assistant rendered aid. The latter recognized no sickness of any kind, this resulting in the frequent arrests of our poor sanitary officer when he dared contradict the doctor. There were cases of atrocious teatment in this camp. Once an order was posted declaring that Lieutenant officers who did not wish to work could not be compelled to do so; but when our officers tried to take advantage of this the Germans resorted to the use of arms. Lieutenant Proskurin, for instance, was such a victim. Because of his refusal to work he was badly beaten and stabbed. He received eight wounds in the back and his skull was broken. After this torture he was dragged in an unconscious state to work. The chief participants in this ordeal were Medical Assistant Kuhlman and Lieutenant Bock.

Plans for Escape

The idea of escape was always present in me, but I was not fortunate enough to be assigned to agricultural work. Finally, in February, 1916, I was sent to Kluze in Westphalia. There were fifteen of us in the party and we found thirty-eight others at the station. We were all kept in the building of a former butter plant. The windows were grated with iron. The filth was indescribable. Every morning at 6 the guards would take us to the peasants and distribute us among them for the day. With them we worked till 7 in the evening. Then we would be led back to our quarters. There was a fence of barbed wire around the building.

We began to prepare seriously for an escape. Five of us decided to run, and made one unsuccessful attempt. Then, through a comrade working in a nearby estate, we found out that there was a boat near the river. But it was hard to get hold of it. The boat was lying between two barns and the house. Two gates would have to be passed, also guards and dogs. However, we decided to try, and on April 11, taking leave of our comrades, we started out on our adventure.

By digging under the wall of the building we managed to get out into the open. Not far from the estate we left our bags and went toward the gates. We passed the first successfully, but the second creaked and immediately a light appeared in the window. We were blocked for the moment, but were evidently unnoticed, as the light was soon put out. Four of us took the boat, the fifth carried the oars, and we began to move toward the river. We did not know the road, and the boat was heavy. We finally reached the water, but we discovered here a patrol on guard. As the patrol turned in the opposite direction, we quietly lowered the boat and crossed the river. On the other side we dragged the boat out of water and hid it in the bushes.

Crossing the Boundary

Now, before we reached the Holland boundary, there were two lines of guards to be eluded. With the dawn of the new

day we found a place in the forest and hid there for the day, lying in the moss. When night came we started out again. That night we safely passed the first line of guards. The sentry was slumbering on his post, and we slipped through under his nose. We walked through swamps. Our legs would sometimes get stuck. When morning came we hid for the day again, but this time we had to lie in water.

The third night finally arrived, and we moved forward again. Toward morning we noticed some ramparts, and I decided that this was the boundary, but my comrades were of a different opinion. We crawled over these ramparts and came out in front of a wide canal. We started at first to wade through it, but found it too deep, so we had to walk along it. We subsequently came to a bridge, but here a sentry was stationed. He was in his box. I was the last of the five to pass by him, and, unfortunately, the comrade in front of me struck a board. The sentry emerged from his box. As it was very dark, I succeeded in hiding quietly. He stood for some time listening. Finally he re-entered his hut. I safely crossed to the other side. Here we had to pass over two smaller ramparts and a narrower canal.

With my conclusion that we had passed the boundary safely my comrades would not agree. And so with the breaking of the third day we hid again. When the fourth night came we kept moving forward. This time I succeeded in converting my comrades, and we went out in the open. But still we would hide when seeing people coming in our direction on the highway. At the end we came to a city. It proved to be in Holland.

The police, whose attention we had attracted, stopped us, and upon learning that we were Russians who had escaped from Germany congratulated us, warmly pressed our hands and immediately sent us to the police station, where we were well received and fed. The following day we were directed to our Consul. On our way the people and the authorities showed much hospitality toward us. Everybody shook our hands and gave us something. I will always remember with much gratitude the warm reception given to us in Holland.

Tommy Atkins's Vocabulary

By Maurice Dekobra

The Correspondent of the Paris Journal at the British Front

[Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IF the poilus of France have a vocabulary fit to freeze the blood of members of the Academy, what will the philosophers of the future think when they study the language of Tommy Atkins! One day in camp I heard two Tommies conversing with animation. Here is a literal report of the sentences they exchanged, pipe in mouth, hands thrust into the pockets of their khaki coats:

"I say, Bill, your Captain is a bally monkey."

"Why, Jock?"

"Because he had me excused from the ball by the castor oil artist. * * * Last evening a Jack Johnson burst in front of me. Naturally I ducked my nut, but I was shaken up in A1 style, and my neighbor was lixiviated. The sky pilot came to the rescue and made me get off the line while the fat Lizzies were dropping. Says I: 'I'll stop one of them yet.' Says he: 'My boy, smoke a coffin nail; that'll put some vinegar into your joints.' Well, I lit one, and—damnation! —a tar box came tumbling down, and then a lot of bears' cubs besides."

"Hell, what were you waiting for, Jock?"

"For the litter carrier, who was doing the crab act. He says to me, 'Stick out your peg. * * * You've got a bally wound—you're good for the No. 9 pill.'"

" He needed to have his jug closed with a direct on the piano."

" One minute! Along comes a bag of rations, and I says: ' Paddy, what would you think of a humid? ' ' All right; suits me,' says he. So there I had it on my hands. We stowed our kneecaps in a smoking room with Mick, Nobby, the fellow with the hootchy-cootchy, and Ginger—you know, the tall chap who wanted to flirt with the little skirt who serves the tea. * * * "

Naturally it is difficult to reproduce in French word for word all the picturesqueness of a dialect unknown to Swinburne or Shelley. But the good poilus who invented the " totos," the " pinard," and the " crapouillots " will gather the drift of the two Tommies' conversation. The " castor oil artist," or " pill No. 9," is the army doctor, the " toubib " dear to our colonials. The " sky pilot " is the chaplain, and the " coffin nails " are the Virginia cigarettes which the British Quartermasters' Department distributes to its soldiers. The " tar boxes " are the big German shells, [the French term is saucepans,] the "Jack Johnsons" are the 380s, and the " bag of rations " is the pot-bellied subaltern who terrorizes the young British recruits on the drill ground.

" A humid " is a glass of beer, and when one " has it on one's hands " it means that one is ready to treat the crowd. Finally, the " hootchy-cootchy," an American dance in the days before the war, has become a synonym with the Tommies for having the itch.

In the dialect of the Tommies a Scotsman is always Mac or Jock, an Irishman Mick or Paddy, and Ginger is a soldier with red hair. In like manner they designate as " bally " everything that is agreeable; for example, an officer who treats them well, a light wound that will give them a good term of convalescence, &c.

Sometimes Tommy learns to his cost that it is dangerous to talk slang. One night in October, 1914, I was passing with General X. along the B. Canal, when a sentinel, invisible in the obscurity, cried " Halt! " The General did not stop. Tommy immediately lowered his bayonet and cried more loudly: " Halt! Who goes there? " Then, suspicious, he approached, raised a lantern to the nose of the General, and growled these words: " Wait a little till I cast an eye on your bloody block."

It is needless to add that Tommy's own " block " paled frightfully when he discovered the rank of his victim.

This slang of the British soldiers was known before the war, but the campaign in France has added new and extraordinary words to it, words and phrases in which English and French are married at will, offering the most astonishing linguistic salad that ever haunted the nightmares of an etymologist.

By reason of hearing the villagers answering, like a little darky, " N'a plus," (there is no more,) to their demands for beer, eggs, or milk, the Tommies have made a word of it, pronouncing it " napou," and it serves to designate the most unexpected things. " Napou " may be an abandoned trench, a letter that brings bad news, a punishment, a missed breakfast, &c. There are clever peasant women who are not astonished to hear a Highlander tap at their window and demand: " Madame, two napous s'iou plait." They understand immediately that Tommy wants two eggs; in like manner, if he had asked for a glass of " napou " they would have brought him a mug of beer on the spot.

Tommy is really an unconscious humorist, mingling the puerility of a child with the tranquil irony of an old man. He proves it even in front of the Boches.

One morning Mac wakes up in the first-line trench, stiff with cold, and with his left cheek frightfully swollen. He regards himself aghast in a bit of broken mirror and says to his comrade, Bert:

" What do I look like with a jaw like that? "

And Bert, calmly chewing his bread and marmalade, replies with a serious air:

" Wait till the other cheek is the same size, Mac; then have yourself photographed, and send your phiz to the newspapers, to let them see how well fed we are in the army."

Silhouettes From the French Front

By Baroness Marika Stiernstedt

Swedish Author

A SWEDISH officer once said to me: "Evidently, it is the artistic and poetic sides of war that render it tolerable and even sometimes make you love it!" And here in France the artistic sense is largely gratified.

The classic red trousers of the French soldier have been changed to blue. The troop advances with rhythmic step, in fine order, but without swagger. The sum of all this blue, the blue from the uniforms and helmets, forms, during the march, a moving line, a wave which marks a delicate profile against the equally blue sky, whose effect it repeats and underlines. The men's faces are sunburned and firm from the open air, their brown eyes look forward with conscious valor. I admire this troop, although their uniforms are often faded, their faces ill-shaven or unshaven, often with long black mustaches, little cared for. An air of vigor characterizes them, and gives their presence in this landscape its deep reason and its beauty.

Watching them march, calm and firm, with an expression of decision ennobling their rustic faces, under helmets brought back from the Middle Ages, I find myself dreaming of the predecessors of these warriors, I go back from generation to generation to their ancestors, Frenchmen of this same France, who set forth of yore to the Crusades, to deliver the Holy Land.

The men I see today have also a holy land to liberate, the sacred soil of their fatherland; and, had I been one of the gentlemen of our little caravan, I should have respectfully taken off my hat to them. But I must fain be content with a sign of the hand, to which they respond with friendly smiles. * * *

In the middle of the road we come upon a rude cart, dragged by several horses; it carries an ironclad German turret, won by the French in an enemy position. The turret is intact, its walls are at least as thick as a man's arm. It has a melancholy air, abandoned on this rude vehicle. Its door is ajar, and I notice that it can be closed or opened only from the outside. One of the French officers draws our attention to this peculiarity; he tells us how the turret was found with its machine gun installed, and with three men shut into it—as many as it was possible to crowd in—stark dead, without the least wound, suffocated. The door of the turret had been locked behind them. They had heard the click of the bolt, and knew that they were given over by their own people to an almost certain and infinitely cruel death.

"Is it true? Is it possible? Is this war?"

"Why, yes!" the officer answers me. "That is, Madame, as they understand it!"

Another officer told me how, by the order of Kaiser Wilhelm, who thought the resistance was too "obstinate," a picked division of 25,000 young men tried to rush the defenses of the Yser, only to be mowed down line after line, so that but three or four thousand remained alive * * * and, be it remarked, without this butchery accomplishing its aim. A French officer, who had fought at the Yser, said to me:

"I never saw a more touching spectacle!—never a more complete piece of madness!" In this brief answer I seem to see the expression of the profound difference between two civilizations, two ways of viewing life. On the one side, a moral culture which, even in the horror of war, has laid down limits, in spite of everything keeping its respect for the isolated human life; and, on the other, a "Kultur" which holds massacre to be a fine thing, and for which butchery has an aesthetic value. * * *

French discipline is entirely different from the German ideal, whose motto is, blind, passive obedience. The Frenchman wishes to understand what he is doing

or is to do; he requires an explanation. The man in the ranks must be treated as a thinking being; he must feel the effort to give him an idea what his own work represents in the total of the great work. Then he will accomplish it with double enthusiasm. For he will have felt his personal responsibility; he accepts his task with all its consequences, and it will become the goal of his personal ambition.

The poilu of our days is the great-grandson of the Vieux Grognard of the Grand Army. He likes to grumble a little, to exercise the spirit of criticism; but let him perceive that his leaders are dealing squarely with him and he will march unhesitatingly to his death. Every French soldier knows that his life is dear to his great leaders, and that, in the terrible and splendid problem of the war, they calculate in France scrupulously with each of the precious human existences at the front, however paradoxical this may seem. * * *

A new image rises before me, and takes its place among the rest. It is that of the General, the solitary figure, in a wide cloak, departing through the gray mist, across yellow, devastated fields, while his story was being told to us. This figure remains dominant in my memory. In my eyes, it takes the proportions of those Napoleonic heroes who once played such a marvelous game with the destinies of Europe, and who today are only shades; and I seem to see these glorious shades hovering around the living leader, laying protecting hands upon him as on the head of a beloved child.

The Touchdown of Private Snips

By R. W.

In trench warfare, where flag wagging is impossible and the telephone wires may be broken at any moment by shell fire, runners are used to maintain communications between the different military units. The position of runner is eagerly sought by adventurous young soldiers. Every officer has several runners attached to him, the number increasing with the higher ranks. The subjoined article is based on an actual experience at the British front in France.

THE officer in command of a certain section of the captured trench has completed his observations and writes a short dispatch—in triplicate, for good reasons.

"Runner!" he ejaculates.

A man immediately approaches him.

"Take this to the O.C.", says the officer. "You'll find him at —— farm. You'll have a tough job, I'm afraid."

"Very good, Sir," returns the runner briskly. There is nothing in his tone to denote that he is about to attempt an almost hopeless task.

The moment he starts for the rear he knows that the enemy snipers and machine guns will concentrate upon him. Even if he escapes these he will still have a terrific barrage to traverse.

Waiting a few moments till there is a lull in the enemy's fire, he sprints across the open. The officer turns away briskly to superintend the work of consolidation, but swings round at the cry: "He's down, Sir!"

A glance confirms the words, and the officer takes another dispatch from his haversack.

"Runner!" he exclaims in a mechanical tone.

"Yes, Sir!"

The officer repeats his previous orders.

"Need I take my rifle and bandolier, Sir?" inquires the runner.

"No, leave 'em behind, 'Snips'!" returns his superior genially.

"Snips" is not his real name, though he is so called by all the men, and by his officers, too, on occasions such as this. Below middle height, he is young and of wiry build, with a sharp, intelligent face, and at inside right has in the past brilliantly helped to uphold the honor of the regimental team.

There is a cheery smile on his face as

he gets over the parapet to make a run on this other field—in this grimmer game. Instead of starting straight for his destination he sprints off at a tangent, then, turning in a flash, darts in another direction. The machine guns are rattling away incessantly. The men cease their work for a moment to watch, as "Snips" twists and turns, dashes and darts in different directions, but all the time drawing nearer to his goal.

"Good old Snips! Doan't pass, laad! Take the ball on yoursen!"

Such were the laughing shouts which followed him. The rattle of the machine guns seems to increase in fury at their impotence to stop that dodging figure.

Suddenly "Snips" pitches forward headlong. A husky groan comes from the trench he has just left.

"Runner!" ejaculates the officer in the same toneless voice as before.

But a cry of:

"Good lad! Good old Snips!" causes him to glance quickly in that direction; and he sees his runner again dashing on.

"Lay doggo in a shell-hole to kid the Boche gunners," explains one of the men with pride.

A few minutes later "Snips" was out of danger of the machine guns, but an even greater menace lay ahead. The enemy were putting a dense barrage between him and his destination. He kept on running till he reached the shrapnel-sprayed zone he must traverse. Then he deliberately slowed down to a walk. A runner, according to their own code, may run under rifle but not shell fire. Luck was with "Snips," for he passed through the inferno unscathed and delivered his dispatch.

* * * * * * *

"Snips" is on his way back, bearing a written message from the O. C. He realizes that the enemy shell fire is even greater than before as he reaches the barrage. He trudges sturdily through it. Suddenly with a gasp of pain he falls to the ground. For a moment he writhes with agony, then with his clasp-knife he rips the cloth around his knee, laying bare a ragged wound. Though quivering with pain he takes out his bandages and stoically binds it up. With an effort he stands up on his sound leg, and his face twists as he puts the other to the ground. He means to go forward, and does so, though slowly and suffering agony.

Shrapnel falls on every side of him with ominous "phuts." He struggles on and on dizzily, and well aware that he has lost idea of direction. By sheer will-power he staggers forward. Then he hears a buzz of voices and he is gripped by a strong hand.

"Steady, lad, you've come to the front trench. The 'first aid' is the other way!" exclaims an officer to whom he is unknown.

For an instant "Snips's" pain-drawn face lights up, as with a lurch he thrusts out his dispatch.

"I'm a runner, Sir," he murmurs dazedly; then slides limply to the ground.

The "Devil's Own" and "God's Own"

A Protest Concerning Preachers

AT a session of the Trade Union Congress held in London in September the following resolution was moved by Ben Tillett of the London Dockers' Union:

That this Congress regrets the unfair privilege which has been given by the Government to members of the clerical profession by granting them exemption from the operations of the Military Service act. We view with regret that a large class of able-bodied men who are engaged in unproductive employment should not be used to better purpose during this critical period. We call upon the Parliamentary Committee at once to approach the Government with a view to removing this anomaly.

He did not wish, he said, to make any attack on the clergy. He had seen something of their good work at the front. But he protested against the anomaly of their exemption as a profession. There

were 20,000 able-bodied parsons and clerics in England. The majority of them were at the beck and call of the conscriptionists from the beginning of the war. But when conscription came near they went through the back doors of Parliament to get exemption. Two hundred theological students of Bangor thought it would be far better to be a live parson than a dead soldier. They were not playing the game. The lawyers had created a "Devil's Own." It would be far more to the credit of the clerical profession if they would create a "God's Own." Why should these men who were so fond of talking about heaven be so afraid to go through its gates? He protested against the action of "these cowardly creatures sneaking out of their obligations."

A. Law, (Spinners,) in seconding the resolution, said that he was a lay preacher in a section of the church which had a paid ministry and was not exempted, but lay preachers—working men like himself—in another section of the church which had no paid ministry were exempted. This was an intolerable injustice.

J. Sexton, (Dockers, Liverpool,) while not opposing the resolution, protested against Mr. Tillett's speech. There was not a university or training college which had not contributed generously of its men to the army. Why single out the clergy for attack? There were some others exempted who were doing a good deal more mischief.

C. G. Ammon (Fawcett Association) reminded Mr. Tillett that he himself had done much to make the imposition of conscription easy by going about the country to attack his own class as slackers and loafers. As to Mr. Law, it was not the business of the Congress to help one amateur sky-pilot who had not got exemption to vent his feelings against professional brethren who had. To pass the resolution would be to approve again the whole system of conscription.

G. Milligan (Dockers, Liverpool) said Mr. Tillett must have some private motive in raising this question. It would create bitterness all over the country. To introduce his anti-clerical ideas into the Congress was a shameful thing, while his seconder was merely a blackleg minister. The resolution said the clergy were engaged in unproductive employment. Well, what did the dockers produce? The production of morals was surely a far nobler employment.

The resolution was carried by 1,379,000 votes to 1,200,000.

Evolution of the German World Conqueror

[An Italian Cartoon]

—From L'Asino, Rome.

The Duty of the New Germany

By Adolf von Harnack

Professor of Theology and General Director of the Royal Library, Berlin

[Part of an oration delivered in Philharmonic Hall, Berlin, Aug. 1, 1916]

WHAT ends do we set before us? First in internal affairs. I will speak only of such ends as we may prepare for now during the war. I name two: The preservation and heightening of our people's energy, and the establishment of a German common economy, *i. e.*, of a national community of labor. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft.]

As to the preservation of our people's energy. We cannot replace the precious blood that has flowed so abundantly and the heavy losses that our people have suffered, but we can to some extent fill in the ghastly gaps and prepare a still stronger future. How? By care and training in every direction. We must commence by care for our most valuable possession—the rising generation. We must then—do not think this an irrevelant and trifling matter—set to work for the newborn babe, and then go on to bring into line with this the care of infants and of school children when they are in peril in children's homes. [Kinderhorte.] Further, we must develop our continuation schools still further than hitherto.

But much more is involved. I name three outstanding elements: Care for housing, for popular education, and for the prevention of disease. We must carry out improvements at any cost; otherwise we incur the gravest perils. The housing question involves health, morality, happiness, or gloom and unhappiness.

The educational problem is less difficult. A new political, geographical, and intellectual horizon has been opened to our people by the war, and its noble passion for education has received a new and powerful stimulus. We must meet this, not through the common school, on which ill-founded hopes have been set, but in many and varied ways—through the continuation schools to which I have already referred, through the establishment of serious popular high schools [Volkshochschulen] in city and country. Denmark has in this matter set us an example, through popular libraries, a matter in which we are behind other countries, and through offering every kind of facility to genuine talent seeking an upward way from darkness to light. But in the universities and technical high schools there must be no lessening of effort in the pursuit of science, or we shall lose ground.

Concerning the prevention of disease I need not speak further; I am convinced that we are making powerful strides in this matter, and we shall also without hesitation deal with private relations if this is needful for the protection of the community.

Let our united energy be directed toward the accomplishment of these tasks, and we shall—in spite of all losses—not only preserve the energy of our people but increase it. In this way we shall also find the only means of checking the evil of the falling birth rate. All else that is said upon this subject is worthless talk; there is only one means—joy in healthy children and the facilitation of their training and their future. Both are closely bound together and determine our task.

The second great end in this connection is the setting up of a German common economy; that is to say, a really national community of labor. Ladies and gentlemen, all respect to the franchise—I trust the widest hopes will find fulfillment; all respect to religious freedom—I could wish that the State should no longer inquire as to the religion, but everywhere and exclusively as to capacity and fidelity to duty; but far more important than either of these appears to me the need of a decisive change in our national economic arrangements. The war has exposed the intolerable

evils of the conditions under which we suffer. What did we possess before the war? A system of international private business, and alongside it in certain departments an efficiently working fiscal and military State business. What have we experienced in the war? The fiscal and military State enterprises, under the leadership of men of genius, have widely extended their range of operation and speedily attained the greatest efficiency. On the other hand, the international private business collapsed; the foreign competition ceased, and an irresponsible internal private business, aiming purely at profit, largely took its place. Usury and profit-mongering grew up, and there was here scant trace of the spirit of August, 1914.

If it is clear that we dare never again permit this in war time, there must be a resolve to effect in peace time a great change. This can only follow the lines of certain important undertakings of our national economy—I refer to minerals, coal mines, forestry. We require great numbers of mixed undertakings, in which the State or the local community has a share. A closer working with the State is demanded in all the chief departments of national economy —consequently, also, in the department of trade, and the relations should be so ordered that in time of peace they guarantee a defined but wide field of operations, which nevertheless can be narrowed without difficulty in war time, since the limits in every direction have already been determined. Thus the idea will gradually take possession of the people and guard them against greed of plunder, that all business is a branch of a German common business—even in peace time, and still more evidently in war.

What German Children Are Taught Regarding the Invasion of Belgium

By Alexandre Masseron

A German book for boys, Ernst Niederhausen's "Welt Krieg," has called forth the appended comment from a French writer in Le Revue Hebdomedaire of Paris.

NOTHING persists more profoundly in the man than the vivid impressions received by the child. Today the imagination is inspired by the echoes of the grandiose struggle. Tomorrow the imprint will appear indelible. The Germans who, in 1940, will be in the flower of their age, will know most of all of the European war what the boys of 1915 have heard related and have read in feverish excitement before going forth to sing "Die Wacht am Rhein" in Unter den Linden. And all this they will accept unquestioningly; their belief in it will be firm as rock; their parents' lack of judgment has already stupefied the world. For the scholars who have received Herr Ernst Niederhausen's "Welt Krieg," this collection of essays will become the Bible of the war. * * *

Herr Niederhausen treats history as a philosopher. His philosophy is simple, with a majestic simplicity; there are the Germans, and there are the Belgians; the Germans are virtuous and strong, the Belgians are malignant and weak. The struggle between them is a symbol: it is the eternal conflict between Good and Evil. And, in order to establish its final triumph, which the world awaits in anguished eagerness, the Good, employing all its powers, must punish the Evil without pity and extirpate it from the earth. * * *

The chapter begins on a high note: "Ceaselessly marched the masses of the German Army entering Belgium, regiment upon regiment. For these potent masses of troops were followed by supporting troops. * * * If troops left their posts, others instantly took their places. The land of Germany seemed to the Belgians to be inexhaustible in defenders."

At the sight of these beneficent forces,

the hate of the malignant Belgians grew. In the shadows of the night, sinister ambushes were prepared. Hidden behind trees, or in the ditches, the Belgians fired on German troops. They even slew the weary soldiers who sought rest in the huts of the peasants, while these soldiers slept. Brigandage was rife. Often, the leading people of the country organized and directed these ambuscades. It was not at all a question of single acts, committed under the impulse of anger, but rather the execution of a plan carefully prepared beforehand. Breaches were made in roofs, openings made in walls, loopholes were contrived for the treacherous muzzles of rifles; houses were joined by tunnels, so that their defenders could flee from one to the other. Savage fusillades were fired in the darkness. Houses had to be taken one by one. The German wounded were frightfully mutilated and put to death: "Every feeling of humanity seemed to have deserted the miserable Belgian people—*alles Menschentum schien von diesem elenden Belgischen Volke gewichen zu sein.* * * *"

On Aug. 25, the German troops entering Louvain were received in the friendliest possible way by the inhabitants. The townsfolk vied with one another in lodging the officers in the most comfortable manner possible. Abominable perfidy! They sought only to isolate them!

The evening descended. Nine o'clock sounded from the city belfries. As by a single stroke, the windows opened. The flashes of a fusillade blazed forth.

All the townsfolk, favored by the shades of night, began a combat prepared in advance, following a plan, *einen planmaessig vorbereiteten Kampf*, against what was left of the German garrison.

It was now clearly to be seen why they had wished to isolate the officers, by finding separate lodgings for them.

Daggers and pistols were ready, to rob the troops of their leaders. But matters fell out far otherwise. * * *

The abominable plan had failed. The City of Louvain was burning. All the streets that the dogs of Belgians (canaille) lived in were in flames. Whoever was taken with arms in his hands was shot.

Thy sky was red as blood; heaven announced to the world how the brave German soldiers, who were fighting in a hostile land for their country, suddenly attacked, met the impotent race of cowardly assassins and defended themselves in a struggle by night against the savage onslaught of murderers. * * *

Having conscientiously vilified the Belgians, convicting them of treachery and cowardice, it only remains for Herr Niederhausen to hold up, in contrast with these wretches, the loyal Germans, the cavaliers of Righteousness, standing firm like Lohengrin, in their immaculate armor.

The Kaiser and Louis XIV.

By Gellio Cassi

Italian Historian and Publicist

This striking parallel between the present war and the attempt of Louis XIV. to impose the hegemony of the Hapsburgs upon Europe in the seventeenth century is translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the Revista d'Italia.

IN order to examine thoroughly the cause, to understand the development, and deduce, as far as possible, the consequences of the present European conflagration, consequences which have nothing of the capricious about them, but which are well-founded and serene—we must compare it with one of the other great conflicts of the world. Which shall it be?

It will not be the slow struggle, centuries long, of the power of Rome against the barbarians of the Western World and the anarchy of the Eastern. It is not the marvelous effort of Napoleonic imperialism, which was intended to defend, through the hegemony of France, the sacred principles of 1789. The attempt to impose on the Continent and on the seas the supremacy of the Teuton finds its pendant only in the personal policy of Louis XIV., in that policy which, aban-

doning the glorious traditions of Richelieu and Mazarin, (that is to say, the establishment of the European equilibrium menaced by the power of the Hapsburgs,) tended to impose the hegemony of the Bourbons on Europe. Why should we choose this for our parallel?

Interesting Historic Parallels

There are historical periods in which a State, having reached the maturity of its power, conscious of its own strength, thinks it has the right to act according to the dictates of interest, of the benefits it may obtain, without consideration as to whether this breaks into the interests of the other countries. This creates perils, limits the action of the other Governments, disturbs the political equilibrium, and finally leads to war. The present Teutonic imperialism presents itself then with the same characteristics as that of the Roi Soleil; and so the general picture of European politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lends itself in the most exact way to a comparison with European events of today.

What matter if the France of that time was under the "ancien régime," and present-day Germany has a constitutional Government, since the German people are absolutely at one with the Kaiser, as the Bourbon monarchy was with the Roi Soleil—since the imperialist designs of William and his people are a resurrection of the ambitious views of the Great King? And as Germany affirms that she is fighting for Kultur and has stamped the war with the character of a divine mission for the benefit of the other peoples, so for Louis XIV. the triumph of France signified the splendor and well-being of all Europe. In the same way that the nation made itself one with the monarch, France identified itself with Europe, the fortune of the Bourbons with that of the whole Continent. It may suffice to say that Louis XIV. was the King par excellence; and, in fact, at the Court of Vienna his death was announced with these words, "The King is dead!" And has not William of Germany monopolized the name of Kaiser? * * *

The character of the reign of Louis has a close analogy with that of William; we can even affirm that the German Empire occupied in these last years about the same position as the Bourbon realm in the middle of the seventeenth century. Everything was subordinated to a unique and grandiose conception, to which everything was to be sacrificed; that is to say, to make of the nation the predominating element in European life. The execution of the immense plan having been confided to the Government, every party, every class, every citizen was to renounce his or its own individuality and march under the same discipline under which the armies marched. Thus in France as in Germany—as much in the case of Louis as with William—not only the military classes but also the arts and sciences and thought itself were marshaled in regiments ready for mobilization at the right moment.

Louis Made Similar Excuses

Even from the military standpoint, history repeats itself, and under this head I will recall that the King of France, entering into combat with all Europe, took as his slogan that he was threatened, and was, therefore, defending himself. He started on the principle that for his State everything was permitted, and so he saw a danger for France in the legitimate defense that the other countries were creating for themselves. In discussing peace after the war with Holland, he rejected the conciliating conditions proposed him by Charles II., who acted as a mediator, regretting that any one should pretend to ask him to give up *just conquests* made *in a defensive war against unjustified attacks.* He became most indignant when he learned that certain German Princes, in order to oppose his domination in the matter of the election in the Palatinate, had leagued together in favor of the empire. In their combination he saw, not a common defense, but a provocation, hurtful to France, so that he found it only natural to forearm himself by capturing fortresses lying right in German territory. Neither did he change his ideas during the War of the Succession in Spain, since, when Philip was proclaimed King, the French armies entered Belgium and

seized the barriers where the garrisons were Dutch, maintaining that Holland was threatening him with that line of fortresses, whereas they had been garrisoned by that people from the time they were built. It is the eternal fable of the wolf and the lamb; and the fable was repeated in the present war when Germany declared herself offended by the aggressive demeanor of certain powers, and therefore compelled, according to the imperial phrase, to bare the sword; and so, to justify the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, she declared that if she had not invaded that kingdom her enemies would have done so.

Same Economic Situation

It is even more interesting to observe the conflicts of Louis XIV. and the present struggle from the economic standpoint, for from this side we have results that are not only identical but of capital importance.

Louis XIV. knew how to oppose many enemies at once, giving an example of military preparation and readiness that were lacking among the allies. And notwithstanding this, it was Louis himself who had to ask for peace in 1693. Why? Because to keep up his front against so many enemies the King had had to sacrifice men and money; and the exuberant use of so many forces, drawn away from the work of the fields and from the industries, represented a most grave expenditure of the nation's energy and economic resources. Nor could France safeguard her commerce or refurnish herself from abroad while England and Holland dominated the seas and struck their enemy in his lines of communication, paralyzing that economic liberty which is indispensable, and without which a battle gained is no more than a military success shorn of decisive consequences.

The Great King had triumphantly replied to the blows of the allies, but the latter refused the attempts at a peace proposed by the one who had shown himself their superior; they knew that to obtain the final success Louis needed important resources—and these were beginning to fail. France was weakened, and, notwithstanding the victories, misery was knocking at the doors of the houses, the economic ruin of the country was moving toward the point of being irreparable.

During the war against the Augsburg League the moment arrived, then, when the Great King was forced by his enormous expenses to get money again, and he had recourse to a thousand expedients to procure it, selling public offices, instituting lotteries, and obliging his subjects to bring to the Mint all objects of gold and silver—to the extent that various works of art were lost. * * * It became worse in 1693, when the citizens were ordered, under severe penalties, to give up their gold and silver money in exchange for another currency of smaller value, though of the same face value. * * * In the same year the price of grain trebled, which produced immense uneasiness, misery, and tumults. Fénelon wrote to the King that people were dying of hunger, and it was true.

I admit that 1693 was an exceptional year; yet the fact remains that if Louis's realm had had the freedom of the seas he could have procured all the grain he needed in other places. And I want to give this reminder of France's economic situation during the war with the League of Augsburg because, while misery was conspiring against the country, the armies of the Great King were showing themselves superior to those of his enemies. And there is a close analogy between that and the present situation of the Central Empires.

Napoleon's Case Different

Let no one object that Napoleon succeeded in bending Continental Europe to his will notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain lorded it over the sea and twice defeated his fleet. The victories of the great Emperor were rapid and decisive, as the German victory would have been if the French had been defeated at the Marne. The Napoleonic campaigns were so short for the reason that he would not give the forces allied against him the time to arrange themselves in an iron ring around France and cut him off by sea: he finished the war before that happened.

When will the present conflict end? It is certain that the present struggle does not show the least sign of closing, and

that its prolongation turns to the greater detriment of the Central Empires, just as, at one time, France was sensibly weakened. The Bourbon campaigns teach us that whoever is in a position to dominate the great sea highways enjoys an incontestable superiority over his adversary, because in long conflicts an ever-watchful enemy has to be fought, namely, economic crisis; and this is not kept away from the frontier by cannon or the courage of warriors.

Approaching the Same End

The Allies, therefore, who are exceeding their enemy in the refurnishing of combatants, may, even without a definitive victory, force the Central Empires to peace by continuing to encircle them with a close siege. Let us not delude ourselves, however, as to the exhaustion of the enemy; let us remember the time and efforts that were needed to overcome the Bourbon colossus. A financial crisis like those which France sustained in 1693 and in 1709 has not yet appeared in Austria and Germany. Economic exhaustion has appeared, however; it has barely started, but it has started, and that is enough to make us presage painful days for the two empires, even as France felt them during the last two campaigns of Louis XIV.

Let us not think, either, that a naval blockade can succeed in bringing a country to hunger while it is being helped by maritime exchange with neutrals. The Allies have therefore had to intensify the blockade even to the injury of neutrals, who, theoretically, outside of the conflict, are really maintaining the economic energy of the opponent. History records that Great Britain, in her naval contests with France, with Spain, with Napoleon, had to strike neutral Holland, put Denmark out of combat, and reduce the minor neutrals to inaction. * * *

The present conflict, which has so much affinity with the struggle of the Bourbons against Europe, will certainly close with an analogous result. The Pax Germanica is excluded for the same reasons which made the European coalition exorcise, at another period, the French peril.

Russian Democracy and the War

By Vladimir Burtzeff

Noted Revolutionary Leader and Journalist

[Translated from the Retch of Petrograd for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE period of uncertainty in the war is gone. It is now already clear that we are entering a new and last phase of the struggle. We are witnessing the beginning of the end of the war. To those who are able to understand history the end will not come unexpectedly. And it will be just the kind that it should be. What a deadly blow to all which is dear to us and on which we had lived so long would a different ending be! The danger of the spiritual destruction of democracy is already past.

The world war, like the angel of death, has visited nearly all countries, preying upon millions of men. In its wake it will leave oppressive memories for decades to come. Not only the ruins of cities and villages will serve as reminders of it. Hundreds of thousands of invalids, lingering through many years, will speak eloquently to future generations of what Europe went through in these days of ours.

But the war did not and will not bring, we believe, that stagnation which menaced our progress in case of our enemy's victory. The crisis which we are experiencing is not for death, but for life. Humanity—all humanity, thanks to colossal sacrifices—has finally succeeded in getting off the reef on which it had been grounded for several decades. With the last shot of the machine guns there will begin to disappear all those things which have in recent years kept life

stranded on the same spot, or at best allowed it to move at turtle speed. Humanity will quickly appreciate the value of all that it has gone through in the last two tragic years, and an entirely different political order will be inaugurated. Vast problems will be advanced. To solve them the people have accumulated enoromous experience. There has grown up in the masses a realization of their own powers and an understanding of their own interests, of which one only dared to dream heretofore.

All this we owe not to our muddlers, and certainly not to those political blind who showed themselves unable to find the right ground in regard to the war, but only to those who understood the war's tasks, who devoted themselves wholly to it, stopping at no sacrifices, and who knew no vacillation in their attitude toward the great conflict. * * *

The Russian people, like the English, French, and other allies, have produced political figures belonging to various parties who have honorably passed the examination of history in relation to the war by taking the right view of its problems. From the very beginning they had their position defined clearly without any doubt or opportunism, and subsequently stopped at nothing in maintaining this position.

The rôle of the Russian " Left " parties in regard to the war will especially attract the historian's attention. Due to certain characteristics of Russian politics some " Left " elements found themselves in a truly tragical position. * * * The traditional views of the radicals on Russian political life were from the very beginning discarded by these elements in favor of the thesis that Russian victory meant universal reaction in Russia. This criminal, absurd, and horrible idea that Russian victory was a peril to the fortunes of the movement for freedom found its supporters in the street. All of us encountered at one time or another this unfortunate view. It perplexed the most sincere and ardent friends of the masses.

To those of the " Left " parties that stood absolutely for the war it was an axiom, of course, that the most terrible peril to the Russian revolutionary movement was to be found in the triumph of Germanism, of the type that history would be justified in styling " Wilhelmism." In reply to their political opponents, the supporters of the other radical factions categorically declared their credo in the following words: " If the victory of the Allies over Germany can be attained only at the expense of the Russian movement for freedom—then let it be thus! The destruction of the Russian revolutionary movement, should it take place in case of the Allies' victory, cannot but be temporary, and the peril lurking in it can in nowise be compared to the perils that a German triumph would entail to humanity. Whatever else the Teuton victory would mean to Russia, it would mean primarily material support to all the reactionary elements among us."

Such tirades were resorted to only for argumentary reasons, and not in order to calm one's own conscience. In the depth of the soul one always felt that victory for the Allies would also mean the triumph of the Russian movement for freedom, that the two were in fact synonymous. * * *

The present war is of such general national significance that we even observe an effort to comprehend it fully and labor sincerely for its success in quarters where one could least of all expect it—namely, among the nationalists, the " Right," and the reactionary forces. These elements never before manifested any true sense of serving the nation's interests, having always been guided by narrow class interests and by views of past centuries. * * * And now, even among the members of these parties, a correct estimate of the all-Russian significance of the war has at times been shown. Some of the most violent representatives of reactionary thought have even succeeded in effacing their recent past to some degree, thus creating in us a new respect for their activities.

But if some individual members of the " Right " parties manifested their sincere interest in the country's fortunes, the reactionaries as a political organization have demonstrated through their

most powerful leaders an attitude which to characterize fairly there are not words harsh enough to be found. [The censor here deleted a considerable space, which was evidently devoted to the Germanophiles among the Russian reactionaries.]

It is of course true that the "Right" are not any real agents of Wilhelm II. They are not advocates of defeat because of love for Germany. The masses under their domination desire Russian victory, and they are all working for that end as sincerely and self-denyingly as the radical masses. But there is one centripetal aim among the "Right" elements to which even their activities for victory and all their views and calculations are subordinated. During the war, just as before the war, the motive that made them love Wilhelm II. made them hate England and France with a hatred ill-concealed even now. To them the interests of reaction are above all else. To preserve these is their highest aim. They fear more than anything else the possibility that Russia may follow in the path of general European political progress. * * *

We always have opposed the war. The Russian democracy, like other world democracies, went about achieving its ideals in almost any way save the way of war. But this war was forced upon us. We could not avoid accepting the challenge without the risk of becoming slaves. To war we had to answer with war. And now there can no longer be any talk of self-defense. It is now going to be a war to the end, till full victory is achieved, securing the establishment of lasting peace among all nations.

Consequently we must not even consider what some are trying to force on us — an inconclusive peace, a separate peace. There has thriven in Europe in the past few decades the most criminal, the most terrible of reactionary powers —a power which had a world sway and which has been the curse of all peoples. This power, personifying German reactionism, was "Wilhelmism." This power must be destroyed and uprooted to its foundations. In order to achieve this there must be no premature peace. Any war is better than the further existence of this power.

Does War Lower the Birth Rate?

By Giuseppe Sergi

Professor in the Royal University of Rome

Extract from a communication to the Congress of the Italian Society for Scientific Progress, published in the Nuova Antologia, Rome.

EUGENICS hitherto has had two purposes: to aid human society in the normal development of its healthy elements, and to interrupt the transmission to offspring of unhealthy elements. In the former phase it is a question of giving efficiency to everything which favors the preserving of individuals free from congenital defects; this activity has great value and will contribute to bind together all the forces of society that make for individual and social conservation. The second purpose of eugenics is to eliminate the elements which for the sake of clearness we shall call degenerate; it does not attempt this in the sense of doing away with them directly, but by preventing the transmission of these elements, which would multiply the number and increase the degree of degenerates if they were allowed to reproduce freely.

But as eugenics was born during a period of peace and in a nation that was not thinking of war, the science gave no warning that a greater danger was menacing us—war itself. The Eugenics Society of London has lately taken up this phase of the subject. In general, the conclusions of its studies seem to me very limited, because they are confined to the possible effect of the mortality

IN THE TRENCHES DURING A GERMAN GAS ATTACK

This Remarkable Photograph, From an Unretouched Snapshot Made by a Soldier, Shows the Russian Trench Near Baronovitsky at the Moment When It Is Flooded With Asphyxiating Gas.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL DUPORT

New Chief of the French General Staff, Highest in Command Under General Joffre.

(Photo © International Film Service.)

among the young and robust men—the most robust and the most healthy from whom vigorous offspring were to be expected, while the weak elements remain and survive—the young men who could not bear arms, the sickly, and the old. From such considerations it has been deduced that the generations which come after the war would be the offspring of weak and inferior fathers; there would be, so to speak, an unnatural selection through the survival of the unfittest, who, however, were adapted to the social conditions to which inferiors never fail to adapt themselves under even normal conditions, because our sentiment of humanity has taken the place of the hard laws of nature.

But if the evil were limited to what I have just described, it would be only temporary, because a balance would be struck after a few generations through the remaining healthy and normal elements of the peoples affected by the war. The case is different, however; the effects are much graver than they seem at first sight, as I will attempt to demonstrate by certain demographic phenomena for which an explanation has been given which I consider erroneous.

[After a lengthy consideration of vital statistics in France during the last century, Professor Sergi places himself in decided opposition to the theory of Bertillon and others, to wit, that the failure of the French to increase their population in the same proportion as other peoples is due to Malthusianism, or voluntary limitation of families.]

In my opinion, then, the principal cause of this relative sterility, drawn out for more than a century in France, is of a biological character. In its turn, war continued for a long time is the origin of this phenomenon, not only in the absolute sense of the loss of men in battle, but also through a series of special conditions which arise simultaneously with an unbalancing of vital processes and which create in the latter a complex phenomenon difficult to examine in every one of its elements.

[Examples in proof of this affirmation are cited from the history of Rome, of France after the time of Louis XIV., of Spain after Charles V. and Philip II., though the most striking—if less documented—are those of Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia, in all of which countries depopulation set in after long wars.]

The biological disturbance does not derive solely from the destruction of young lives, the ones best adapted to fecundity, but also from the unfavorable conditions into which a nation is unexpectedly thrown; from these come disorders of a mental and sentimental nature, nervousness, anxiety, grief, and pain of all kinds, to which the serious economic conditions of wartime also contribute; all these things have a harmful effect on the general organic economy of nations.

Hindenburg's Polish Legions

By Alexander Grau-Wandmayer

Austro-Hungarian Consular Secretary

In the official report issued by the German War Office on Sept. 30 the following sentence occurred: "On the Stokhod front a company of the Polish Legion made a successful advance near Sitowicze." The history of this Polish military organization, which is fighting with the Central Powers against the Russians, is given in detail in an article by Alexander Grau-Wandmayer of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate in New York. After describing how the foundations for the Polish Legion had been laid among the Polish population of Galicia by Josef Pilsudski, a Lithuanian political refugee from Russia, the writer continues:

WHEN the world war broke out the members of the Riflemen's and Hunting Societies were called to arms. Already, on Aug. 3, 1914, several thousands of volunteers arrived in Cra-

cow and were formally enrolled at once. From them Pilsudski picked out 150 men, preferably those from Russian Poland, and organized them into the so-called skeleton company. He delivered an enthusiastic address to them. They all recognized the deep seriousness of the moment and their relatives and acquaintances wept bitter tears.

On Aug. 6, 1914, the first detachment of the legionaries left Cracow at 3 o'clock in the morning, and on the same day crossed the Russian border. The first shots were exchanged with the Russian border guards at Slomniki. The Polish legionaries soon occupied the City of Miechow. The first sight of these Polish soldiers, with the white eagle on their caps, fairly dazzled the eyes of the Polish population of the border districts. The people could hardly believe their eyes.

[The writer tells how on Aug. 15, 1914, at a meeting of the representatives of all the Polish parties in Galicia held in Cracow, a "Chief National Committee" was formed for the purpose of aiding in the organization of a West Galician and an East Galician Polish Legion, and of working hand in hand with the Austro-Hungarian Government for the liberation of Poland from Russian rule.]

These decisive and far-reaching resolutions by the authoritative representatives of Polish society had an electrifying effect upon every one. The Austro-Hungarian Government welcomed the movement, and Emperor Franz Josef sent a proclamation to the powers in which he designated the Polish Legions as an integral part of his army and named Field Marshal Lieutenant Durski of the Austro-Hungarian Army, himself a Pole, as Commander in Chief of the legions. Archduke Frederick, the Commander in Chief of the army, named Josef Pilsudski a Brigadier General of the legion in recognition of his notable services. The city and district committee of Galicia voted large contributions for the support of the legions, in which were included one of $200,000 by the City of Cracow, and another of $400,000 by the City of Lemberg. Even the Jewish congregations contributed voluntarily for this purpose, the congregation of Lemberg sending in $10,000.

All classes of the Polish people then gathered around the legions. University professors, farmers, poets, leading authors, lawyers, teachers, and bankers joined this military organization as common soldiers. And so did a great many Jews. The Jewish high school professor, Dr. Bartold Merwin, a grandson of Menke, the orthodox rabbi of Lemberg; the 18-year-old son of the Jewish member of the Reichsrat, Steinhaus, and many others were soon made officers because of their valor. Catholic Bishops and rabbis gave their blessings, and so a small but self-sacrificing and valiant Polish army was formed that is constantly increasing in size.

Unfortunately, some Polish politicians belonging to the National Democratic Party, (Pan-Polish,) which is subsidized by the Russians, infamously betrayed their patriotic brothers. This party, which, under the pretext of representing the higher interests of Poland, had worked hand in hand with the pro-Russian Ruthenians in East Galicia before the war to root out the Ukrainian idea, succeeded in preventing the departure of the Eastern Legion. The leaders of this party, Count Skarbel, a man mixed up in shady transactions, and the former Russian professor, Grabski, who had succeeded years before through trickery and deceit in acquiring Austrian citizenship, obtained control of the management of the politically not overwise military societies of the east, and, under various pretexts, prolonged the final organization and equipment of these volunteers to such a degree that it became too late, as the Russians were at the gates of Lemberg.

As was revealed during the Russian invasion of Galicia, these Pan-Poles never had had the slightest intention of fighting against Russia, but were the principal supporters of the Russian administration and its attempts to Russify Galicia. Later they also fled with the Russians. Before the surrender of Lemberg some 5,000 or 6,000 Eastern legionaries who had already had military training succeeded in escaping from

Lemberg to Sanok and then to Mszana, near Krinica, but because of the lack of supplies, equipment, and proper leadership they were compelled to disband. Part of them joined the Western Legion later, while others led the life of vagabonds for a time and were arrested in masses for this reason.

Today almost the whole Polish Nation has come out for the Polish legions. They now are composed of two divisions, have their own cavalry, artillery, and machine-gun sections, and fight—and this is the main thing—with the greatest contempt for danger. During the first five months of their existence the legions took part in three great battles, (at Laski, Krzwoploty, and Lowczowek,) twenty-nine engagements, and fifty skirmishes. They fought with great success in the Carpathians, on the Bessarabian frontier, in Russian Poland, and in Rafajlawka and Limanow, and now they are united in Polasie. There they are holding the section around the Pripet and Rokitno swamps with great bravery and endurance, and many of them have perished in that region. Last Fall, when they held their own in that section against an overwhelming number of Russians and prevented the Russians from breaking through, the German Kaiser decorated many of them with the Iron Cross.

The War and the Russian Jew

By Maxim Gorky

[Translated from the Russian Magazine, Novy Kolos]

THE most dangerous enemies of man are stupidity and its kindred sister, greed. Because of the greed of the wealthy and the stupidity of the poor all the troubles and misfortunes are come on earth. * * * The war, which has been exterminating for two years now millions of the strongest men, destroying the fruit of their fathers' labor, devastating the most productive lands—this war also has been born of stupidity and greed, the parents of all disaster.

And upon the fruitful earth, satiated with the blood and flesh of the slaughtered, now flourish the flowers of hatred, poisoning us with malignity and insanity. With especial brightness did this malignity bloom in the days when it became necessary to justify our military disasters, to find the culprits responsible for them. The disasters occurred because our commanders led the soldiers into battle without a sufficient supply of rifles, guns, and shells. To judge justly, the commanders were the culprits. But, instead, the Jews were declared to be the culprits; they were advertised as traitors, and the false accusation against a whole people was spread among all Russians.

Our nation is depressed by useless sacrificing of its best blood, irritated by the economic chaos in the State. In recent years it paid annually in taxation about 3,000,000,000 rubles. It had a right to suppose that the army was excellently supplied, shod, clothed, that the railways were in order and prepared, that everything was right. In actuality it proved to be much worse than bad. It was demonstrated that the close associates of War Minister Sukhomlinoff were spies and traitors, such as Colonel Myasoyedoff, the Austrian Altschiller, and many others—all non-Jews.

The Jews are called traitors every day, but Commandant Grigoryev, who delivered to the Germans the fortress of Kovno, was only once spoken of as a traitor, and then his name was entirely forgotten. When the betrayed people, irritated by defeats, demands to know who are the men responsible for the disasters, the Jew is pointed out to him, with the remark: "Behold, this is the culprit!" Of course, among the five million Jews living in Russia there are also bad people, but there are more of such people among the hundred million Russians. * * *

It is especially convenient to accuse the Jew, because he is defenseless and is even

deprived of those few civil rights which the Russian enjoys. The Russian may live wherever he chooses; the Jew cannot. He is forced to live in a few provinces, which were called the "Pale of Settlement," and he was not allowed to go outside this pale. At present the Jews have been driven outside of it into the interior of Russia, because the Pale of Settlement has been conquered by the Germans.

The discontent generated by the war demands a scapegoat, and for that purpose subtle people, who are anxious to throw the burden of responsibility from their own shoulders, are putting forward the Jew as the one responsible for all misfortunes that may befall us. The conscience of the Russian people is being dulled and blinded by cries about the Jews. They are not allowed to discern who is the real enemy and where he is to be located. This manoeuvre comes very handy to the real enemies of the Russian people, and is a harmful factor for this nation's future. In these difficult and trying days it is necesary that all the elements of the multi-racial Russia—Jews, Armenians, Tatars, Letts, Lithuanians, Grusins, Ukrainians—should all live together in friendship. We must all gather force and mental power to reconstruct our life on better and freer bases. * * *

What is the purpose of accusing the Jews of all sins? Here it is: When the people begin to realize that they must rise to get their own rights there will be heard the cry, "Beat the foreigners! Beat the Jews!" It is hard to tell whether the masses will obey this order. But the people should even now understand that they are being prepared for a fight against such unfortunates as themselves.

Should the people be caught in the trap and fall on the Jews, they will be bound again, hand and foot. We must understand that internal quarrels, pogroms, disagreements in our perilous times will work, first of all, harm to our own selves.

War and Insanity

DR. WILLIAM GRAHAM, Medical Superintendent of the Belfast District Asylum, one of the leading authorities in Ireland on mental troubles, reports a marked diminution in admissions to the insane asylum in the second year of the war as compared with the preceding ten years' average. He says:

It has become a commonplace since August, 1914, to say that the world is growing mad, and there is a widespread popular notion that the distress and agony of a conflict so terrible as the present one must end in profound psychic disturbance and alienation. Yet the fact is indisputable that insanity, like crime, has lessened during the period of the war. It will not do to say that the vast number of men called to the colors include some who might otherwise be reckoned among our asylum population, for the greatest reduction is among women, 119 being admitted in 1915, against 154 in 1913.

There are solid grounds for hope that especially, though not exclusively, among women we shall find as a result of the war a great diminution in those neurotic disorders that form part of mental abnormality. Thousands of men who have gone or are preparing to go to the front have all their life been subject to the bondage of neurasthenic weakness and incapacity or of psychasthenic fears or hypochondriacal fancies. They have never known what it is to live. But at their country's call they have flung from off them the spell of ancient inhibitations and long-established impracticalities and have gone forth to face wounds and death. Only when summoned to a possible surrender of life have they learned how wonderful life really is.

The physical régime under which these men are compelled to live can have nothing but the best effect on those subjected to its discipline. * * * Especially significant is the change coming over the lives of the women of the middle classes. These sheltered daughters of the merchant or of the professional man, victims of mid-Victorian traditions of gentility, are now falling into line with their sisters of the upper and humbler social ranks and are discovering that life is something greater than the latest novel or a game of tennis, or even the tepid gossip of a church sewing meeting. Idleness and ennui have lost their hold; healthy and unselfish activity is now the prevailing fashion. The war has

enfranchised women. It has set them free from the benumbing conventionalities that threatened to stifle their psychic energies, and so far it has contributed to soundness of mind and nerve.

Among the mighty sociological forces which the present world conflict has set in motion not the least will be the new value set upon all sorts of good work and the new dignity which will crown the worker. With the ever-widening circle of women's interests a new barrier against mental disorder has been erected. * * * War is war. It is the destruction of culture, art, education—the finest fruits of humanity. But the human mind has the strange power of wringing out of the worst evils some great and far-reaching good.

A Flight on a Blazing Aeroplane

By a British Officer

ONE sunny afternoon four of our machines went over the lines on an offensive patrol. In other words, we were sent on a roving commission over a certain area of Boche territory, taking with us plenty of ammunition and orders to shoot all enemy machines on sight.

We wandered around for more than an hour, sitting over Boche aerodromes and picking up useful scraps of information relative to rolling stock, transport, and the like. Then, suddenly, after we had passed the important town of ——, the patrol leader fired a signal-light and dived. We looked beneath him and saw three enemy biplanes.

We followed him down, and I emptied a drum and a half of ammunition into a German machine during the dive. All at once, our fuselage shivered and, looking down it, I saw that Archie had left his card in the form of a piece of burning H. E.

"Fuselage burning—pass the fire extinguisher!" I shouted down the speaking tube to my pilot. But the pilot's earpiece had slipped from his cap during the dive and he heard nothing. I stood up, leaned across and shook his shoulder. "Pass the fire extinguisher!" I yelled.

"Hun down on the left!" he shouted back, my words having been lost in the roar of the engine.

"Fire extinguisher!" I called again.

"Why don't you fire at that Hun, you fool?" was the reply.

Seeing that the flames were licking their way back to the tail, I abandoned the attempt to get the extinguisher, and crawled down the fuselage to the scene of the fire. I managed to beat out the flames, which had eaten half way through one of the longerons.

Meanwhile, the pilot had been attacking one of the enemy machines, and a bullet had gone into our petrol tank. Confronted with a diminishing pressure, he decided to make for allied territory at once and turned west.

Five minutes later, by which time the number of revolutions had dropped alarmingly, we found the way barred by two more Boche machines. My gun having jammed, the pilot did the only thing possible—he went straight at the nearest German, firing all the time. The Boche swerved just in time to avoid a collision, but had obviously been hit, for his machine all but did a nose-dive, and he only landed with great difficulty.

Then our engine petered out altogether, and there was nothing for it but to do a long glide and try to reach the lines. We were at 4,000 feet when we started to glide, and for a long time we didn't know if we had sufficient height to get us across.

But the pilot took advantage of a small salient, and we managed to glide over the trenches at a height of about 400 yards, fired at by machine-guns and rifles, besides dear old Archie. We landed just behind the second line trenches of a certain part of the French line, and, to our joy and astonishment, we were not shelled on the ground.

German Red Cross in the World War

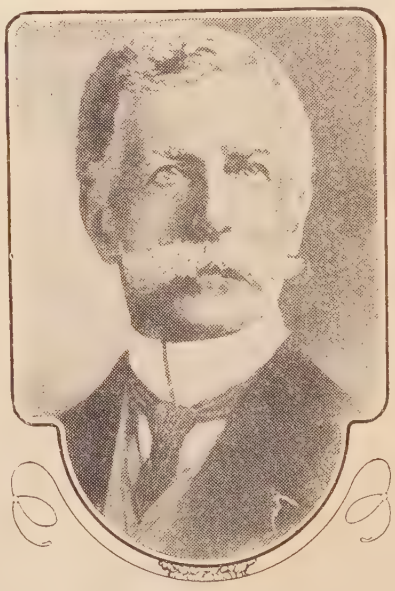
By General Kurt W. von Pfuel

Chairman of the Central Committee of the German Societies of the Red Cross

[Translated from the German for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

AMONG all the splendid qualities which Germany has revealed during the course of the war, and which enable her to carry on a successful struggle against a world of enemies, the wonderful German capacity for organization occupies a place in the first rank.

The organization of the relief work in Germany saw to it that the gifts that had come from America over the great waters from a great distance were immediately applied to the uses for which they were best adapted. Like the German Army, the German Red Cross had prepared itself for the mighty tasks of the war through decades of activity in peace times. On the day of the mobilization the Red Cross also mobilized, and then it was shown that the long work in time of peace had not been in vain. In closest touch with the army administration and the military hospital service, the activity of the Red Cross was begun, and as soon as the movement of troops was under way the women and men of the Red Cross entered upon their helpful work. A whole army of persons was sent into the field by the Red Cross, under the directions of the military administration, while another army of members of the Red Cross was busy at home. The highest thanks are due to all of the many thousands of self-effacing and faithful citizens who, as a plain matter of course, did, and still do, work in the service of brotherly love. And they are the more to be thanked, because of the fact that the majority of them were by no means liable to military service during the first period of the war, and could have continued their civilian activities without molestation. The decade-long training of our hospital corps men bore fruit right here.



GENERAL VON PFUEL

And, like the men of the Red Cross, the women have also earned the highest thanks. Most of them have not left their posts from the hour of mobilization up to today. With an endurance worthy of admiration, they have developed the beneficent activities in the hospitals, at the refreshment stations, in the railroad depots, at supply stations, in the people's kitchens, in the writing rooms, at the nurseries, and at many other relief stations.

When we talk superficially about the Red Cross, of course we think at first and principally of the work of the Red Cross in aid of the actual belligerents. But the direct relief of our fighting and wounded warriors is indeed only a part of the gigantic working program, including all the hardships imposed upon the German people by the war. A glance at the war organization of the Central Committee of the Red Cross will give the best idea of the extent of this work.

Although the individual societies enjoy a large measure of independence, still the Central Committee forms the centre of the entire organization. The various separate divisions of this Central Com-

mittee furnish a clear picture of the task performed by the German Red Cross in the world war. As has already been noted, the Red Cross people had been prepared for the outbreak of war for decades, and, consequently, the departments most needed by the Central Committee in case of war were already in existence in peace times. These organized divisions—five in number—faced all at once the entire work of mobilization. It was necessary to take care that the mobilization of the Red Cross was accomplished with the same matter-of-course smoothness as that of the German Army, and it was done. Another division had the handling of the affairs of the male personnel, of all those thousands of hospital workers who were ready at the beginning of the war to devote their strength to the holy cause. No less comprehensive was the activity of another division that had to look after the voluntary hospital service by the women, which was also well prepared for the case of war through long years of work in time of peace. Very important, too, was the well-performed work of a particular division that controlled the storehouses and had the task of handling all the material stored up for war emergencies. And, finally, an important part of the work of the Central Committee in time of peace was the collecting of means for the objects of the Red Cross, and here, also, a special division had been organized.

So, already before the war a closely knit, intelligent organization was available, and all that was necessary after hostilities began was to attach the branches demanded by the war's needs. Of course, these were far from few. In the course of the war, besides the five divisions already mentioned, seven new divisions, some of them with subdivisions, have been created by the Central Committee of the Red Cross.

Above all, it soon became evident that it would be necessary to raise larger cash contributions for the work of the Red Cross, so there was added to the old Division of Collections another body that had the special task of raising funds. The work was hard, indeed, but the self-sacrificing spirit of wide circles of the German people was revealed to a gratifying extent, as was also the case with the German brothers abroad, particularly those in the United States. Naturally the activity of this division will be maintained during the entire course of the war, for fresh demands are always being made upon the Red Cross and new supplies of money are always needed.

The division that is charged with looking after prisoners, verifying the lists of the missing, and handling the traffic in gifts sent to the prison camps is a genuine war baby. In this case it was a question of the necessity of performing a great work of the noblest humanitarianism. It was necessary to supply the German prisoners in France, England, and Russia with what they needed, and the difficulties encountered by the Red Cross in this task at first seemed absolutely insurmountable. But an iron will and hard work mastered these difficulties also. Indeed, an exchange service with the prisoners' relief organizations on the enemy's side was even established. The service of gifts to our countrymen held prisoner in the enemy's land gradually developed into a well-knit organization, even though—especially in Russia—the lot of the German prisoners remained sorrowful enough.

The sending of German Red Cross sisters to Russia under Danish protection has shown very good results. Good-sized shipments of gifts have also been able to reach the German prisoners in Russia via Finland. As already indicated, this prisoners' division also has the task of looking up the missing. And here German activity has produced notable results. It was made possible to get into touch with the competent authorities in the enemy countries, and thus a mutual service of tracing the missing was established. What this means can only be estimated by him who himself is in doubt regarding the fate of a beloved relative and who hopes, with an anxious heart, for the arrival of any kind of a sign of life. In a great many cases it has been possible to locate in good condition sol-

diers already given up for lost by their relatives.

While the service for prisoners and missing keeps in constant touch with foreign countries—and in part even with hostile lands—the activities of the Red Cross in caring for the sick and wounded lie in the German Fatherland. Naturally, our men wounded in the war are looked after by the State, and in the case of the great majority of the wounded it was of course necessary to arrange for their maintenance strictly according to law. Now, however beneficent laws may be, on the other hand their stiff regulations always embody rigors, and the softening and smoothing out of these harshnesses was the task that the Red Cross undertook in the service of the invalids.

Among the men injured in the war there are always quite a few who, for reasons of a formal nature, can only receive help from the State at a later time than when they need it the most, and right here the intervention of the Red Cross shows itself to be particularly beneficent. The wounded man receives help in the shape of money, and, furthermore, everything is attended to that has to do with the recovery and preservation of his health, the acquiring of the ability to work, the choosing of a trade, the obtaining of a job, and the housing provisions. Many an anxious care has been chased away by this activity of the Red Cross, and many a heart has been saved from menacing desperation.

Hand in hand with the caring-for-the-invalids division goes the division for baths and sanatoriums. This sees to it that our sick and wounded soldiers, when on the road to recovery, are sent to the proper baths and medical establishments, especially after their discharge from the army.

While these activities of the Red Cross are in the direct service of the participants in the war, there is another branch of no less importance, the one devoted to general war charities and to the combating of sickness and misery in the families. The great division that handles the general war charity work is organized in three groups, the first of which has the task of fighting tuberculosis and plague, the second that of caring for nursing babies and mothers, and the third that of home assistance proper. Never before has this branch of the Red Cross work been as important as at the present moment, for it is a question of bringing up the rising generation of our German people in good health and capable of self-defense.

French Mysticism in Battle

By Maurice Barrès

Member of the French Academy

These eloquent pages are from a lecture delivered by M. Barrès before the Royal Academy in London on the subject, "Le blason de la France, ou ses traits éternels dans cette guerre et dans les vieilles épopées." The reader should by no means skip the strange experience of Lieutenant Pericard, which M. Barrès relates.

IN his "Litany of the Nations," your poet Swinburne places in the mouth of France, apostrophizing the spirit of Liberty, these words:

I am she that was thy sign and standard bearer,
Thy voice and cry;
She that washed thee with her blood and left thee fairer,
The same was I.
Were not these the hands that raised thee fallen and fed thee?
These hands defiled?
Was not I thy tongue that spake, thine eye that led thee,
Not I thy child?

This eulogy, which went to our heart, was thought by many men in many countries to have become unmerited since 1870. They had lost faith in us. They said, "Frenchmen are no longer the same." France was described as an "old nation whose day had passed." But

strangers could know little or nothing of the true life of the French, their home life, or of what was fermenting in the hearts of those who were waiting for the Crusader cry to make known their heroism to the world and to themselves.

Then came August, 1914. The call to arms resounded through the land. In all the villages the bells rang out from the old church towers whose foundations lie among the remains of the dead. They suddenly became the voices of the land of France. They summoned the men and comforted the women. So great was their clamor that it seemed as though they would break the very stones of the tombs, and their sound awakened in every French heart the noblest virtue that heart contains. * * *

One thing only counted—that France should no longer be a beaten nation. The France of Aug. 2, 1914, was born during the forty years she had passed under the menace of Germany. Sorrow, long humiliation, exploded at last in hope.

With the older men it was otherwise. Men of 40, fathers of families, do not rush to death with the same careless gallantry that marks youths of 18. "Gemens spero" was their device, but they knew wherefore they fought, and their sacrifice was not less noble for being made with deliberate heroism. At first there existed a shadow of sans-culottisme among these citizen soldiers, an excessive feeling of independence. But in face of the common danger it ripened, and was ennobled. These men continued to look upon each other with a severely critical eye, but took for their standard of judgment the services rendered by each to the common weal. They respected true superiority, that of the heart and that of the mind. Between them and their chiefs there grew up a respectful brotherhood. As one of them, an international Socialist, wrote, "Has not our internationalist faith been justified, seeing that it inspired our will to save France?" They all felt the need and the pride of shedding their blood for a just cause.

To perceive the height of moral feeling which they reached we must understand the symbolic action of the heroic Lieutenant Colonel Driant, who at the risk of his life crawled to a wounded Lieutenant and under the enemy's fire received his confession and gave him absolution. Thus military units acquired a collective soul and lived in an atmosphere in which saints are born. A regiment, 3,200 strong, spick and span, passed on its way to the trenches the remnant of another regiment reduced to 250 men and commanded by a Captain. Torn, muddy, wounded, worn out, these returning heroes cried to the newcomers, "We have thrashed them!" "As we went forward," wrote one of the 3,200, "moved to the depths of our being, to take their places, they disappeared with their weary triumphal step. That day I understood La beauté de la Gloire."

One famous incident is known, but it will bear retelling in the words of its author, Lieutenant Pericard:

It was in the Bois-brûlé at the beginning of April, 1915. We had been fighting for three days, and were only a handful of men harassed, cut off under a hail of bombs. The enemy artillery was merciless. A Lieutenant, whose name I forget, rushed up to support us. He was shot through the temple. My men wept as he fell. Not a step could be taken without treading upon a corpse. I suddenly realized our precarious situation. The exultation of the battle left me. I was afraid. I crouched behind a heap of sandbags. A soldier, Bonnot, remained standing, fighting like a lion, one against many. I pulled myself together. His example shamed me. A few comrades joined us. Daylight was declining. It was impossible to stay as we were. To the right there was not a soul. Beyond an enormous traverse thirty yards away there might be some one. I hesitated, and then by an effort of will went to see.

The trench was full of French dead—blood everywhere. I walked gingerly, timidly, alone with all these dead. Little by little courage returned. I looked at the bodies and it seemed that they were looking at me. From the trench I had left my men regarded me with frightened eyes, as though to say, "He is going to his death." In their trenches the German efforts redoubled, their bombs fell thicker than ever. They were about to charge. Turning toward the prone corpses I thought "Shall their sacrifice be vain?" Anger seized me. I remember little of what I said or did, I know only that I shouted, "Up with you; what are you doing on the earth? Up and cast them out. Arise, ye dead!"

Was I mad? No, for the dead answered. They said, "We will follow." And, rising,

their souls seemed to mingle with mine and to make a mass of fire. Nothing could now stop us. I had found the faith that moves mountains. My hoarse voice, worn by shouting orders for two days and a night, became clear and strong. What happened exactly I do not know. Action engulfed memory. I remember only a disorderly offensive in which, foremost, the figure of Bonnot was conspicuous. A man of my platoon, wounded in the arm, kept throwing bombs covered with his blood. As for me, I felt as though I had grown immeasurably, that I had a giant's body, a bounding strength, and an extraordinary lucidity of vision and thought which allowed me to give orders, fire at the enemy, and at the same time to parry his bombs. Twice we ran out of grenades, and twice we found them at our feet, whole sacks full, mingled with sandbags. The whole day we had stood upon them without seeing them. At last the Germans fled. We consolidated our position in the communication trench, and were once more masters of the position.

That whole night and for several following days the religious emotion that had seized me when I called upon the dead governed me completely. I understood that I had lived hours which I should never live again, hours during which my head, having broken through a low ceiling, had emerged into full mystery, into the invisible world of heroes and saints. Afterward my men congratulated me. Those who know our men know also that there is no Legion of Honor to compare with such congratulations.

I know I am not a hero. Whenever I have had to cross the parapet of a trench I have shivered with fright, and what I have just described was a mere accident in my soldier's life. It was the living who led me on by their example, and the dead who took me by the hand. My cry came not from the mouth of a man, but from the heart of all who lay there living and dead. A man could not speak with that tone. It needed the joint effort of many souls, urged by circumstances, souls of which some were already in eternity. Why should it have fallen to me rather than to Colonel de Belnay, Lieutenant Erlaud, Sergeant Prot, Corporal Thévin, or Private Bonnot? I know not, save that one may receive an inspiration from on high, and yet be but a poor creature.

If ever you tell this story name all these officers and men, for the glory belongs to them and to our regiment. The more you fuse me with the mass the nearer you will get to the truth. I am convinced that I was but the instrument of a higher power.

[M. Barrès then showed by many striking historical examples how this transfiguration of French soldiers is in agreement with the whole tradition of France from the Crusades to Jeanne d'Arc, and from Jeanne d'Arc to the Revolution. He concluded:]

The soldiers of France fight religiously. The man of year II., believing that he was bringing liberty and equality to the world, fought in the same spirit as the Crusader before Jerusalem. When the Crusader cried, "Dieu le veut," and when the volunteer of Valmy exclaimed, "La République vous appelle," their words were prompted by the same emotion. It is a question of bringing more justice, more beauty, upon the earth. To all a voice from heaven, or from their conscience, repeats the words of Archbishop Turpin in the Chanson de Roland:

"If ye die, ye shall be martyrs holy."

In defending France, Frenchmen have always believed that they were fighting to render humanity more beautiful. They fight for ideas, for beliefs, for aspirations. In this war, sacred if ever war was, they feel that they are renewing the Gesta Dei per Francos.

Not less sublime than the men are the women of France. Peasant women receiving the news of their husbands' and their sons' death on the battlefield with the cry, "Vive la France," and Mme. de Castelnau, wife of the illustrious Chief of the French General Staff, who, praying at the altar for her three sons in battle and seeing the hands of the priest tremble, understands, and asks simply, "Which?"—all are animated by the same spirit, the spirit of faith and of victory.

The Decisive Stage of the War

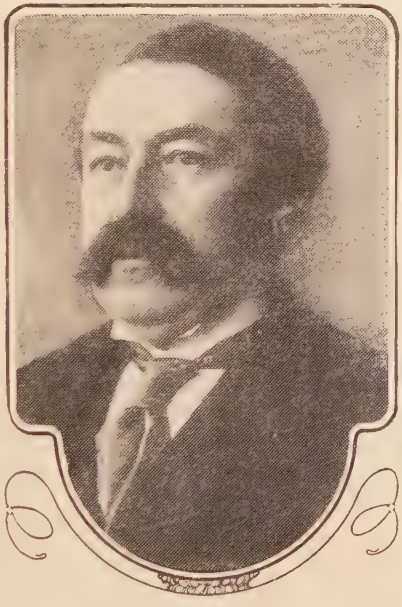
By Aristide Briand

Premier of France and President of the Council

Below appears the full text of the Ministerial declaration read by M. Briand at the opening of the French Chamber of Deputies, Sept. 14, 1916. This official survey of the situation contains the formal announcement that the Entente Allies have seized the military initiative and reduced the Teutonic Empires to the defensive.

GENTLEMEN: During your absence two great facts have intervened to mark with brilliancy a new and decisive stage in the course of events. Two declarations of war have followed one another at an interval of twenty-four hours—that of Italy against Germany and that of Rumania against Austria-Hungary.

These two acts were greeted by France with a thrill of joy. She grasped by instinct all their significance at the same moment that she felt their nobility and beauty. They bring to the sacred cause for which the allied armies are fighting an additional force which, morally and materially, will contribute not a little to hasten victory.



ARISTIDE BRIAND

Italy and Germany

Since the month of May, 1915, Italy had taken her place by the side of the Allies to resist with them the enterprise of world domination revealed by the odious aggression of the Central Empires against Belgium and France. She had not feared to go spontaneously into this terrible war which has been imposed upon us, and whose horrors she had already been able to realize.

But it was not apparent to Italy at that time that it would be necessary for her to take the initiative in declaring war against Germany, with whom she had no frontiers in common, and against whom she had no individual grievance. Germany rewarded her by multiplying the vexations inflicted on her citizens and by making secret war upon her. Thus, on the day when Italy, hastening to aid the Allies in the Balkans, saw that she was destined to find herself fighting face to face against those German soldiers who had hitherto dealt their blows in the shadow, she did not hesitate to do what was necessary. She put law and fact loyally in accord with each other by the solemn act which demonstrated the complete solidarity of all the Allies engaged in the same war against the same enemies.

Thus was our unity of action on an unbroken front affirmed once more — a unity which we are making closer each day. The Allies have placed all their efforts in common, combining and co-ordinating them, and this close co-ordination has led to a characteristic evolution of the conflict. The Teutonic Empires find themselves reduced to the defensive.

The initiative in military operations has escaped them.

Rumania's Ambitions

Affinities of race and education, an equal love of right, a community of aspirations toward the same ideal of liberty and justice—these were destined to

range the noble country of Rumania under the same flag with the Allies when the proper moment arrived. This moment Rumania seized courageously, with a full consciousness of the rôle which it belonged to her to play in this war, and with a clear vision of the high interests which called for her intervention: those of the Rumanian Nation aspiring for many years to the deliverance of its oppressed nationals and those of all humanity, imperiled by the German attempt for domination.

Rumania, traitorously attacked by Bulgaria, may encounter greater difficulties, but she can draw from her own strength as well as from that of the Allies to surmount them, and she will travel with us along the road to a victory which will make of her the great nation which she has the legitimate ambition to become.

In close co-operation with our new ally the armies at Saloniki will fulfill the mission that has been intrusted to them. Action on that front, as on the others, is already developing according to the plans of the General Staff.

By the side of the valiant English, Italian, Russian, and French troops, the glorious Serbian Army, fully reorganized, its face turned toward its hereditary enemy, is fighting heroically for the deliverance of its invaded and mangled country. In this new theatre of operations the action of the Allies, arrayed against the Oriental dream of the Central Empires, will develop as rapidly as necessary, and events in the Balkan Peninsula will follow their inexorable course. After Turkey, Bulgaria will learn how dangerous it is for a country to desert its traditional friendships in order to subject itself to the egoistic designs of an unscrupulous nation.

The Allies in Greece

The invasion of Greek Macedonia by the Bulgars, who have met with no serious resistance from Greece, the intrigues of German agents of corruption in that country, and the deeds of spies operating with impunity, have led the Allies to take or to exact measures indispensable to the security of their troops.

The Government presided over by M. Zaimis, to whose loyalty it is only just to render homage, has conceded our first demands. We hope that the Greek people will understand the reasons and the object of our intervention.

We were called to Saloniki to contribute to the defense of Serbia, the ally of Greece. We will there prosecute to the end the work for which appeal was made to our assistance. We could not, in these circumstances, allow the intrigues of our enemies or of their accomplices to compromise the success of the operations undertaken by the allied armies.

But in intervening thus we have not been thinking solely of the safety of our troops; we have had in view the interest of Greece herself. We have sought to fulfill once more the traditional part that belongs to the guardian powers. We intend to safeguard Greek territory and to furnish to the Hellenic people—threatened as they are by our enemies, which are also theirs—the aid that is indispensable to preserve their independence.

Allies in the Ascendency

The developments in the different theatres of operation show that the Allies have taken henceforth the ascendency over the enemy, and that the sustained co-ordination of their efforts can only be accentuated as time goes on. From the present moment this unity of action has reached a point and produced results which enable us to face the future with absolute confidence. The striking victories of the glorious Russian and Italian armies, with those of the magnificent English and French soldiers on the front in France, give us the right to cherish all hopes.

The hour of reparation approaches for the individuals as well as for the nations upon which the Teutonic storm of aggression burst.

At this moment our thoughts and hearts turn toward the people of our invaded provinces. The worst treatment has been inflicted upon them by an enemy who in the exercise of force knows neither limit nor law of any sort.

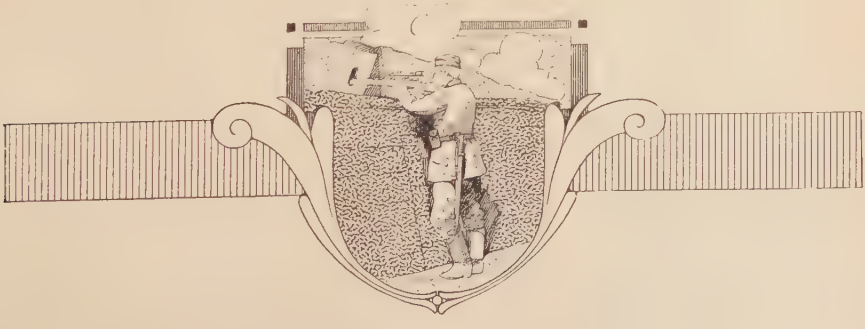
It is with painful indignation that we have learned, among so many other ex-

cesses, of the wholesale deportations of the inhabitants of several communities in the Department of the North. Our enemies, not being able to deny these violations of the most elementary rules of international law, have sought to justify them on the ground of the self-interest of the communities themselves and the necessity of assuring their subsistence. They have omitted to say that they began by reducing our fellow-citizens to a state of famine by robbing them, contrary to all law, of the products of their land. It has seemed to us that while waiting for the moment when these criminal acts shall receive their punishment it would be well to have them confirmed publicly, and, through contradictory methods, by the civilized world. Having brought together the elements of the necessary proofs, we placed them under the eyes of the neutral States, and the universal conscience has been deeply stirred by these acts, which dishonor forever those who committed them.

However confident we may be that henceforth victory is certain, we should not allow ourselves to run into an excess of optimism. It would be a sad thing for us if we were to slacken our activities under the pretext that victory can no longer escape us. Let us face the truth coldly; the enemy is still powerful; he will defend himself desperately to the end; he will succumb only to repeated blows. Nothing, therefore, should be neglected to give us the best of the struggle. We ought to redouble our efforts, applying ourselves more than ever to the task of marshaling all the resources of the country and of furnishing our armies with all the means for conquering; our armies, upon whose officers and men we lavish one and the same admiration, a single identical gratitude for the heroism and self-denial they have ceaselessly placed at the service of the country.

This is the common task of the Government and of Parliament; it calls for all our energies. By the results it has already given, the collaboration of the elect of the nations, and of the men who, under your control, hold power in these grave moments, has shown what it is capable of accomplishing. Let us make it closer still; let the collaboration be incessant for the good of France. Thus we shall respond to the deep and ardent prayers of our native land, which, from the very beginning of this war, at every instant, even the most tragic, the most agonizing, has not ceased, by the nobility and firmness of its attitude, to show itself worthy of its heroes, of the great conquerors of the Marne, of the Yser, of Verdun, and of Picardy.

The task that remains for us is arduous. However heavy it may be, we shall know how to carry it to a happy issue by the union of our efforts and with the inspiration of all the good wishes in which France is so rich. The union of all the living forces of the country is the essential condition of success; that is what will carry us to the end—peace through victory, a solid and durable peace, guaranteed against any return of violence by appropriate international penalties.



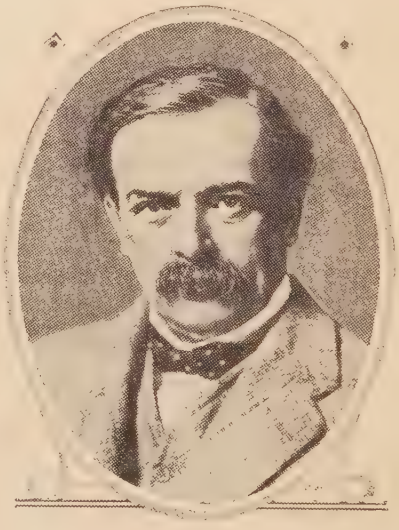
"No Interference Until Prussianism Is Crushed"

By David Lloyd George

British Secretary for War

This statement of the attitude of Great Britain and the Entente Allies was made by Lloyd George through Roy W. Howard, President of The United Press, on Sept. 28, 1916.

SPORTING terms are pretty well understood wherever English is spoken, I am quite sure they will be understood in America. Well, then, the British soldier is a good sportsman. He enlisted in this war in the sporting spirit — the best sense of that term. He went in to see fair play to a small nation trampled upon by a bully. He is fighting for fair play in international dealings. He has fought as a good sportsman by the thousands. He has died like a sportsman. He has never asked anything more than a sporting chance and hasn't always had that. When he couldn't get it he didn't quit. He played the game. He didn't squeal and certainly he never asked any one to squeal for him.



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Under the circumstances the British, now that the fortunes of the game have turned a bit, are not disposed to stop because of the squealing done by the Germans, or for the Germans, by probably well-meaning but misguided sympathizers and humanitarians.

For two years the British soldier has had a bad time—no one knows so well as he what a bad time it was. He was sadly inferior in equipment. On the average he was inferior in training. He saw the allied cause beaten all about the ring, but he didn't appeal to either the spectators or the referee to stop the fight on the ground that it was brutal, nor did he ask to have the rules changed. He took his punishment. Even when beaten like a dog he was a game dog. When forced to take refuge in a trench, when too badly used up to carry the fight to the enemy, he hung on without whining, fought off every attack, bided his time, endured without wincing, worked without flagging.

And at this time, under these conditions, what was the winning German doing? Was he worrying over the terrible slaughter? No. He was talking of annexing Belgium and Poland as a result of his "victory," and while he was remaking the map of Europe without the slightest regard for the wishes of its people the British people were preparing to pay the price we knew must be paid for the time to get the army ready.

It is one thing to look back on the pounding the British soldier took the first two years of the war, but a different thing to look forward as he did and know the beating couldn't be avoided during these months when it seemed the finish of the British Army might come quickly.

Germany elected to make it a finish fight with England. The British soldier was ridiculed, held in contempt. Now

we intend to see that Germany has her way. The fight must be to the finish—to a knockout.

The whole world, including neutrals of the highest purposes and humanitarians with the best motives, must know that there can be no outside interference at this stage. Britain asked no intervention when she was not prepared to fight. She will tolerate none now that she is prepared until Prussian military despotism is broken beyond repair.

There was no regret voiced in Germany over the useless slaughter. There were no tears by German sympathizers when the few thousand British citizens who never expected to be soldiers, whose military education started only a few months previously, went out to be battered, bombed, and gassed, to receive ten shells for every one they could fire—went out, fought, and died like sportsmen without even a grumble. I repeat that there was no whimpering then, and the people who are now moved to tears at the thought of what is to come watched the early rounds of the unequal contest dry eyed. None of the carnage and suffering which is to come can be worse than the sufferings of those allied dead who stood the full shock of the Prussian war machine before it began to falter.

But in the British determination to carry the fight to a decisive finish there is something more than the natural demand for vengeance. The inhumanity, the pitilessness of the fighting that must come before a lasting peace is possible is not comparable with the cruelty that would be involved in stopping the war while there remains a possibility of civilization again being menaced from the same quarter. Peace now or at any time before the final and complete elimination of this menace is unthinkable. No man and no nation with the slightest understanding of the temper of this citizen army of Britons, which took its terrible hammering without a whine or grumble, will attempt to call a halt now.

As to how long this must go on: There's neither clock nor calendar in the British Army today. Time is the least vital factor. Only the result counts—not the time consumed in achieving it.

It took England twenty years to defeat Napoleon, and the first fifteen of those years were black with British defeat. It will not take twenty years to win this war, but whatever time is required it will be done, and I say this recognizing that we have only begun to win. There is no disposition on our side to fix the hour of ultimate victory after the first success. We have no delusion that the war is nearing an end. We haven't the slightest doubt as to how it is to end.

But what of France? you ask; is there the same determination there to stick to the end, the same idea of fighting until peace terms can be dictated by Germany's enemies?

The world at large has not yet begun to appreciate the magnificence, the nobility, the wonder of France.

I had the answer to your inquiry given me a few days ago by a noble French woman. She had given four sons—she had one left to be given to France. In the course of my talk with her I asked if she didn't think the struggle had gone far enough. Her reply, without a moment's hesitation, was: "The fight will never have gone far enough until we have made a repetition of this horror impossible." That mother was voicing the spirit of France.

Yes, France will stick to the end. I suppose America's conception of France and the French soldier before the war was as erroneous as the British idea. I suppose you, too, regarded the French soldier as excitable, brilliant in attack, but lacking dogged staying qualities.

Nothing was more unwarranted than the popular idea of the Frenchman as a poor defensive fighter. History never justified this idea, but there will be a new appraisement, a new appreciation, when the real heroism, nobility, and genius of the defense of Verdun is fully understood. France has fought the longest wars of any nation of Europe, and her history itself is assurance enough that she will hold to the end.

With the British it will be the sporting spirit that will animate the army to the last, fair play the motive—fair fight the method. With the French it will be that fiercely burning patriotism that will

sustain the army to the end regardless of when the end may come.

And Russia will go through to the death. Russia has been slow to arouse, but she will be equally slow to quiet. The resentment of the Russian against having been forced into war is deep. He has neither forgotten nor forgiven the fact that this happened when he was ill-prepared and unsuspecting. No, there are and will be no quitters among the Allies. "Never again" has become the battle cry.

At home the suffering and sorrow is great and is growing. As to the war zone, its terrors are indescribable. I have just visited the battlefields of France. I stood, as it were, at the door of hell. I saw myriads marching into the furnace. I saw some coming out of it, scorched and mutilated.

This ghastliness must never be re-enacted on this earth, and one method at least of answering that end is the infliction of such punishment upon the perpetrators of this outrage against humanity that the temptation to emulate their exploits will be eliminated from the hearts of the evil minded among the rulers of men.

[Copyright, 1916, by The United Press]

The Liars

By BARON D'ESCHYLE

Acting Belgian Ambassador to Russia

This bitter indictment of the Germans by a Belgian diplomat appeared in a Moscow paper:

When in 1839 they signed the "scrap of paper"—they lied. When they forged the Ems dispatch—they lied again.

When in 1914 they whined that they were the victims and that they had desired peace—they lied.

When their Ambassador in Brussels reassured the Belgian people twelve hours before he delivered the ultimatum—it was a premeditated lie.

When their Kaiser cabled on Sept. 8, 1914, to President Wilson—his message contained a cynical lie.

When they speak of Belgian francs-tireurs—they lie.

When they refer to a secret agreement between France and England and Belgium—it is a brazen lie.

When they make use of the white flag—they deceive.

When they signed The Hague Convention—it was a swindle.

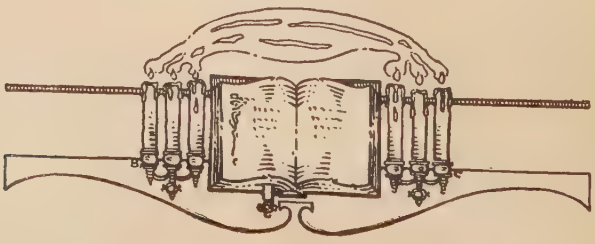
When they tell the fettered Belgian Nation that its patriotic resistance is useless—they lie.

When they say to the Belgian refugees abroad: "Give up, as others have done already"—it is a crying lie.

It is a flood, an inundation, of lies.

They lied, they are lying, they always will lie.

Don't believe them, then, those men whom a feeling of disgust prevents me from naming.



CROWN PRINCE RUPPRECHT

Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria Is in Command of the German Armies in the Desperate Struggle on the Somme.

(Photo from Central News Service.)

DUKE ALBRECHT OF WUERTTEMBERG

Commander of the Northern End of the German Lines in France and Belgium.

"This War of Annihilation"

By Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg

The German Chancellor

[Text of speech delivered at opening of Reichstag, Sept. 28, 1916]

OUR relations with Rumania before the war were based on the treaty of alliance first concluded between Austria-Hungary and Rumania, and then enlarged by the accession of Germany and Italy. The contracting parties engaged under the treaty to assist each other in case of unprovoked attack by a third party.

DR. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG

When the war broke out King Carlos with all his energy stood up for the idea that Rumania owed to the Central Powers thirty years of political security and wonderful economic development, and that, therefore, Rumania must support the Central Powers, not only on account of the provisions of the treaty but also for the sake of the country's honor. The late King regarded as sophistry the objection that Rumania had not been informed and consulted in regard to the Austro-Hungarian démarche in regard to Serbia.

But when the deciding session of the Crown Council was held the aged King did not succeed as against the Government, whose Prime Minister, notwithstanding treaty obligations, sympathized with the Entente Powers. A short time later the King died in consequence of the emotions caused by realization that Rumania was a traitor to her allies.

Rumania's War Policy

The Rumanian policy was now guided by Premier Bratiano, who attempted to gain riches, without making great sacrifices, at the expense of the party suffering defeat in the war. The main point was to discover in time which party was about to win final victory, in order not to be too late. Nevertheless, during the first year of the war, probably after the fall of Lemberg, Premier Bratiano, leaving his sovereign in ignorance, concluded a treaty of neutrality with Russia. After the fall of Przemysl he thought the time had come to reach an understanding in regard to pay for his Judas-like treason, but the negotiations failed. Russia desired to increase her own vast territory by taking the Bukowina, while Rumania not only coveted this same Bukowina, but also all Hungarian territory as far as the Theiss.

[The Chancellor added that in spite of this failure Rumania's policy of neutrality favored the Entente more and more. He said Rumania attempted to collaborate with the British efforts to establish a blockade of Germany, withholding grain purchased by Germany until the grain was obtained by means of energetic pressure. The Premier again hesitated when the Central Powers, initiating the offensive in Galicia in the Spring of last year, broke through the Russian line at Gorlice, and was in doubt whether he had placed his wager on the right horse. Negotiations with the Entente were almost suspended.]

The Russian offensive this Spring made Premier Bratiano believe he saw

the breaking down of the Central Powers. Accordingly he decided to obtain a share when the robbery of the dead body began. Furthermore, the Entente Powers had a freer hand in conducting negotiations than others. Serbia had been conquered, and the protectors of small, feeble States were no longer obliged to show any consideration for Serbia's former wishes in regard to annexation of territory. They could be more liberal toward Rumania.

Bratiano's Deception

In the middle of August Bratiano came to terms with our enemies. He reserved for himself, however, the decision as to the time actual hostilities were to be inaugurated, and attempted to make it dependent on military conditions. The King of Rumania up to that time had repeatedly given the most binding assurances that under all circumstances he would remain neutral. Finally, the Rumanian Minister in Berlin, on the order of the King, gave to me a formal declaration that the King desired to maintain Rumania's neutrality and that the Government was in a position to do so. Premier Bratiano declared to the German Minister at Bucharest, Baron von Busse-Haddenhausen, that he fully indorsed the declaration of the King.

However, we were not deceived. We were informed continuously in regard to Bratiano's negotiations during August, and constantly directed the King's attention to the secret intrigues of his Prime Minister. The King declared several times that Bratiano was (not?) bound or binding himself to the Entente. As late as three days before the declaration of war the King said to our Minister that he knew the overwhelming majority of the Rumanian Nation did not desire war. To an intimate friend the King declared on the same day in the most categorical fashion that he would not sign an order for mobilization.

On Aug. 26, the day preceding Rumania's declaration of war, the King said to the Austro-Hungarian Minister that he did not wish war. I add in passing that Bratiano at the same time assured the Austro-Hungarian representative that he had decided to maintain neutrality, and that the outcome of the session of the Crown Council which had been called for the following day would prove the truth of his words.

As late as Aug. 23 the Entente Powers had not decided at what moment Rumania ought to declare war. We knew this from a most reliable source. The Rumanian army still lacked preparedness, and particularly lacked munitions, as was proved later, at the time of the fall of Turtukai and Silistria.

A Russian Ultimatum

Then events were precipitated. From information which may be considered reliable it appears that Russia suddenly presented an ultimatum that she would cross the unprotected Rumanian frontier if Rumania did not begin war before Aug. 28. Whether this ultimatum was a piece of comedy prearranged with Bratiano, in order to influence the hesitating King, I leave undecided, but the die was cast.

M. Briand, [Premier of France,] in his latest discourse, praised the beauty and loveliness of Rumania's procedure. Political conditions of such a nature that orders of Kings and Ministers amount to nothing show the doubtful value of those ideals of liberty, justice, and civilization for which the Entente pretends that it fights. Since the beginning of the world war Rumania has followed a policy of piracy, depending upon the general war situation. Rumania's military capitulation will prove as mistaken as her political capitulation to her Entente friends, which already has been proved to have been wrong. They must have hoped earnestly that Rumania's participation in the war would cause the defection of Bulgaria and Turkey, but Turkey and Bulgaria are not the same as Rumania and Italy. Firm and inviolable stands their faithfulness as allies, and they have won glorious victories in the Dobrudja.

The Military Situation

Since the beginning of July, English and French attacks on the Somme have raged almost without interruption. The common offensive of the Entente enemies wanted to break through the front of

the hated Germans, free France and Belgium, and carry the war across the Rhine into Germany.

But what has happened? The French and English have gained advantages and have pushed back our first lines some kilometers. We deplore the heavy losses in men and material. This, however, is unavoidable in the face of an offensive planned on such a broad scale. But what our enemies hoped and attempted did not succeed. Our front was not broken nor rolled up, but stands firm and unshaken. Heavy and violent is the fighting there on the Somme and the end is not yet in view. Further sacrifices are necessary. This or that trench, and this or that village may be lost. But they will not push through our lines! This is assured by our commanders and by the incomparable bravery of the troops from all parts of Germany.

On the eastern front the great Russian attempt to break through was stopped by the troops of Archduke Charles and General von Linsingen. Attacks to the west of Lutsk, on the Marayuka River and in the Carpathians then followed, but they also broke down.

There also the fighting will continue. There also it is absolutely certain that the line will be maintained by the heroism of our armies.

In the Balkans the Entente Powers planned to split our alliance, to intercept communication between Germany and the Near East, to crush Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary one after the other, and then to throw all their forces against isolated Germany. * * *

The situation of our faithful, brave allies is unshaken. Austria-Hungary stands together with us on the eastern front from Lake Narocz to Transylvania. The Turks are fighting in Galicia. German, Bulgarian, and Turkish troops have defeated the Rumanians in the Dobrudja. Hungarian, German, and Turkish troops have fought their way to Macedonia.

The plan of the Entente Powers to force a decision in the Dobrudja and Macedonia was frustrated as soon as it began. The Saloniki army has been able to make only feeble advances. The Germans, Bulgarians, and Turks in the Dobrudja marched to the northward, while our enemies hoped that the Russians and Rumanians would march to the southward.

To sum up: On the Somme front there have been isolated hostile successes which, however, do not change the general situation. Otherwise a successful defense has been made against all hostile attacks and thus the enemy attempts have been thwarted. In the Balkans the hostile plan failed. Thus the enormous war goes on.

Allies' "Lust of Conquest"

The aims proclaimed by our enemies are becoming increasingly clear and admit of no misunderstanding. They are: Lust of conquest and annihilation. I have spoken in this House repeatedly about them. It is proposed to give Constantinople to Russia, Alsace-Lorraine to France, the Trentino and Trieste to Italy, and Transylvania to Rumania.

[The Chancellor insisted that from the very beginning the war had been for Germany "nothing but defense of our right to life and liberty," and said that, therefore, Germany, the first and only one of the belligerents, had declared her readiness for peace negotiations on Dec. 9, 1915, and on several occasions subsequently. He continued:]

We did our duty. Does any one dare ask that today we make proposals to our enemies, inasmuch as M. Briand a short time ago said that consideration of peace now would be a humiliation and a disgrace to the memory of the dead?

They continue the war because they hope to attain their Utopian aims. Their lust of conquest persists, though the mountains of corpses tower higher every day.

The French Prime Minister said in one of his latest speeches that France is fighting for a firm and lasting peace in which the freedom of nationalities will be protected by international agreements against all attacks. We, too, desire this. We wish to protect Germany forever against every attack.

But does M. Briand—united with our

enemies even before the war in an alliance of French thirst for revenge, Russian lust for conquest, and the British policy of isolating Germany and dominating the whole world, an alliance that desires to annihilate, attempts to boycott and shapes its entire policy not only for the period of the war but for the time after the war—does M. Briand believe that this prepares soil from which could grow international agreements granting to nations liberty, honor, dignity, and peaceful collaboration for the sake of humanity and progress? Or does M. Briand really believe he can obtain this lofty ideal in time by a war of annihilation in which the last of the youth of France is perishing on the devastated battlefields of Verdun and the Somme?

[Against the reports that the German Emperor in the past had used his influence with the Russian Emperor to impede Russia's evolution toward liberty the Chancellor protested:]

This report is untrue, as I state publicly in this place. It is the opposite of the truth. The arrangement of public life in Russia, whether autocratic or constitutional, is merely Russia's business. I abstain completely from criticism. I represent only German interests. What we desire from other nations, no matter whether they live in this or that form of State, is that German rights and interests shall be inviolable.

Great Britain's Aims

What Great Britain wants to make of Germany is shown by the British without any possibility of doubt. They want to destroy our national life.

The Germany which England wants to lay at her feet is a country without military defense, a country crushed economically, boycotted by the entire world, and sentenced to lasting economic infirmity.

When this German competition shall have been eliminated, when France has lost all her blood, when all her allies of war must toil as England's slaves in the financial life, when the neutral world of Europe must follow each English command and submit to every British blacklist, then England will build on devastated Germany her dream of English world dominion.

This is the aim for which England is fighting with forces and means unparalleled in her history, adding one breach of international law to another. Therefore, England is our most egoistic, our most bitter, and our most tenacious enemy. A German statesman who would refrain from using against this enemy every proper means of warfare which is apt to shorten the war deserves to be hanged.

[The Chancellor protested against reports that for any reason whatever all means of warfare were not being used as fully as possible. He declined to enter into public discussions which recently have arisen on this subject, saying that the times were too grave.

The Chancellor then briefly reviewed the economic situation. He stated that the English starvation blockade had failed, and that the provisionment of the German Nation had been improved by the recent harvest.]

When in August, 1914, we had to draw the sword, we knew we had to protect our hearths and homes against a mighty and almost overwhelming coalition. Ardent, and until then unknown and often ignored, patriotism flamed up in all hearts, defying death and certain of victory. Today, after two years of fighting, struggling, suffering, and dying, we know more than ever before that there is only one watchword—namely, persevere and win. We will win. Last Winter there was pusillanimous anxiety as to whether our foodstuffs would suffice. They have sufficed. This year's harvest makes us much more secure than was the case last year. * * *

"*Germany's Sublime Defiance*"

I bow my head before the heroism with which women and men without distinction of rank or class bear their sacrifices, united in an ardent love for the Fatherland. Still more sublime and still greater is the defiance of death with which our sons and brothers in the field withstand the violent assaults of the enemy who, superior in numbers, are fighting with the utmost bravery. World

history—human history—has never before seen the like.

What gives us force to stand in this struggle against almost the entire world if not love for the land of our fathers, which unites all its sons with an unseverable bond; if not the uncorrupted force of arms and hearts which lives at the rock bottom of our national life and from which new generations rise?

Nothing of this which has stood the fire test can be missed in peace times. What has turned out to be true in war must live in peace. "Unmeasured work awaits me," wrote Frederick the Great when the Seven Years' War drew to an end. Unmeasured work was for us the result of all the struggles in which Prussia and Germany for 150 years have had to defend their existence. This was for our good fortune and will be so again.

Great tasks which await us in all domains of State and of social, economic, and political life need all the vital, solid forces of our nation. It is necessary for the State in order to conquer all obstacles that we must find these forces and use them for the common weal. Let us clear the road for all that are fit. Let us follow this watchword in open-minded spirit and our empire will advance toward the future, in which the best of the nation from all ranks and classes gladly will participate in the works of peace just as is done now in this sanguinary struggle.

Allies Paying the Price for Gains on the Somme

By Crown Prince Rupprecht

Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, commander of the German forces on the Somme front, made the statement given below to a correspondent of the International News Service.

SUNDAY, Monday, and Tuesday, [Sept. 9, 10, 11,] the days whose tragic activity you were lucky or unlucky enough to be a witness of, marked the culmination thus far of the first desperate effort of the Entente to force our positions. My officers told you, or will tell you, the result as we on this side see it. Our losses in territory may be seen on the map with a microscope. Their losses in that far more precious thing—human life—are simply prodigious.

Amply and in full coin have they paid for every foot of ground we sold them. They can have all they want at the same price. We have a reserve, constituted of trained officers and trained men, which has not yet been drawn upon. We are not, like the Entente Generals, forced to throw raw, untrained recruits into the very front of the fighting.

Whether this will be the last effort we cannot know. We have taken measure of their strength at its maximum tide and are prepared for anything they can deliver. For the sake of the thousands whom new attacks will slay in vain we hope they have learned a lesson. So far as the interests of the Fatherland are concerned, we are indifferent; indeed, inclined to welcome any further folly they may indulge in.

You cannot have failed to see the absolutely impregnable nature of our positions and the superabundant adequacy of our preparations. If you can let news of what you have seen go to our friends, the English, perhaps you may have served the cause of humanity. It saddens us to exact the dreadful toll of suffering and death that is being marked up on the ledger of history, but if the enemy is still minded to possess a few more hectares of blood-sodden soil, I fear they must pay a bitter price.

Prince Rupprecht made this further statement on Sept. 28 to a correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt:

This Somme offensive brings an attack of unusual violence every six days on the average. I know this country well from the fighting of 1914. At that time we had moving warfare, while we are now in a position of siege.

In his attacks, beginning in July, the enemy has gained some ground, but a decision of the situation is not to be

thought of. One cannot prophesy how things will go here, but one thing is certain: Everything has now been so well provided for by us that one can quietly await coming events, be they what they may.

The offensive will certainly not be at an end very soon. One may well look forward to an offensive of great endurance, with very violent attacks, prepared for by a colossal expenditure of ammunition. We have, however, taken all necessary measures.

Our artillery has been strengthened and our fliers also. In the last few days our fliers have again had some good successes after their hard fight against the enemy fliers. The fact that our fliers are getting the upper hand is of prime advantage to our artillery.

Our troops have given their all and the nut was too hard for the enemy to crack. I am of the opinion that the enemy is seeking a decision here and this year, and in this he has failed.

We must now take a Winter campaign into account and keep fighting next year as well. That is my firm conviction.

Emigration After the War

By A. Bonar Law

British Colonial Secretary

THE end is, perhaps, not within sight, but it is coming, and I wonder if you have begun to realize, as I do, what are the problems which will confront us. In my belief the problem of reconstruction after the war will be a difficult task; it will try severely the character of our people and the capacity of our Government, more even than the task which we have had in winning the war.

One of the most important is the question of emigration. It is not an easy problem. After this war, with the loss of so much of the most virile of our manhood, it will be the duty of this country to keep at home as many as we can keep. For, after all, the strength of the centre of the empire is necessary if the empire is to be strong. That is one side, but there is another. We must give to the men who are fighting our battles the best chance of the widest outlook which is available for them. There will be emigration, and the Government, whatever it is, will be much to blame if two things are not made certain. One is that whatever emigration does take place shall be within the British Empire, and shall not lessen the strength of the empire as a whole. The other is that whatever emigration there is to be shall take place under the best conditions for the men who have fought our battles.

This war, so far as our dominions are concerned, is being carried on under conditions which never existed in the world before, and which even now are almost incredible. These great dominions are, in fact, independent States. We could not have compelled a single one of them to send a man or contribute a penny, but they have sent of their best, not so much to help us as to help the empire, of which they are a part. These conditions can never occur again. It requires great good will and good sense on the part of both the dominions and the authorities at home to enable an arrangement to work by which one set of men should contribute lives and treasure and should have no voice as to the way in which those lives and that treasure are expended. That cannot continue. There must be a change.

The war has done more I believe than many generations in other circumstances could have done in uniting the empire. We feel that we are one, and I am sure of this, that here at home the people of this country are prepared to accept any system of closer union which the dominions and colonies may desire to see adopted, and to try and find some method by which in the future the unity which has characterized us in the war will be found to be as durable when peace comes.

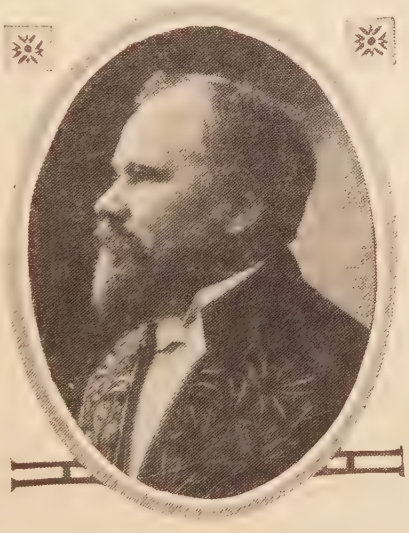
The Seven Crosses of Verdun

By Raymond Poincaré

President of France

President Poincaré delivered the following speech at Verdun on Sept. 13, when he presented to the city seven decorations awarded by Entente Governments. Generals Joffre, Petain, Nivelle, and Dubois, with members of the military missions of the Allies, were present, and the decorations were accepted for the city by the Mayor of Verdun, who had remained at his post throughout the five months of German bombardment.

GENTLEMEN: The idea of honoring the defenders of Verdun by bestowing a decoration upon the city which they have made famous occurred spontaneously to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia at the moment when the same project was formed by the Government of France. Their Majesties the King of England, the King of Italy, the King of the Belgians, the King of Serbia, and the King of Montenegro immediately associated themselves with this pious enterprise. Thus it is that today the representatives of so great a number of allied countries have been able to come together in this unviolated citadel to offer the tribute of their homage to the heroes who saved the world, and to the proud city which has paid with so many bruises for the victory of liberty.



PRESIDENT POINCARE

Here are the walls upon which the supreme hopes of imperial Germany were broken. It was here that Germany sought to achieve a brilliant and theatrical success; it was here that, with tranquil firmness, France replied: "You do not pass."

When the attack upon Verdun began, on Feb. 21, the enemy had a double objective—to prevent a general offensive of the Allies and to seize swiftly a place whose historic name should exalt the army in the eyes of the German people. The débris of those Teutonic dreams now lies at our feet.

At three conferences held in the French Grand Headquarters on Dec. 6, 7, and 8, 1915, under the Presidency of General Joffre, by the Commanders in Chief or the representatives of all the allied armies—British, Russian, Italian, Belgian, and Serbian — there had been adopted, at the suggestion of the French General Staff, a plan of action for the campaign of the following year. It had been decided that, with close unity of the battle fronts, the troops of the coalition would undertake in 1916 a series of concerted offensives whose dates should be so fixed as not to allow the Central Powers to use their reserves successively on the different fields of operations. Contingent plans had also been arranged for use in case our adversaries, by anticipating us, should try to block the execution of this common program.

In place of submitting to our law Germany desired to impose hers on us and to take the initiative herself in an attack whose place and date she would choose. The admirable troops which, under Generals Petain and Nivelle, bore, through long months, the formidable shock of the Germany Army, have frustrated the designs of the enemy by their bravery and their spirit of sacrifice.

It was they who permitted all the Allies to work with increasing activity at the manufacture of war munitions; it was they who, by marking with a luminous line the limit of Germanic force, spread abroad through the universe the faith in our ultimate victory; it was they, in fine, who, by assuring the realization of the plan drawn up by the General Staffs, gave Russia time to prepare and initiate her triumphant offensives of June 4 and July 2; gave Italy time to organize her brilliant attack of June 25 upon Gorizia; gave the Anglo-French troops time to undertake at the end of July 1, on the Somme, an uninterrupted series of methodical operations; gave the Army of the East time to equip itself and concentrate its diverse elements in order to lend to our new allies, the Rumanians, a fraternal co-operation against the Germans and Bulgarians.

Honor to the soldiers of Verdun! They have sowed and watered with their blood the harvest which is springing up today.

And see, gentlemen, the just turning of the tables. This name of Verdun, to which Germany in the intensity of her dream had given a symbolic meaning, and which was, she believed, soon to evoke before the imaginations of men a striking defeat of our army, the irremediable discouragement of our country, and the passive acceptance of the German peace—this name henceforth represents in neutral lands, as in those of the Allies, all that is most beautiful, most pure and good in the soul of the French people. It has become a synthetic synonym of patriotism, of courage, and of generosity.

Ah, it is true that the pride which this universal homage inspires in us cannot be separated from a great sadness. Those of us who are attached to this city and this region by very tender ties, those who count among these brave and cruelly tried communities on the Meuse so many friends and relatives, those who meet at every step in the charred streets of Verdun living memories of their youthful years, can but feel an insurmountable sorrow at the distressing spectacle of this wild devastation.

But Verdun will be born again from its ashes; these destroyed and deserted villages will rise again from their ruins; the inhabitants, too long exiled, will return to their restored firesides; this ravaged countryside will find again, in the shelter of a victorious peace, its smiling face as in the old happy days. And for centuries, at every point on the globe, the name of Verdun will continue to resound like a shout of victory and a cry of joy on the lips of delivered humanity.

To the City of Verdun, which has suffered for France; to the City of Verdun, which has sacrificed itself for the sacred cause of eternal right; to the City of Verdun, whose heroic defenders have left to the world an imperishable example of human grandeur, I present:

In the name of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, the Cross of St. George;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, the Military Cross;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Italy, the Gold Medal for Military Valor;

In the name of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, the Cross of Leopold I.;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Serbia and of his Highness the Prince Regent, the Gold Medal for Military Bravery;

In the name of his Majesty the King of Montenegro, the Obilitch Gold Medal;

In the name of the Government of the French Republic, the Cross of the Legion of Honor and the French War Cross.

[The President then pinned the crosses, one at a time, on a cushion which the Mayor of Verdun presented to him. As each decoration was placed on the cushion the military band played the national hymn of the country that had conferred it. Afterward a number of French decorations were conferred upon officers and soldiers who had taken brilliant parts in the city's defense, notably, the plaque of a grand officer of the Legion of Honor, attached to the breast of General Nivelle, and the cross of a Chevalier to that of the Mayor of Verdun.]

America's Treatment of Germany

By the German Crown Prince

[Statement made to William Bayard Hale, correspondent of The New York American, by the German Crown Prince at his headquarters near Verdun.]

HAVE I any message to your countrymen? Well, I fear I will have to ask you to say we feel your Government has not been quite fair, has not been quite neutral. I thoroughly understand how naturally your sympathies are drawn toward the land from which you derive your national language, with whose literature, science, and political history you are most familiar. I myself have spent much time in England, have had and I trust still have many friends in England.

CROWN PRINCE WILLIAM

But we feel the attitude of the United States toward Britain and toward Germany is unexplained, even when every consideration is given to the direction of your natural sympathies. Neutral Governments have responsibilities and duties which transcend the personal instincts of the gentlemen who happen at the moment to be administrating them.

What we feel is that your neutral duties are not discharged in the spirit of the high responsibilities resting upon you.

It is true you file protests against British interferences with your commerce, British rifling of your mails, and intrusions in your domestic affairs.

But these seem to be mere matters of form. They mean nothing. When, however, we Germans deem ourselves forced by the exigencies of this mortal combat to take measures of self-protection which are not agreeable, you denounce us as barbarians.

You excuse anything on the part of England, but seem incapable of making any allowance whatever for the conditions which impel us to exert to the uttermost our resources for defense.

You tell me your impression, gathered in close views of our whole front from Lille to Verdun during the period of the greatest pressure which we have yet experienced, is that only a superficial impression can be made upon it. We rest absolute confidence in this conviction, this certainty. What are our enemies trying to do? I suppose they are trying to kill us off or to tire us out. Will they succeed? No.

They probably also want to keep us busy here so they can spare men for the eastern front. As a matter of fact, the west front and the east front are clearly distinct military operations. They need no help from us, we none from them. If necessity presses us, it is a matter of comparatively few hours to pass the needed reinforcements across.

Our enemies, on the other hand, cannot transfer troops between the east and west except through slow, laborious methods of transportation. This is a magnificent advantage of our central position, our invulnerable position.

The aeroplane attack you witnessed last night was only one of the continuous raids in all of this region. It is in the trenches one really hazards his life. I go there every other day, not because I like it, but because one cannot find out things unless one sees them.

The war loan? Certainly it will go

off swimmingly. Why not? The German people are united in their determination to carry on the war to any extremity necessary in defense of their hearths and homes. But it is not a sacrifice to take money out of one pocket and put it in another.

We are spending little or no money abroad. The war is not draining our resources as it is draining those of our enemies. With us everything stays at home.

We are all tired of bloodshed, we all want peace. England is the power responsible for the continuation of the hopeless effort to crush us. In the twentieth century of the Christian era mankind might have been expected to have arrived at some maturity of thought and behavior. No one can witness, as you during the last fortnight have witnessed, the spectacle presented by this appalling sacrifice, this inconceivable suffering preposterously out of proportion to any result obtained, without wondering whether reason has fled from the earth. * * *

Have you had a chance to see enough of this dreadful business, or does your heart already ache enough over the sorrows which have descended upon this sad region of the earth? What a pity, what a pity it is! All this terrible extinction of human life, blasting of the hope and expectancy of youth, the mortgaging of our energies and resources far into the future!

It is not alone for German lives, for wasted German energies, that we mourn. We are well able, at least comparatively well able, to bear it. But all the world, including America, which has invested in the Entente's chances of success, will have to aid in footing the bill.

That, of course, is one reason why the sympathies of your capitalists are with our enemies. Isn't there a book which says "Where the treasure is there the heart is also"?

It is a pity your treasure is not invested during these hours of world agony in sowing the seed of preparation for the fruits of peace, so your prosperity would rest in the great harvest which will follow the return to natural conditions rather than in the unhappy, uncertain fruitage of war. * * *

The prospects of peace? I confess I don't see any. I tell you it is no happiness to look forward to spending the third Christmas here at ——. I have a wife and family, as you know. I have been home just two fortnights in the last two years.

A Pledge Against a Trade War

By Lord Robert Cecil

British Minister of War Trade

Lord Robert Cecil made the following official statement on Oct. 6 regarding the measures determined upon at the Paris Economic Conference. His utterance is understood to be a pledge that Great Britain after the war will absolutely abandon wartime methods, including that of a blacklist, and will make no attempt to discriminte against the trade of the United States.

OUR relations with the New World will always be of vast importance to us, and they take a leading place in our plans. In answer to a great calumny, which we indignantly repudiate, I want to say that, while we are planning our measures for peace now, we pledge our honor that these plans and measures, which we are bound to take against the neutral trader with our enemies under the laws of war, have been and will be kept entirely separate.

They are worked out in different departments. They are wholly distinct. We shall never try what we know would be fatal to our own interests—to use any of our belligerent measures to enable us to replace neutral by British trade or to stifle or impede the commercial enterprise of neutral nations.

What one of the districts devastated during the war would wish to lose the opportunity to take advantage of American enterprise and capital? Suppose,

for instance, no question of friendship were involved. Then it resolves itself into a question of plain common-sense business.

[Referring to American press forecasts of discrimination against all non-Entente trade and to the fear that the United States would either be forced into preferential trade relations with Germany or into trouble with Great Britain, Lord Robert said:]

All these forecasts are examples of the inveterate tendency to draw curious implications out of perfectly simple provisions. The provision as to the preservation of neutral resources during the period of reconstruction amounts to a provision that those among the Allies who have suffered worst from the war will have the first call on the resources of those who are richest and have suffered least. In practice this means that Belgium, Northern France, Poland, and Serbia will have the first call on British capital, which has been the main financial strength of the Allies and provided many of them with arms, ammunition, and food, and which shall continue to be at their disposal in the work of reconstruction.

And yet Americans who have been disposed in the past to question the efforts of Great Britain in this war actually now throw this pledge which she has given her allies in her teeth. The same kind of considerations apply in the case of the permanent proposal concerning the reciprocal exchange of products after the war. The measures here proposed are those which every nation in the world except this country has employed for years to protect its commerce. We have been alone, having neither a protective tariff nor a system of subsidies. Yet now we find ourselves criticised by others who always have employed tariff and other devices to stimulate their trade, as if there were some strange departure when we propose to help our allies increase the rewards of labor in this and allied countries after the war.

We have passed through greater straits during the last two years than any other country before in modern history. We have tremendous problems to meet. Of course we are planning to meet them; of course we are going to use Government aid in helping to meet them; of course we are going to do what every other nation always has done. Those who try to spin suspicions out of a situation so simple surely are not facing business facts in a business spirit.

[Lord Robert said he was convinced that some ideas had grown up in the United States regarding the Paris conference, which had been deliberately fostered by the Germans, who would like to have an exclusive trade agreement with the United States, and "in which case they would be in a much happier position than at present."]

Premier Asquith's Call for a New War Credit of $1,500,000,000

Herbert H. Asquith, the British Prime Minister, moved a new vote of credit for £300,000,000 *in the House of Commons on Oct.* 11, *and it was granted by Parliament virtually without opposition. The new credit raises the total for the current year to* £1,350,000,000. *It is the thirteenth since the war began, making the total new British war debt* £3,132,000,000, *or* $15,660,000,000 *in American money.*

THIS is no time for faltering counsel or wavering purpose." said Mr. Asquith. "This war cannot be allowed to end in some patched-up, precarious and dishonoring compromise masquerading under the name of peace.

"No one desires to prolong for a single moment longer than is necessary the tragic spectacle of bloodshed and destruction, but we owe it to those who have given their lives that their supreme sac-

rifices shall not have been unavailing. The ends of the Allies are well known. They have been frequently stated. They are not selfish, they are not vindictive, but they require adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future."

Parliament, Mr. Asquith said, had been asked to vote for war purposes what was equivalent to the aggregate expenditure for twenty years before the war, although that period included the South African war. When he moved the last vote of credit in July he estimated the average rate of expenditure at approximately £5,000,000 daily. That forecast had proved to be almost exactly correct.

At the commencement of the week then current, the Premier continued, there was still in hand £100,500,000, which would carry on the war until Oct. 27. He gave the aggregate expenditure in 113 days of the financial year as: Army, navy, and munitions, £379,000,000; loans to allies and dominions, £157,000,000; food supplies, railways, &c., £33,000,000. The daily average of expenditures had risen slightly, he said, and was £5,070,000 for the last seventy-seven days of the financial year. Expenditures for the army had fallen off slightly, while those for munitions had increased somewhat. Loans to Great Britain's allies and dominions were exceeding the budget estimate, at the present rate. They would not be safe in assuming that expenditures in the future would be less than £5,000,000 daily.

Reverting to the possibility of loans to allies and dominions exceeding the budget estimate of £450,000,000, Mr. Asquith said no part of the war expenditure was more important than this. Great Britain had no selfish interest in this matter, and, although the expenditure was growing beyond the estimate, he did not regret it.

Surveying the progress of the war since the last vote of credit, the Premier said hot weather had hampered operations in the secondary theatres, but that in Mesopotamia substantial progress had been made with rail and river communications, and the health of the troops had improved substantially. The defeat of the Turks at the Katia Oasis, east of the Suez Canal, had gone far to remove the danger of attack on the canal and had impaired Turkish prestige in Arabia and Syria. In Western Egypt the Senussi tribesmen had been reduced to impotence. The allied armies on the Saloniki front had inflicted heavy losses on their opponents and prevented them from transferring troops to Dobrudja, thus rendering valuable assistance to Russia and Rumania.

The whole of the German East African coast had been occupied, the Premier continued, and the complete conquest of the colony was only a matter of time. The Premier gave high praise to General Smuts and the Belgian troops which are co-operating with him.

In the west, Mr. Asquith said, the French and British had advanced seven miles on a front of nine miles, but the most important feature of the advance was that in no case had a counterattack succeeded in driving them back. The Germans had virtually abandoned the attack on Verdun, and their losses had been very heavy. He gave the total number of prisoners taken by the Allies on the Somme front as 60,474, in addition to which there had been captured 304 guns and 1,030 machine guns. Allied aircraft, he added, had attained complete mastery of the Germans.

Premier Asquith referred to the complete co-ordination of the General Staffs of the four great Powers and to the sympathy and interest with which Great Britain is observing the courage, tenacity, and strategical skill displayed by Italy and Russia in the more distant fields. He spoke appreciatively of the part played by Serbia and Belgium, and "lastly by Rumania, whose people and King, in defiance of a thousand calls to neutrality, joined our cause."

"I wish I could add Greece, with her imperishable record of resistance against the onrush of barbarism and tyranny," he continued. "Even now Greece, wisely guided and wisely governed, might take a worthy part on the side to which she is committed by great and glorious traditions."

American Tactics in the Present War On Land and Sea

By Thomas G. Frothingham

THE object of this article is not to give a list of American inventions that have been used in warfare, but to show that many of the tactics of this great war, the evolution from all wars, had their origin in America. These American tactics were developed in our civil war, and a study of the present war compared with the civil war is interesting.

It should be kept in mind that, from the first outbreak of secession, a military situation existed that made the grand tactics of the civil war sound. This was not from any definite plans, but the efforts to keep the border States in the Union, to save West Virginia, Missouri, and the Unionists of Tennessee, with the necessity of getting control of the Mississippi River, and the blockade of the Southern coast, all meant the beginning of the envelopment that in the end strangled the Confederacy. Consequently the problem was for the North to constrict, for the South to break the circle—and the resulting tactics had the right basis, in spite of mistakes by certain commanders.

At first the Confederates were stronger than the Federals, as the large number of Southern officers who resigned from the United States Army were scattered through the seceding States and gave a better organization to the Confederate Army.*

The early battles of the civil war followed in general European tactics. It was natural, however, where armies of such great intelligence in both officers and men were contending, with no traditions to hamper them and a sound basis of strategy for both sides, that new tactics should be developed. The outstanding feature of the campaigns of the civil war was the tactical use of what are known as "hasty intrenchments." These intrenching tactics were a new factor in warfare. "The art of constructing and using hasty intrenchments on the field of battle is a contribution from America to the war knowledge of the world."†

Intrenchments are as old as fighting, and were constantly used in European warfare, notably in Marlborough's wars. Such trenches were, however, formally planned and laid out by engineers. Whenever an army "came out of its trenches," or was "driven out of its trenches," the trenches ceased to be a factor. The idea that an army might move, and almost literally take its trenches with it, is the product of the civil war.

Like the men of the Lexington fight, the intelligent American soldiers of both armies began to take advantage of all natural shelters. The next step, at the battle of Gaines' Mill, was using rails, logs, trees, &c. Then followed the use of the spade to help out such improvised shelters, until later in the war armies manoeuvred digging themselves in, and thus strengthening their positions as a matter of course.

All this was a gradual development of American ingenuity, not the inspiration of any tactician.

Sherman's wonderful campaign against Atlanta is the first case of hasty intrenchments reaching definite strategic value. Sherman intrenched and threw out turning forces around his enemy's flank. As a result of these tactics, repeated again and again, the Confederates were compelled to abandon positions that would have been impregnable to direct assault, and finally they were forced to evacuate Atlanta.

In Grant's last campaigns against Lee, from the Wilderness to Petersburg, the use of hasty intrenchments was per-

* The whole loaf was leavened.—Grant, U. S. A.

† Colonel Arthur L. Wagner, U. S. A. Papers of Mass. Mil. Histo. Socy.

fected. In May, 1864, Grant moved against Lee, who intrenched against him with a greatly inferior army in the Wilderness. The campaign that followed was a series of attacks and moves to turn Lee's right by Grant. Lee, beating off direct attacks on his trenches, moved to the right whenever Grant attempted to outflank him, and kept his army steadily between the Federals and Richmond. Each army intrenched as it moved, Grant attacking from his trenches whenever he thought there might be an opening, Lee defending by counterattacks. The armies thus facing one another swung around Richmond, and came to the final deadlock and long struggle at Petersburg.

These were not battles in the European sense of the word. The Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor were all a series of attacks and counterattacks of armies intrenching against one another in each manoeuvre. Petersburg was the same with the armies brought to a standstill, trench against trench.

Formal fortresses, in the European meaning of the word, were not used in the civil war. The superiority of earthworks and intrenchments was too evident.

These civil war tactics have dominated the present war, and, if we can believe the lessons of the war, the day of formal battles and formal fortresses has passed.

It seems strange at first glance that Europe did not realize the value of the tactics thus developed in the civil war. But the prestige of Napoleon remained too overpowering for Europe even to consider innovations from America. The great Emperor fought against General Staffs and Generals imbued with the book lore of war. He was infinitely better at their own game. Much of his superiority lay in his knowledge of what his enemy would do under conditions governed by existing tactics. At Austerlitz the Emperor's order told his army just what the plan of the enemy would be. Why should he have changed the game? Yet who knows what he might have done had new tactics been necessary?

Consequently European tactics remained unchanged. Only five years after the civil war came the Franco-German war. In spite of an inefficient staff the French Army fought hard and maintained its organization. After gallant efforts in the field to repel the systematically planned German onslaughts, it was drawn into fortresses where capture was only a matter of days.

It is no exaggeration to say that Woerth and Gravelotte might have been another story, if American intrenching tactics had been followed. To quote again from Colonel Wagner: "The defense of the village of Froeschweiler by a French brigade against the frontal attacks of a German army corps showed what MacMahon might have done had his whole position been intrenched." * * * "The sun might have set upon a field of French victory (Gravelotte) had Bazaine taken heed of the lesson so plainly taught in the American war."

Lee was dead—but if Grant or Sherman could have commanded the French Army, kept it in the field, and used the intrenching tactics of the civil war, would the Von Moltke campaign have gone through like clockwork? The present war, using the tactics of Lee, Grant, and Sherman, is the answer.

At the outbreak of the present war the German Staff again attempted to follow the plan of 1870, described by the victorious Von Moltke as the "plan of war—fixed from the first upon the capture of the enemy's capital, the possession of which is of more importance in France than in other countries."

The defeat of this plan, undertaken by the Von Moltke of 1914, and the present positions in the war on all fronts are the results of the tactics developed in our civil war.

In the great Teutonic drive of 1915 the Russians were greatly overmatched in guns and munitions. Yet, in spite of enormous losses in men and material, by keeping their armies in the field and using intrenching tactics, the Russians were enabled to save their armies, and gain positions from which they have again taken the offensive.

Such tactics were first used to some extent in Europe by Skobeleff and Osman

Pasha in the Russo-Turkish war, and increasingly in the Russo-Japanese war and the wars in the Balkans. In the present war these American tactics have been so universally accepted that we are forced to the conclusion that the old systems have been discarded. There seems to be no future possibility of the formal battle of European tactics. The formal fortress has been proved useless. Mobile armies in the field, intrenching, attacking and counterattacking from trenches, are the factors in war today.

Great Changes in Tactics

On the sea, also, great changes in tactics have been brought about by American warfare. It is very little known that the modern dreadnought, the all-big-gun ship, is of American origin; but such is the fact, and the stages in its development are well defined.

From the first the United States Navy has made the gun all-important, and the lessons of the present war have again confirmed the wisdom of this policy.*

Our early naval constructors, with an intuition far ahead of their times, built a class of frigates, of which the Constitution is best known, and placed 24-pounders on them. Such an armament was ridiculed abroad, and it was prophesied that such ships would be useless; but in the war of 1812 these frigates became the wonder of the world. These American frigates were the first of the all-big-gun ships, which were destined to dominate naval construction.

Later, in the same spirit of progress, the United States Navy built frigates, the Wabash, Niagara, &c., which had the most powerful armaments of their class.

The civil war brought about still greater advances in the heavily armed warships that revolutionized naval tactics.

The attack in Hampton Roads on the Union fleet by the Merrimac, converted into the casemate ironclad Virginia by the Confederates, showed decisively the helplessness of wooden ships against armored ships. The fight that followed between the Virginia and the first turret ship, the Monitor, was the first challenge to guns in casemates by guns in turrets.

The construction of the Monitor had been hurried, and she was defective in many ways. Consequently, although the Monitor saved the Union fleet, the question of superiority between the two types remained undecided in many minds.

The less known fight in Wassaw Sound in 1863 established the superiority of a few big guns in turrets over a greater number in casemates. The Atlanta, a Confederate casemate ironclad of the type of the Virginia, came out to destroy two monitors, with two excursion steamers to watch the destruction. The monitor Weehawken fired just five shots—and the contest was ended for all time in favor of big guns in turrets.

The all-big-gun ship commands the sea in this war—and the big guns in turrets have never been supplanted.

In the Monitor type from one to two turrets was but a step, and many such monitors were built. Then came the Roanoke, (1863,) another stage in the development of the monitor. The Roanoke was a "seagoing turret vessel" with three turrets all aligned over the keel. Here were the essentials of the dreadnought of today,* and this American design of big guns in turrets aligned over the keel has prevailed over all other types of armored warships.

Turrents Over the Keel

Foreign navies were slow to accept this design. They built all sorts of armored ships, and on their turret vessels used various arrangements of the turrets. English and German dreadnoughts, designed less than eight years ago, have other dispositions of the turrets; but, in the latest classes of dreadnoughts, all foreign naval constructors have conformed to the American design of turrets aligned over the keel, from which we have never swerved in mounting our heavy guns.

*It is the gun, and the gun alone, which has determined the issue in naval battles.—Rear Admiral C. L. Goodrich, U. S. N.

*For one nowadays to see a drawing of the battery plan of the U. S. S. Roanoke is to be reminded that there is nothing new under the sun.—Lieut. Commander W. P. Cronan, U. S. N. United States Naval Institute Proceedings.

From the Constitution to the Wabash, to the Monitor, to the Roanoke, to the Michigan, to the Pennsylvania, are but steps in the American idea of the all-big-gun ship.

The torpedo and submarine of today are essentially American contributions to warfare.

Probably the most extraordinary event in the American Revolution, in relation to the present war, was the first use of the torpedo and the submarine. Various forms of mines had been tried before with indifferent success, but nothing approaching the torpedo as used in the tactics of today. In 1775 David Bushnell of Connecticut, who was graduated from Yale that year, built the "diving boat" known as the "American Turtle." Its design was astonishingly modern in many ways. It was made of iron plates, propelled by a screw, and guided by a compass made visible by phosphorus. The torpedo was carried outside, to be attached to the enemy ship, and then cast loose. The action of casting off started a clockwork, which gave the submarine time to get away to a safe distance.

This submarine and torpedo were first tried against the Eagle, a 64-gun ship, lying off New York. The operator in the submarine found difficulty in attaching the torpedo, which contained 100 pounds of powder, and the explosion was not near enough to the Eagle to cause any damage. It was again tried against the Cerberus at New London. The submarine missed the large ship but blew up a schooner that lay near her, with several of her people killed. It was Bushnell who, in 1778, set afloat torpedoes against the British shipping in the Delaware River near Philadelphia. They were in kegs and did little damage, but inspired the amusing poem, "The Battle of the Kegs," written at the time.

These attempts with the submarine and the torpedo, although they did very little actual harm, caused so much alarm and kept the enemy ships away from narrow waters to such an extent that it is perfectly fair to say that the submarine and torpedo had a tactical value in the Revolutionary War.

In the War of 1812 the American inventions of the torpedo and the submarine were of tactical value, although not in actual use. Robert Fulton had attempted to develop the Bushnell inventions, at first for the French and then for the English; but he had returned to America discouraged. There was some aid voted for his machines, but nothing was ever done with them in actual warfare. However, as in the Revolution, the idea that the Americans possessed such dangerous weapons proved a good defense for portions of our coast.

The use of torpedoes was developed to a high degree in the civil war. They were placed by the Confederates, as are mines in the present war, to protect narrow waters and destroy enemy craft trying to enter. The monitors Tecumseh and Patapsco, and many other Federal vessels were so destroyed.

The torpedo was also used as a weapon of offense. The Confederate ram Albemarle was the most important warship so destroyed. The Albemarle was torpedoed in Cushing's daring night attack. His launch had the torpedo rigged on a spar, and it was exploded by pulling a lanyard.

There was also a great advance in the use of the submarine by the Confederates. Undersea boats approaching the modern type were built, especially at Charleston. The torpedo was thrust out in front on a spar instead of being ejected from a tube. These submarines were very dangerous to their crews, and many crews were lost in them, but they destroyed one good Federal cruiser, the Housatonic, off Charleston in 1864. Undoubtedly they led the way to the later development by American inventors which has become so great a factor in the present war.

Privateering

The destructive raids of the light German cruisers against British commerce closely followed the tactics of the Confederate Navy in the civil war.

Commerce destroying was first a real factor in warfare in the Revolution and the War of 1812. Privateering was nothing new—but it had been a matter of give and take, with profit to owners of both sides. In these wars, even with the command of the sea in the hands of the enemy, American privateers, with daring seamen in fast ships, caused such

ACTION BETWEEN THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR, MARCH 9, 1862. (THE LARGE WOODEN VESSEL IS THE MINNESOTA.)

disproportionate losses to British commerce that there is authority to say that they won advantageous peace for us in both wars.*

At the outbreak of the civil war the Confederate Government hoped to create a similar fleet of privateers. This proved impossible. The South did not have the ships, and privateering was not of much importance in the war. The South then tried new tactics, and the Confederate Navy commissioned warships whose mission was commerce destroying.

These cruisers, Sumter, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, &c., almost drove the United States flag from the seas. With the command of the sea hopelessly against them, their raids were carried on with the greatest ingenuity and daring, and it was very difficult to catch them.

In the present war the German cruisers imitated these Confederate commerce destroyers and did a great amount of damage, with the same control of the sea against them. The Alabama and the Emden will always be associated in their kinship of succesful audacity.

Blockades

For the Federals on the sea the hardest task was the blockade of the Confederate coast. Blockades had been used before in warfare, and the status of a blockade was well defined.** This was no "cabinet blockade," but an effective blockade such as had never been seen.

Here was one of the largest coastlines in the world, where harbors and inlets gave every advantage to the blockade runner. The United States Navy had not ships enough to carry out the task, but, with characteristic energy, all kinds of craft were utilized. The steamer Circassian, one of the most valuable prizes of the war, was actually captured by a Fulton Ferry boat. At first the blockade was de facto, as different portions of the coast were policed and notified of the blockade, but in an astonishingly short time the long coastline

*Maclay, &c.

**A blockade to be legal must be effective.—Declaration of Paris.

was effectively hemmed in. "As to the legal efficiency of the blockade after the first six months there can be no question."†

This was only the beginning of the undertaking. Great profits offered inducements to blockade runners. After the blockade became stringent and ships were being constantly seized on the high seas attempts were made to evade capture by clearing for one of the available neutral ports, touching there, and then trying to run into a Confederate port.

Bermuda, Nassau, Havana, and Matamoros were these ports, of which Nassau was much the most active. The idea was that the claim of neutral destination would protect the ship for most of its voyage, and it would only be in danger in the short run between the neutral port and the Southern port.

This practice proved easy to stop, as the character of cargo and evidence of final destination brought condemnation in the courts. This evidence was most difficult in the case of Matamoros, the only town of importance on the Confederate southern border, but so general became the forfeiture of ships and cargoes that some other evasion was necessary.

The next scheme tried was clearance for the neutral ports, and then transshipment at the neutral port. The return cargoes were to be handled in the same way. "But here again the courts stepped in, and held that though a transshipment was made, even after landing the cargo and going through a form of sale, the two voyages were parts of one and the same transaction, and the cargo from the outset was liable to condemnation, if the original intention had been to forward the goods to a blockaded port. Nor did the decision stop here. As all property, both ship and cargo, is confiscated upon proof of breach of blockade, it was held that ships carrying on this traffic to neutral ports were confiscable, provided the ultimate destination of the cargo to a blockaded port was known to the owner. In the words of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 'the ships are planks of the same bridge.'"†

†Professor J. R. Soley, U. S. N.

The last resort of the blockade runners was most ingenious, to break the voyage by shipping to a Federal port, then to a neutral port, then to the Confederate port. Goods were shipped to New York by regular steamship lines, thence to Nassau, to be sent to the South. This was ended when it was observed that trade with Nassau and Bermuda was abnormal, by orders issued to the Collectors of Customs to refuse clearance to vessels whose cargoes were in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, and to require owners to give ample security where there was ground for apprehension that cargoes were destined for the enemy's use.

These orders were general and named no particular ports. Yet the "merchants of Nassau" complained of this "unjust discrimination" and persuaded Earl Russell to take up the subject diplomatically. The correspondence that followed showed so plainly that "the trade of the Bahamas" was blockade running that the British Government "derived little satisfaction," and the traffic was ended.

Thus were overcome difficulties, physical and legal, that seemed insuperable. The amount of harm done to the South by these perfected blockading tactics cannot be estimated.

This well-established case of successful legal blockading tactics was at the command of the British Government at the outbreak of this war. Enforcement of a legal blockade against the Teutonic alliance would have been very difficult, but if the British had proclaimed such a blockade at the outset they could have attempted to build up their case on the case already established. Such a policy at the start might not have caused undue friction.

Instead of this Great Britain attempted to keep goods from the Teutonic allies by using her command of the sea and an increasing list of contraband. She is now avowedely trying to imitate the blockade of our civil war.

Although the American invention of the aeroplane has been of great tactical value in the present war, it does not come within the scope of this article, as it is limited to tactical developments that have

been proved of value in American warfare.

It is impressive to sum up these American contributions to the tactics of today.

On land:

The mobile army kept in the field, and the end of formal battles.

The superiority of intrenchments, and the end of formal fortresses.

The development of "hasty intrenchments," and of armies manoeuvring and intrenching.

On the sea:

The development of the "all-big-gun ship."

The tactical superiority of the armored ship.

The tactical superiority of guns mounted in turrets—and of turrets aligned over the keel.

The tactical use of the torpedo.

The tactical use of the submarine.

The development of a legal blockade of a long coastline.

Commerce destroying as a factor in war.

The facts and results given in this article are not exaggerated. In truth, they are understated. Where American ingenuity has done so much for the freedom and defense of our country, should not every citizen do his best to see that we are not left defenseless against the tactics of our own invention?

A Song Before Battle

This poem, by an officer of the British Rifle Brigade, is inserted here as a record of the war spirit of England during the Battle of the Somme.

We, who have clung for long, long months
To battered lines of knee-deep mud,
Fixed targets for your slope-set guns
To drench the ooze with British blood;
We, who have toiled through Winter's rain
With sandbag, shovel, plank, and wire,
Revetting marshy parapets,
Building protection from your fire,
We have weapons now, O Huns.

Rifles, ah! yes, but worthier still
How like you thrust and stab and blow?
And you shall find for all your guns—
The earth is plowed with ours, you know—
That we can jab the silent sword
With hands exultant, freed at last
From digging, digging night and day.
The months of holding on are past:
We are coming now, O Huns.

We, who have crouched as you sailed by
Above our furrowed, pock-marked soil,
Spotting our weakness for your guns,
See no one of you now to spoil
Our free enjoyment of the skies;
You fire blindly from below;
We force you fiercely up the hills,
And from the last grim crest you go.
We are rising now, O Huns.

We are rising now, a nation's tide,
And you must dig and wire and quail;
Your turn at last beneath our guns,
Your turn to find defenses frail.
We are bursting in, we are breaking through;
The great sea sweeps your barriers down.
You urge anew your claim on God,
But He is silent as you drown.
Look to yourselves, O Huns!

The Somme Valley, Aug 15, 1916.

The War in German East Africa

By James B. Macdonald

A Former Resident of South Africa

TRAVELING on the South African railways from Port Elizabeth northward one gets a vivid impression of ascending a natural stairway of plateaus until in the Transvaal it attains an elevation of from 5,000 to 6,000 feet. Continuing the journey through Rhodesia the traveler finds himself on the down grade again—4,500 feet, 4,000 feet, 3,500 feet. From Northern Rhodesia the journey into German East Africa must be made on foot, and there the mean elevation is slightly lower, but the country is broken up into a series of mountain ranges, tablelands, and depressions.

German East Africa, with an area of 384,000 square miles, became a political entity by virtue of the treaty of 1890 between Britain, France, and Germany, by the terms of which Britain secured British East Africa, British Uganda, and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba; France obtained the island of Madagascar, and Germany her East African possessions and the island of Heligoland in the North Sea. It was organized at first under a chartered company, but a successful revolt of the Arabs against its authority compelled the Imperial Government to intervene and reconquer the country.

War with Germany Foreseen

On several occasions within the lifetime of the young colony Germany has been on the brink of a European war, and the possibility of a rupture was well recognized in German East Africa; while in South Africa the probability of a war between Britain and Germany was realized ever since the Kaiser sent his famous telegram to President Kruger. General Botha's Government, in the recent Blue Book issued at Pretoria, remarks:

"With many in this country (as elsewhere throughout the world) it had become an accepted belief that war between the two countries—England and Germany—was inevitable, and that at no distant date they would be engaged in a deadly struggle for supremacy."

The present writer also held this view while in South Africa, and explains this belief by the fact that South Africans are constantly meeting Germans, Hollanders, and Swiss in their daily relations, and therefore were more in touch with Continental thought and the German point of view than the people of Great Britain.

Perceiving the irreconcilable nature of British and German ideals, a conflict seemed inevitable, but colonial Germans, as well as those in the Fatherland, made the mistake of thinking that Britain would stand aside while France was attacked, as she did in 1870, and that the struggle between Britain and Germany would come later at the latter's convenience.

Under this comfortable belief Germany had organized her East African colony with the intention of using it as a military and naval base for operations against the French insular colonies of Madagascar and Reunion, (New Caledonia.) The latter, with its rich deposits of nickel, which meet half the world's requirements, would have been a most valuable asset to a great military power like Germany, but it was not to be. The invasion of Belgium brought Britain into the war—even with a pacifist Liberal Government in power—and upset all Germany's calculations.

The colony of German East Africa immediately found itself blockaded and shut off from the world by British sea power, instead of playing a leading rôle in the conquest of French colonies, as it had expected. To be quite just, German East Africa was prepared for a colonial war with France, but not for a colonial war with Britain.

The outbreak of war found British East Africa with half a native battalion

of the King's African Rifles and less than that number of local volunteers to protect it against their neighbor's military concentration at Moshi, but the settlers were a sporting lot and rallied with keenness to its defense.

Colonial War in 1914-15

British Nyasaland, in the south, is a Crown colony mainly settled by missionaries and coffee planters, who had a weak battalion of the King's African Rifles and a gunboat on the lake for their protection. The Belgian Congo was better prepared with military forces than the adjoining British colonies, and nature had assisted in the protection of its frontier. Northern Rhodesia is very sparsely settled, but Southern Rhodesia, with a population of about 15,000 whites, has a fine regiment of volunteers and a strong force of semi-military police, who could be moved up to the frontier. In these parts also are many pioneers experienced in native wars and others who are expert game shots.

To relieve the situation in Nyasaland a battalion of militia was hastily dispatched from South Africa, while a brigade of Indian troops, under Major General Tighe, was sent to British East Africa. The commander of the Indian troops attempted to land at the German seaport of Tanga, apparently intending to seize the Usambara railway and make a flank attack on the enemy's camp at Moshi. With a chivalry which is wasted these days he gave forty-eight hours' notice of his intention to bombard the town. The defenders availed themselves of his leniency to rail down from Moshi all the troops that could be spared to assist them. The bombardment was a success, but the landing resulted in 400 casualties, and the troops had to be reembarked for Mombasa.

The Germans followed up their success by invading British East Africa and occupied Taveta, but their further advance was held in check by the Indian contingent and local forces strung out for 600 miles along the border. In Nyasaland they were less successful, being driven back in an attempt to enter the Crown colony.

The Teutons now directed their efforts to rouse the natives against the British, but the Masai, the most powerful tribe of all, declined to join them, as part of their people lived in British territory and these refused to revolt. Large numbers of other natives, however, were enlisted as askaris, (native soldiers.) The next move was an attempt to rouse the fanaticism of the East Coast Arabs to a holy war, but the latter, mindful of German methods in suppressing their own rebellion, did not rally to the call.

The naval warfare on the great inland lakes may be characterized as being more earnest than important, and terminated in all the German vessels being disposed of.

On the seacoast hostilities were commenced by the British cruisers Astraea and Pegasus coming across from Zanzibar and bombarding the shipping and wireless at Dar-es-Salaam on Aug. 8, 1914, but the German cruiser Königsberg followed and sunk the Pegasus in Zanzibar Harbor while her fires were drawn and the engineers engaged in overhauling her boilers. A second raid on Dar-es-Salaam was made in December, 1914, by the British cruisers Goliath and Fox in reprisal for the visit to Zanzibar.

The Königsberg was chased by the East Indian squadron into the Rufiji River and the passage blocked by sunken colliers, while the pursuit of the Emden was taken up. Later the Königsberg was located by seaplanes and destroyed by plunging fire from monitors.

A blockade of the whole coast of German East Africa, some 300 miles in length, was declared by the British on Feb. 28, 1915, and Mafia Island occupied.

The Union of South Africa meanwhile was engaged in suppressing a rebellion within its own border, which had been brought about by collusion between some disappointed Boer politicians and the German High Command. This delayed their conquest of German West Africa, and they were unable to lend any assistance toward the invasion of German East Africa until the following year.

The main railway line in British East Africa from Mombasa, on the coast, to Port Florence, on Lake Victoria Nyanza,

German East Africa

SCENE OF THE CAMPAIGN IN WHICH GERMANY HAS LOST THE LAST OF HER COLONIES. GERMAN EAST AFRICA, AN EMPIRE IN ITSELF, WITH ITS AREA OF 384,000 SQUARE MILES, IS NEARLY TWICE AS LARGE AS GERMANY

runs more or less parallel to the German border and throws out two branches in that direction. One from Voi Station to Taveta approaches the southern slope of Mount Kilimanjaro on the British side, while the other from Kin Station terminates near Mount Longido—a solitary peak on the frontier northwest of Kilimanjaro. The Usambara railway approaches the southern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro on the German side of the frontier. These border railways, being dominant strategic factors, determined where the opening battles of the war should be fought.

The 1916 Campaign

The Germans at the commencement of the 1916 campaign still retained possession of Taveta, but were unable to advance toward the main line. Had they succeeded in cutting the latter at Voi Station they would have been in a fair way to conquer the whole colony.

In anticipation of the arrival of reinforcements from South Africa General Tighe prepared for the eventual offensive movement and organized his effective reserves into two brigades, acting along the Longido and Taveta lines, respectively.

General Sir Horace Smith Dorien, who so distinguished himself in the retreat from Mons, was appointed to the supreme command, but, falling seriously ill at Cape Town, had to reliquish it. He was succeeded as Commander in Chief by Lieutenant General Jan Christian Smuts, who had command of the Southern Army in German West Africa during the previous year.

General Smuts is better known as the brilliant South African statesman who has steered his country through troubled waters and earned the respect of Boer and Briton alike. A barrister by profession, he was Attorney General of the Transvaal during President Kruger's administration, and led a Boer commando in a raid into Cape Colony during the war of 1899-1902. In later days he has filled a place in South African politics somewhat analogous to that which the Hon. Rudolphe Lemieux occupies in Canada.

On his arrival at Nairobi General Smuts took over General Tighe's main plan of operations, but made certain subsidiary dispositions. He decided to attack and occupy the Kilimanjaro region before the tropical rains set in. The force at his disposal consisted of the First, Second, and Third South African and Indian brigades.

General Smuts in his report states that "at the commencement of 1916 the German forces in German East Africa were estimated at some 16,000 men, of whom 2,000 were whites, with 60 guns and 80 machine guns. They were organized in companies varying from 150 to 200 strong, with 10 per cent. of whites, and an average of two machine guns per company." We are inclined to think, and the following narrative will bear this out, that General Smuts has taken a generous view of the number of white troops opposed to him and has not reckoned in the civilians, who had twenty months in which to train, nor the crew of the German cruiser Königsberg.

The road from Taveta to Moshi led through a gap between Mount Kilimanjaro on the north and the Pare Mountains in the south. This necessitated a frontal attack, which in due course was held up, but meanwhile Major General Stewart was leading a turning movement through Longido. We succeeded by a swift advance across the desert in entering the gap between Mount Meru and Mount Kilimanjaro and attacked Moshi from the rear. This manoeuvre took the defenders by surprise, and they retired down the Usambara railway, leaving 380 dead and many prisoners.

The desired object had been attained, and the South African engineers quickly linked up the two railway systems by carrying the Voi branch line through Taveta to Moshi. Kahe Station was seized after some very difficult bush fighting; while the mounted forces gained the cross roads at Arusha.

The campaign in the northeast now assumed two directions, the main column under General Smuts moving southeast to clear up the Usambara highlands and the railway to Tanga, while the other advanced southwest to cut the central railway at or near Kilimatinde, which

JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS

GENERAL SMITH DORRIEN

was formerly the administrative capital of German East Africa.

Van Deventer's Column

The Kilimatinde column under General Van Deventer fought its way across the Masai steppe through Köthersheim, Kissale, and Salanga to Kondoa Irangi. The latter place was occupied on April 19, but here the advance, when only eighty miles from the central railway, was held up. General von Lettow-Vorbeck, commander of the German imperial troops, came up with reinforcements, and personally directed strong counterattacks on May 9, 10, and 11, but these were repulsed with heavy loss.

On June 28 General Van Deventer carried the German positions by assault and pursued them toward the Central Railway, which he reached on July 29. The capture of Dodoma Station on that date severed the main German communications, and indicated that the end of the campaign was in sight.

General Botha, the Premier of South Africa, was an interested spectator of these operations.

Kibombo, fifteen miles east, and Kilimatinde, sixty miles west from Dodoma, were captured shortly afterward, and General Van Deventer, pushing eastward, on Aug. 11 came up with the enemy strongly posted ten miles west of Mpwapwa, where he again defeated them. On Aug. 21 General Van Deventer engaged the Germans at Kilossa in an all-day fight, and to assist him General Smuts, who had now got in touch with him, detached a column to attack Mkata, on the railway twenty miles east of Kilossa, which caused the enemy to retire next day before they were cut off.

General Smuts's Column

To return to General Smuts's main expedition, which set out to overrun the Usambara highlands, in anticipation that the Germans would be found in greatest strength there. This, however, did not prove to be the case; nevertheless, the opposition, such as it was, had to be overcome to insure the safety and success of General Van Deventer's column. The railway from Tanga was built on the plain to the west of the Usambara hills and between them and the Pangani River, and likewise in relation to the Pare Hills a little further north. An excellent roadway runs parallel with the

railway to the inland terminus at Moshi, some 220 miles from the coast. The Usambara hills lie in horseshoe formation, with the heel planted about twenty miles from the coast, and form a natural stronghold. In the centre is a fruitful valley, to which access is obtained from the southeast, and through it flows the Lwengera River. There are several European village communities hereabout, of which the principal one, Wilhelmstal, lies to the southwest of the highlands, and the next most important, Korogwe, to the south. The white population of the district numbers about 3,000. The whole area may be described as the garden of the colony, and the way in which it has been developed reflects great credit alike to the settlers and the colonial Government. The British thought so much of the district that they invested about $10,000,000 in it.

Into this peaceful region came the main tide of invasion. After the severe bush fighting near Kahe, when the rum-doped Askaris charged into the South African lines like crazy demons, little opposition was offered to the advance down the railway, and Wilhelmstal and Korogwe were occupied early in June. The Germans evacuated Tanga, after destroying the waterworks, and General Smuts entered it on July 7. This gave him a new base, with a safe and commodious harbor, for his further march along the coast to Dar-es-Salaam.

The advance columns had already been pushed ahead, without waiting for the fall of Tanga, and came up with the enemy at the crossing of the Lukigura River on June 24, but failed to envelop him.

While the military were progressing inland naval forces were co-operating with them along the coast, and, after slight opposition, occupied the minor port of Sadani on Aug. 1. Four days later the columns under General Smuts began a wide turning movement, in an attempt to encircle the enemy in the Nguru Mountains, some eighty miles to the west of Sadani. This again did not succeed, although the Germans were defeated in severe fighting at Matamonda on Aug. 9-11, and retreated toward Morgo, on the Central Railway.

General Smuts meanwhile entered Bagamoyo, and, getting in touch with General Van Deventer at Kilossa, swept on to the Central Railway, where he passed through Mrogoro in pursuit of the German forces retiring to the south.

Dar-es-Salaam ("the harbor of peace") surrendered to the British on Sept. 4, after a land and sea attack, and was occupied by naval and military forces. It was the former seat of government and capital of German East Africa.

The Portuguese Column

When Germany declared war on Portugal on March 9 it brought the colonial Province of Mozambique into the circle of enemies attacking German East Africa. The first move of the Portuguese was to recover Kionga and the strip of territory south of the Rovuma River which Germany had taken from them in 1894 and to harass the German posts on the river with gunboats. The principal part which the Portuguese forces were expected to play in the war was to hold the line of the Rovuma River and prevent the retreating Germans from entering Mozambique.

Congo and Uganda Columns

Coincident with these events two Belgium columns under General Tombeur invaded the northwestern part of the colony from either end of Lake Kivu and came together in German territory. The British in Uganda, after seizing the port of Bukoba on the western shore of Victoria Nyanza, also invaded the colony along the eastern shore of the lake. In this way they co-operated with the Belgians on their right and General Van Deventer's column on their left. As the Germans retreated before his converging columns General Tombeur split his force into several smaller columns spread out over the whole country between the two great lakes and commenced a southward drive having the western end of the Central Railway as its objective. In the course of these operations the allied forces rounded up one of the retreating contingents near Busirayombo, at the southwest corner of Victoria Nyanza, and, continuing the pursuit, drove the Germans in the direction

of Tabora, on the Central Railway. Toward the end of July the Belgian right wing occupied Ujiji, the most important German post on Lake Tanganyika and terminus of the railway from Dar-es-Salaam; while a few days later another column entered Rutshug, sixty-two miles further east on the Central Railway. During August Karema, on the lake, was taken and contact established with the Rhodesian expedition in the south.

After heavy fighting, Sept. 1-11, the Belgians captured Tabora, on the Central Railway, and so completed the conquest of the western half of the colony.

While steaming along the German side of Lake Tanganyika the Belgian gunboat Netta surprised the German gunboat Graf von Gotzen disembarking troops on July 28 and sunk her. This was the last of the German flotilla on the great lakes.

Yet another British column joined in the invasion of German East Africa and crossed the southwestern frontier from Rhodesia and Nyasaland under command of Brigadier General Northey. It was mainly composed of Rhodesian and South African troops, and its objective to hold the strategic line of the Livingstone Mountains and seize Neu Iringa.

General Northey's expedition entered German East Africa on May 25 on a broad front across the Stevenson Road, which was constructed between Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika. His left wing seized Bismarckburg, on the south end of Lake Tanganyika, on June 8, while his right captured Neu Langenburg, in the Livingstone Mountains. Neu Utengule, Alt Langenburg, and Ubena also fell to his advance, while Kala and Kirando, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, were occupied later.

The Concluding Stage

Having secured these strategic points General Northey now pushed on with his column for Neu Iringa and came up with the enemy in prepared positions at Malagali. The force opposed to him comprised the crew of the German cruiser Königsberg, and, after a stubborn fight, he drove them from their positions on July 24, and later occupied Neu Iringa.

With General Smuts at Mrogoro, General Van Deventer at Kilossa, and General Northey at Neu Iringa a concerted move was made by these commanders to round up the retiring German troops before they could cross the Rufiji River, or its tributary, the Ruaha River, or later when they entered the desolate "hunger country." The Germans were retreating toward Mahenge, in the mountains between the Ruaha and Ruhnje Rivers. After dislodging them from the Uluguru hills with the loss of nearly all their artillery General Smuts effected a junction with General Van Deventer's column near Kissaki, while the defeated army bore away in a southeastern direction.

All the southern ports, Kilwa Kivinji, Lindi, and Mikindani, were occupied by British naval and military forces, which enabled fresh troops to be shipped from Dar-es-Salaam and thrown in rear of the German line of retreat. Simultaneously the Portuguese crossed the Ruvuma River and advanced to complete the encircling move.

The war in German East Africa is now practically ended and cannot even degenerate into guerrilla warfare, as there are no white settlements in the "hunger country" to be raided. The Germans have put up a brave fight. They have been without any news from the outer world for the last two years. The surviving fragments of their armies are holding out to the last moment.

We may appropriately recall an interesting comment on the conquest of German East Africa which appeared in the official Paris communiqué as long ago as April 3, 1916:

> This is Germany's last colony. The enemy has large sums invested here in railways and other exploitations. The complete conquest of the colony is only a question of time and cannot be long delayed. Consequently, the colonial empire created at such cost by Germany will disappear, and Germany will no longer have an outlet out of Germany. It is easy to see the important bearing this fact will have at the conclusion of peace. Every time, in the course of our history, that we have lost colonies, even when there had been successes on the Continent, we have had to accept disastrous terms of peace. It is probable that similar events will have similar results in the case of Germany.

The War and Religion

By the Rev. Sidney M. Berry, M. A.

Carrs Lane Church, Birmingham, England

The author of this article ministers to one of the largest city churches in England and has had special opportunities besides to survey the religious life of the English Nation as affected by the war.

IMMEDIATELY upon the outbreak of war and during its opening months there happened what one might naturally have expected—a large accession of numbers in the attendance at all the churches. People who had not been accustomed to support organized religious worship came in large numbers to church. Congregations were swollen above the ordinary levels. A new spirit of intensity and earnestness seemed to be the obvious promise of those first days and weeks. Men talked glibly then of a great religious revival, and some came perilously near, in the implication of their remarks, if not directly, to extolling war as a purifying element in human life.

If accounts of eyewitnesses are to be trusted, the same features reproduced themselves among all the nations drawn into the whirlpool of international conflict. From France it was reported that many who previous to the war were either indifferent or openly hostile to religious propaganda had altered their outlook, and the Church, which had been posing as a victim of the State, seemed to be on the point of expressing the inmost soul of a people. In Belgium much the same thing happened under the stress of sudden calamity. The swift tragedy of events struck at the heart of all light avoidance of the serious issues of life, and, if in some cases it induced bitterness, in others it stirred as a challenge to the soul. In that fine pastoral letter written at the close of 1914 Cardinal Mercier, the Primate of Belgium, wrote these words:

"Men long unaccustomed to prayer are turning again to God. Within the army, within the civil world, in public, and within the individual conscience, there is prayer. Nor is that prayer today a word learned by rote, uttered lightly by the lips; it surges from the troubled heart, it takes the form, at the feet of God, of the very sacrifice of life."

From Germany, by those who were in that country at the time and have since returned, there have been given to us reports which carry the same impression further still, only in this case the stimulating element came not from tragedy but from success. Before the war broke out no churches in any European country were more deeply alienated from the life of the people than the churches in Germany. There had been in existence for some years a strong and definite movement away from organized religion, associated to some extent with questions of taxation, but at the same time revealing the popular mind regarding the churches. On the outbreak of war we are told the churches were crowded at once. The intensity of national sentiment found a voice in the utterances of preachers and in the old German hymns. Once again the churches seemed to be the channels through which there flowed the main currents of national sentiment and life.

It cannot be said that the same movement was witnessed to anything like the same extent in Britain. The character of the people of these islands is not favorable to sudden turns of that kind. But even here the experience of the churches throughout the length and breadth of the land is that during the first weeks of war the number of people attending religious services was in a marked degree larger than usual.

How, then, has this movement fared? Has it shown any promise of depth and permanency? I believe that in trying to answer these questions a distinction must be drawn between the experience of countries which have felt to the full the

ravages of war and that of countries which have been more favored by circumstances. In Britain, for example, under the protection of the seas over which her fleets rule supreme, it has been difficult at times to realize that the greatest war in the history of the world is in progress. The sheltered atmosphere of these islands has guarded the minds of its inhabitants from the shocks of war which others have felt. The transition from peace conditions to war conditions has been gradual, and even today, when individual liberty is severely restricted in many directions, life is not far removed from the normal.

Nor has there been any great hardship in social and industrial conditions, such as we were led to expect might fall upon us in the event of war, and which might have brought home its reality. That pinch of hardship may be felt when the war is over, but we have felt nothing of it as yet. Unemployment is almost nonexistent. The cost of living has certainly increased, but, on the whole, wages have risen to meet the upward trend in prices. In thousands of homes the last two years have meant a prosperity unknown in previous times.

In many ways this has tended to a slackening of the moral fibre. In spite of the State control over the drink traffic, there has been a vast amount of drinking, and the most ominous sign of all is the growth of the habit among women, and even young girls. It would be unfair, of course, to look at this side of the picture and not at another, for the nation as a whole has responded magnificently to all the demands made upon it, and at its heart is a stern and unflinching resolve. But the present atmosphere of life in these islands is not conducive to any large growth of the religious spirit, and consequently the first increase in church attendance has declined to the old level, and even, in many cases, below that mark.

As far as Germany and Austria are concerned, very little reliable information has reached us in this country since the first few months of warfare, and what news has come through the barriers must be accepted with reserve. The meagre accounts which have reached us would, however, lead us to suppose that much the same course has been followed in those countries as in our own. Judging by articles which have appeared in their newspapers and journals, there would seem to have been an increasing lack of self-restraint on the part of the younger portion of the population especially. There are laments, for example, over the increase of juvenile crime. And we are not without some evidence that many who turned to organized religion in the first days of the war have turned away again now that the novelty and excitement of the situation have worn away.

All this would lead us to the conclusion that it is highly unsafe to argue, from a temporary quickening of religious life on the surface, the promise of a deep spiritual movement affecting the life of the nation as a whole.

From personal observation and from the accounts of others a different story has to be told of France, which since the earliest days of the war has known the harrowing experience of the enemy encamped on her own land, with all the horror and tragedy which that fact involves. Such an experience moves the soul of a nation to its depths. No people understands what war means until it has passed through that fiery ordeal. You have only to look at the blackened ruins of French homes, the desolated churches, and the devastated villages, to understand how the sternness of the French character has asserted itself and how the war has called forth all the spiritual resources of that great people. Amid such surroundings, the attachment of the French Nation to the Church seems to be permanently deepened, an attachment which has been strengthened by the noble part which the priesthood has taken in the defense of the country. Over the length and breadth of France the Church is more truly national than ever before, at all events in modern times, and it is national in a sense which no laws of the State can increase or diminish.

These conclusions, of course, are in the nature of generalizations, to which too great value ought not to be attached. A

nation may have an organic being of its own, and especially so when a great demand breaks down the dividing barriers and leads men for the moment to forget their old divisions into classes and parties. Even so, those divisions are not destroyed; they are only transcended for a time. So, to speak of the religion of a nation must always be a loose way of talking. In any generalization of the kind there must be room for hosts of exceptions. Probably, then, the way in which a fact like the present war colors the attitude of men to religion may be seen both more truly and more vividly on the plane of the individual life than on that of the community as a whole.

To the soldiers themselves, therefore, I turn now to ask how their minds and outlook have been affected by the strange and terrible experiences through which they have passed. Has religion any deeper meaning for them than when they went out? It was with this question at the back of my mind that I visited part of our army in France during three months of last Winter, seeing the men in all kinds of conditions—in the comparative security of the base camps, in the field hospitals immediately behind the lines, and in the trenches. Here again no general verdict is possible, and everything which I have seen would lead me to a deep distrust of hasty generalizations.

Is there a revival of religion at the front? No, not in the sense in which that phrase is generally used. There is little sign of the emotional. No obvious wave of religious enthusiasm has swept over the men. There is absolutely no hint of turning to religion in a panic. Nor is there any great sign of a strengthening of the attachment between the men and official religious organizations. What is going on is beneath the surface, quiet and hidden. Yet there is a distinct movement toward religion, none the less real because it is unobtrusive. What you find there is that men who were out of touch altogether with religious organizations at home turn naturally to such a thing as prayer at a moment of great need. In private conversation with the men I heard again and again the confession that in times of great stress they had all prayed for help. And the way in which it was told would lead one to believe that it was not the last desperate throw of the gambler with fate, but the turning to a long-neglected instrument in which they had never really lost belief.

Again, speak to men who for themselves have faced the deeper realities of life and death, speak to them, not in a conventional way, but in simple, direct, real speech, and it is not long before you are conscious of a new intensity in the atmosphere. I believe, after all that I have seen, that the men who have really faced these things will return simpler, purified, with a new hold on the things that really matter. Whether that will express itself in open and outward ways I do not venture to prophesy; so much, it seems to me, depends upon the forces of organized religion. If the churches are content to go on in the old ways, and especially emphasizing the divisions among themselves, I see very little hope of a revival within their borders. All that will happen then is that the churches will lose the biggest opportunity which has been presented to them in modern times. That issue has yet to be decided, and one could wish that there were more signs that they were prepared to take advantage of it.

But from what I have seen I am convinced that the men who have borne the heaviest part of the burden in this warfare of the nations will return to the old life again with a spirit which is essentially religious, with their sense of human brotherhood strengthened, and with a deep desire to rid the world from such an anomaly as war. I am speaking here of the best of the men, and I am fairly confident that what I have seen of our own soldiers applies to the forces of every nation engaged in the conflict. Many old illusions have fallen like scales from their eyes. Even amid the tragedies of hatred and war they have felt in a new way the reality of human brotherhood. But what form the new experience will take when they return to the tasks of civil life no one has any means of knowing. Vaguely it is said that the coming age will be an era of revolution.

For myself I believe it will be an age of new moral and spiritual values, learned by men who have seen the folly of old ways by the impasse to which they have led, and who will seek, blindly it may be at first, for a new order of life and society. In that new order they will demand that there shall be an assured place for the individual soul within the fellowship of society and for the rights of even the weaker nations within the comity of the peoples.

New Zealand in a New Phase

By Spencer Brodney

THE New Zealand Military Service bill, which became law on Aug. 1, 1916, has come as a surprise to those who have always associated New Zealand with radical and progressive politics. How is it, one asks, that such a country could take a headlong plunge into militarism and adopt conscription just as determinedly as if it were a European power? Is not New Zealand ruled by the working class, which is everywhere opposed to compulsory military service?

The answer to these questions is that in New Zealand the working class no longer exercises the political influence it did during the long progressive régime which began in 1890 and continued under the successive Premierships of Ballance, Seddon, and Ward till a little while after the outbreak of the war, when the Conservatives led by Massey returned to power. Subsequently Massey formed a coalition with the Liberals, whose leader, Sir Joseph Ward, had become a very lukewarm radical. The object of the coalition was to eliminate party politics and concentrate upon the work of helping the empire in its hour of need. But its effect was also to close up the ranks against labor. From the moment the Massey-Ward Ministry took office the political power of the working class was practically extinguished and the only possible opposition to an ultra-imperialistic policy destroyed. In fact, it was a repetition of what had happened in England when the Liberal Prime Minister called the Tory chieftains to his side and squelched radical, labor, and Socialist opponents.

But even if the New Zealand Liberal Party had not been swallowed up by the Conservatives, it would be a mistake to suppose that New Zealand radicalism was ever opposed to the kind of patriotism which has for first article of belief the greatness and glory of the British Empire. The great leader of the Liberal-Labor forces was the late Richard Seddon, who was Premier uninterruptedly from 1893 to the time of his death in 1906. Originally a Lancashire workingman, he remained throughout his career an intense democrat and a bold experimentalist in politics. But he was also the most fervent of British imperialists, enthusiastically advocating Chamberlainism on every occasion that problems of empire came up for discussion. For that reason he was as great a favorite with British Tories as the Australian Prime Minister, Hughes, who is a Socialist, has since become.

The British Tory imperialists are always ready to forgive radicalism in the domestic politics of the self-governing dominions so long as colonial statesmen are "loyal to the empire." Seddon could have turned New Zealand into a Socialist State and the British jingoes would not have turned a hair so long as New Zealand kept to the policy which sent troops to fight in South Africa, contributed battleships to the British fleet, and supported proposals at the imperial conferences in London which aimed at destroying liberalism in Great Britain. Seddon's successor, Ward, was not so trustworthy a democrat as Seddon, but he was, and is, no less imperialistic; and in this he represents the prevailing sentiment of the New Zealand people.

New Zealand is undoubtedly the most loyal and patriotic of all the British self-governing dominions. Its population con-

tains no separate national element, as in Canada and South Africa, nor has it ever received any influx of discontented emigrants from the British Isles, as has Australia. In New Zealand, which was almost exclusively colonized by Englishmen and Scotsmen, the mother country is deeply revered and loved without question.

This is due not merely to the character of the colonists and their children, who have been bred in the tradition of loyalty. There is also a geographical reason. New Zealand is a small country and a lonely one. It consists of a couple of islands, with an area about the same as that of the State of Colorado, that is, a little over 100,000 square miles. Even Australia is four days distant across the Tasman Sea, while it is a voyage of nearly three weeks to the North American Continent. Thus the New Zealand people, at once the most loyal of Britishers and the most isolated, feel that their safety depends upon the strength of the empire, above all on the strength of the predominant partner, Great Britain. If, for example, Germany were victorious and British power waned in the Pacific, what would be the fate of New Zealand? Visions of conquest and occupation by Germans or Japanese or some other aggressive people haunt the minds of New Zealanders, intensify their devotion to the cause of the mother country, and impel them to the sacrifice they are making of their manhood on the slaughter grounds of Europe.

There are other important circumstances which explain New Zealand's militarism. The working class, as we have seen, has lost the advantageous position it held so long in politics. Now, the reason it was ever able to enjoy any influence at all was that during the progressive period the workers were not organized as a separate political force, but formed part of the Liberal Party, the leaders of which were courageous and enlightened men, and which drew an equally large share of its strength from the small farmers. New Zealand is of no importance as a manufacturing country. The wealth it produces consists mainly of foodstuffs and raw materials, and its industrial establishments are for the most part connected with sheep raising, agriculture, and mining. Agrarian interests are easily the most important.

Originally the issue was between the small farmers and workmen who wished to become farmers, on the one side, and the great land monopolists on the other. The so-called semi-socialistic legislation of New Zealand has been the result of a pact between the workers and the small farmers, with a decided balance in favor of the latter. The great hindrance to economic development was the holding of land in large estates, and the policy of Ballance and Seddon was to break them up into small farms. And so New Zealand radicals borrowed the single-tax idea of the American economist, Henry George, and adapted it to their purposes. A graduated tax was imposed on land values and the Government was given power to secure large estates by compulsory purchase, subdivide them, and resell to small farmers on the easiest of installment terms. The small farmers received further aid from a Government system of rural credits; the railways were completely nationalized, and the State, through the Department of Agriculture and other channels, directed its energies to the creation of a prosperous peasantry. And it has succeeded; but as this new class has grown more comfortable it has lost sympathy with the humane social philosophy to which it owed much in the beginning.

The workers also secured benefits under the régime of the progressive leaders. A democratic franchise, including votes for women, old-age pensions, assistance to widowed mothers, and a whole series of excellent laws for the protection and safety of workpeople were enacted. Labor unions were placed on a firm basis under the law, and State activity extended in many directions. Most noteworthy of all experiments in labor legislation was the establishment of a system of compulsory arbitration in disputes between employers and workers. That system has been the subject of much controversy. It has not altogether prevented strikes, for there has been at least one very serious revolt against it. On the other hand, it is claimed that

had there been no such system strikes would have been more numerous and more disastrous, and there seems no doubt that it did bring about a general rise in real wages in a peaceful manner, thus increasing the spending powers of the working class and thereby contributing to the prosperity of the country. Compared with other countries, New Zealand has good results to show in its social conditions. Its health statistics place it ahead of any other country in the world, and in other respects the showing is just as good.

But the class which gained most from the progressive régime has been undoubtedly that of the small farmers, who, while they have grown in wealth and political influence, have lost a good deal of their enthusiasm for radicalism and are actually now opposed to their old allies of the working class. Thus has come about a change in political parties of quite recent date.

The workers, finding that they could not depend upon the Liberals, no longer led by a genuine man of the people like Seddon, have at last organized as a separate political party to safeguard their own interests. The movement, begun in 1912, was not established on a solid basis until June of this year, when at a joint conference of the United Federation of Labor, the Social Democratic Party, and the Labor Representation Committee of New Zealand it was decided to found the New Zealand Labor Party with a definitely socialistic objective. This party has not yet had an opportunity of making itself felt in Parliament, and so there is no effective opposition to the capitalistic combination under Massey and Ward.

The rise of a Labor Party on one side and the fusion of Liberals and Conservatives on the other are indications that the realignment of parties is now complete. Thus it has come to pass that New Zealand, for more than a quarter of a century an object lesson to the whole world in progressive politics, has returned to the fold of conservatism and is ruled by men who are ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of British world power.

It is therefore not surprising that New Zealand has in the most thorough manner copied the militarist methods of the mother country. In addition to enacting a compulsory service law, the Government has adopted repressive measures against the minority, which is described as "anti-war," and it has also recently passed an act to extend the duration of the present Parliament for a year beyond the term for which it was elected. This last measure seems to indicate some sort of belief that the newly organized Labor Party might provide a vigorous opposition to the Conservative-Liberal fusion Government, and to attempts by that Government, on the plea of imperial safety, to annul ideas which are the foundation of New Zealand's progressive democracy.

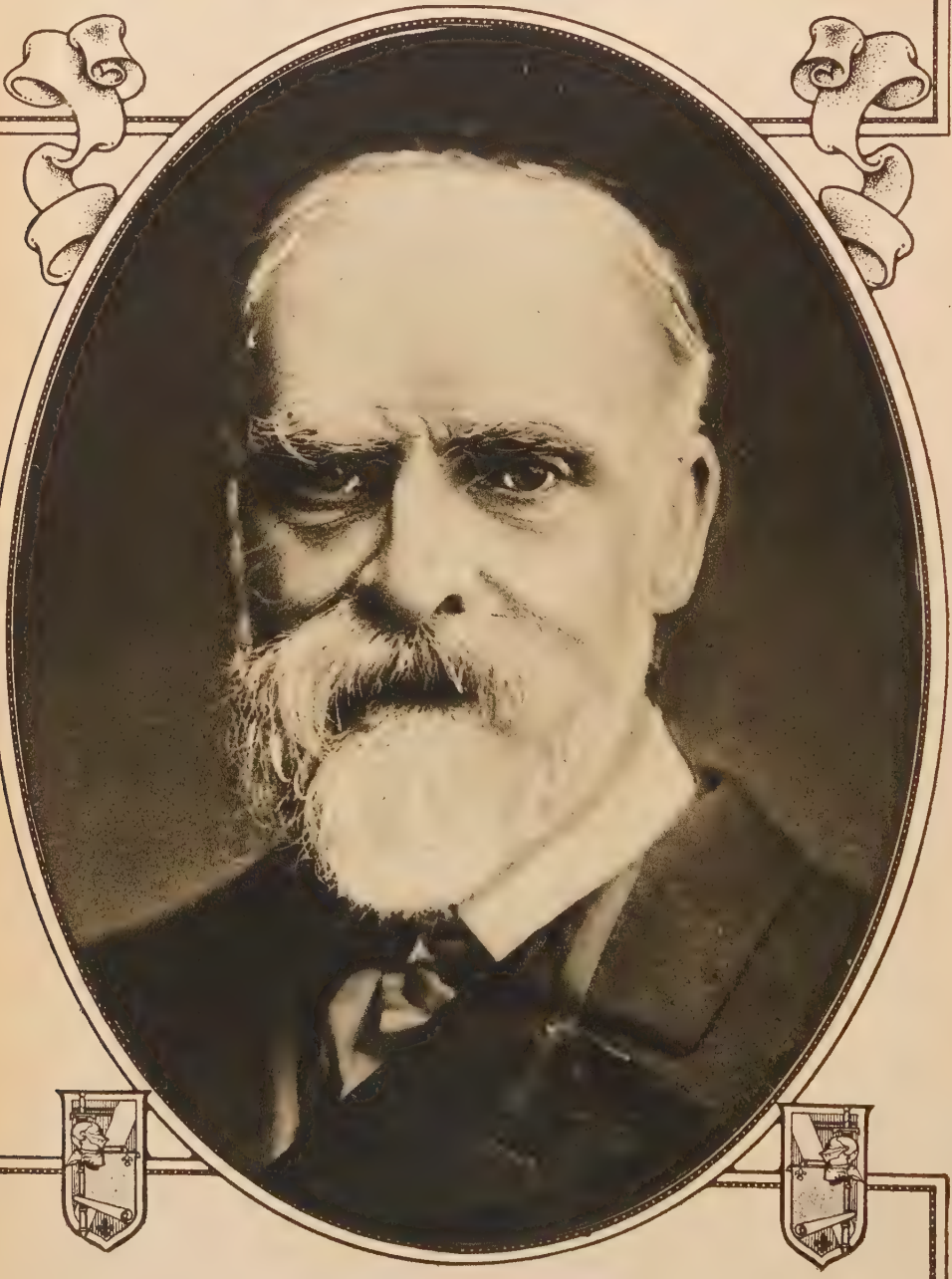
It is in the light of such a setback to social progress that we see the devastating results of this war. In all the belligerent countries the war is destroying almost every peaceful, humanizing activity, intellectual as well as political, besides exacting its frightful toll of human life. It seems incredibly stupid that the hideous folly of European statesmen should reach right across the world and lay wanton hands on a country from which we were all learning something of the new science of curing the ills that afflict modern society, for had not New Zealand earned the title of the "social laboratory" of the world? Alas! the "social laboratory" is now closed and the staff have turned preachers of the gospel of hatred.

[The Australian Parliament recently passed a bill for a national referendum on conscription, to be taken on Oct. 28, thus leaving the question to the decision of the people.—EDITOR.]

ENVER PASHA

Turkish Minister of War, the Dominating Personality in the Moslem Empire, and One of Those Responsible for the Armenian Massacres.

VISCOUNT JAMES BRYCE



Lord Bryce, Former British Ambassador to the United States, Has Followed Up His Report on Belgium with a Still More Harrowing Story of Armenian Sufferings.

Lord Bryce's Report on Turkish Atrocities in Armenia

Most appalling of all the documents of the world war is the record of Turkey's wholesale massacres of the Christian men, women, and children of Armenia, as revealed in a detailed report prepared by Lord Bryce, the former British Ambassador to the United States, which fills a volume of 600 pages. Lord Bryce's material, much of which was furnished by American and other neutral workers in Armenia, is edited by Arnold J. Toynbee, late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. The volume contains 150 documents, all the authentic evidence obtainable up to July, 1916, as to the massacres and deportations of Armenians and other Christians dwelling in Asia Minor and the northwestern corner of Persia invaded by Turkish troops. All the evidence goes to show the deliberate purpose of the Turkish authorities to exterminate the Armenian Nation, the most colossal crime, says Lord Bryce, in the history of the world. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *herewith presents the more striking portions of the report.*

Lord Bryce prefaces his volume with the following analysis of the evidence:

THIS compilation has been made in the spirit proper to a historical inquiry; that is to say, nothing has been omitted which could throw light on the facts, whatever the political bearing of the accounts might be. In such an inquiry no racial or religious sympathies, no prejudices, not even the natural horror raised by crimes, ought to distract the mind of the inquirer from the duty of trying to ascertain the real facts. * * *

Let us, however, look at the evidence itself.

1. Nearly all of it comes from eye-witnesses, some of whom wrote it down themselves, while others gave it to persons who wrote it out at the time from their statements, given to them orally. Nearly all of it, moreover, was written immediately after the events described, when the witnesses' recollection was still fresh and clear.

2. The main facts rest upon the evidence coming from different and independent sources. When the same fact is stated by witnesses who had no communication with one another, and in many cases did not even speak the same language, the presumption in favor of its truth becomes strong.

3. Facts of the same or of a very similar nature occurring in different places are deposed to by different and independent witnesses. As there is every reason to believe—and indeed it is hardly denied—that the massacres and deportations were carried out under general orders proceeding from Constantinople, the fact that persons who knew only what was happening in one locality record circumstances there broadly resembling those which occurred in another locality goes to show the general correctness of both sets of accounts. * * *

4. The volume of this concurrent evidence from different quarters is so large as to establish the main facts beyond all question. Errors of detail in some instances may be allowed for. Exaggeration may, in the case of native witnesses, who were more likely to be excited, be also, now and then, allowed for. But the general character of the events stands out, resting on foundations too broad to be shaken, and even details comparatively unimportant in themselves are often remarkably corroborated from different quarters.

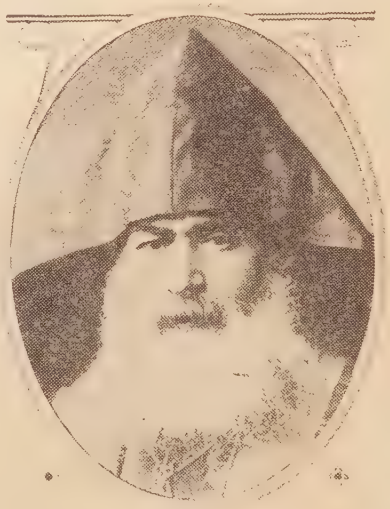
5. In particular it is to be noted that many of the most shocking and horrible accounts are those for which there is the most abundant testimony from the most trustworthy neutral witnesses. None of the worst cruelties rests on native evidence alone. If all that class of evidence were entirely struck out the general effect would be much the same, though some of the minor details would be wanting. One may, indeed, say that an examination of the neutral evidence tends to confirm the native evidence as a whole by showing that there is in it less of exaggeration than might have been expected. * * *

6. The vast scale of these massacres

and the pitiless cruelty with which the deportations were carried out may seem to some readers to throw doubt on the authenticity of the narratives. Can human beings (it may be asked) have perpetrated such crimes on innocent women and children? But a recollection of previous massacres will show that such crimes are part of the long-settled and the often-repeated policy of the Turkish rulers.

Historic Precedents

In Chios, nearly a century ago, the Turks slaughtered almost the whole Greek population of the island. In European Turkey in 1876 many thousands of Bulgarians were killed on the suspicion of an intended rising, and the outrages committed on women were, on a smaller scale, as bad as those here recorded. In 1895 and 1896 more than a hundred thousand Armenian Christians were put to death by Abdul Hamid, many thousands of whom died as martyrs to their Christian faith, by abjuring which they could have saved their lives.



PATRIARCH OF ARMENIAN CHURCH

All these massacres are registered not only in the ordinary press records of current history but in the reports of British diplomatic and consular officials written at the time. They are as certain as anything else that has happened in our day. There is, therefore, no antecedent improbability to be overcome before the accounts here given can be accepted. All that happened in 1915 is in the regular line of Turkish policy. The only differences are in the scale of the present crimes, and in the fact that the lingering sufferings of deportations, in which the deaths were as numerous as in the massacres, and fell with special severity upon the women, have in this latest instance been added.

The evidence is cumulative. Each part of it supports the rest because each part is independent of the others. The main facts are the same, and reveal the same plans and intentions at work. Even the varieties are instructive because they show those diversities of temper and feeling which appear in human nature everywhere.

The Turkish officials are usually heartless and callous. But here and there we see one of a finer nature, who refuses to carry out the orders given him and is sometimes dismissed for his refusal. The Moslem rabble is usually pitiless. It pillages the houses and robs the persons of the hapless exiles. But now and then there appear pious and compassionate Moslems who try to save the lives or alleviate the miseries of their Christian neighbors. We have a vivid picture of human life, where wickedness in high places deliberately lets loose the passions of racial or religious hatred, as well as the commoner passion of rapacity, yet cannot extinguish those better feelings which show as points of light in the gloom.

It is, however, for the reader to form his own judgment on these documents as he peruses them. They do not, and by the nature of the case can not, constitute what is called judicial evidence, such as a court of justice obtains when it puts witnesses on oath and subjects them to cross-examination. But by far the larger part (almost all, indeed, of what is here published) does constitute historical evidence of the best kind, inasmuch as the statements come from those who saw the events they describe and recorded them in writing immediately afterward. They corroborate one another, the narratives given by different observers showing a substantial agreement, which becomes conclu-

sive when we find the salient facts repeated with no more variations in detail than the various opportunities of the independent observers made natural.

Turks Confess Main Facts

The gravest facts are those for which the evidence is most complete, and it tallies fatally with that which twenty years ago established the guilt of Abdul Hamid for the deeds that have made his name infamous. In this case there are, moreover, what was wanting then—admissions which add weight to the testimony here presented—I mean the admissions of the Turkish Government and of their German apologists. The attempts made to find excuses for wholesale slaughter and for the removal of a whole people from their homes leave no room for doubt as to the slaughter and the removal. The main facts are established by the confession of the criminals themselves. What the evidence here presented does is to show in detail how these things were effected, what cruelties accompanied them, and how inexcusable they were. The disproval of the palliations which the Turks have put forward is as complete as the proof of the atrocities themselves.

This preface is intended to deal only with the credibility of the evidence here presented, so I will refrain from comment on the facts. A single observation, or rather a single question, may, however, be permitted from one who has closely followed the history of the Turkish East for more than forty years. European travelers have often commended the honesty and the kindliness of the Turkish peasantry, and our soldiers have said that they are fair fighters. Against them I have nothing to say, and will even add that I have known individual Turkish officials who impressed me as men of honesty and good will. But the record of the rulers of Turkey for the last two or three centuries, from the Sultan on his throne down to the district Mutessarif, is, taken as a whole, an almost unbroken record of corruption, of injustice, of an oppression which often rises into hideous cruelty.

The Young Turks, when they deposed Abdul Hamid, came forward as the apostles of freedom, promising equal rights and equal treatment to all Ottoman subjects. The facts here recorded show how that promise was kept. Can we still continue to hope that the evils of such a Government are curable? Or does the evidence contained in this volume furnish the most terrible and convincing proof that it can no longer be permitted to rule over subjects of a different faith?

Turkish Reign of Terror

Before presenting documents of specific outrage Lord Bryce and Mr. Toynbee print a series of letters covering in a general way the whole catalogue of horrors visited upon the Armenians by their Turkish masters. One of these, written from Constantinople in July, 1915, contains the following sentences:

> From May 1 onward the population of the City of Erzerum, and shortly afterward the population of the whole province, was collected at Samsoun and embarked on shipboard. The population of Kaisaria, Diarbekir, Ourfa, Trebizond, Sivas, Harpout, and the district of Van have been deported to the deserts of Mesopotamia, from the southern outskirts of Aleppo as far as Mosul and Bagdad.
>
> "Armenia without the Armenians"—that is the Ottoman Government's project. The Moslems are already being allowed to take possession of the lands and houses abandoned by the Armenians. * * *
>
> The exiles will have to traverse on foot a distance that involves one or two months' marching, and sometimes even more, before they reach the particular corner of the desert assigned to them for their habitation, and destined to become their tomb. We hear, in fact, that the course of their route and the stream of the Euphrates are littered with the corpses of exiles, while those who survive are doomed to certain death, since they will find in the desert neither house, nor work, nor food.
>
> It is simply a scheme for exterminating the Armenian Nation wholesale without any fuss. It is just another form of massacre, and a more horrible form.

A letter from the same source, dated Constantinople, Aug. 15, 1915, states:

> It is now established that there is not an Armenian left in the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Sivas, Harpout, Bitlis, and Diarbekir. About a million of the Armenian inhabitants of these provinces have been deported from their homes and sent southward into exile.

These deportations have been carried out very systematically by the local authorities since the beginning of April last. First of all, in every village and every town the population was disarmed by the gendarmerie and by criminals released for this purpose from prison. On the pretext of disarming the Armenians these criminals committed assassinations and inflicted hideous tortures. Next, they imprisoned the Armenians en masse on the pretext that they had a political organization, and had in their possession arms, books, and so on—at a pinch, wealth or any kind of social standing was pretext enough. After that they began the deportation. And first, on the pretext of sending them into exile, they drove from their homes those who had not been imprisoned, or those who had been set at liberty through lack of any charge against them; then they massacred them. Not one of these escaped slaughter.

Before they started they were examined officially by the authorities, and any money or valuables in their possession were confiscated. They were usually shackled—either separately or in gangs of five to ten. The remainder—old men, women, and children—were treated as waifs in the province of Harpout and placed at the disposal of the Moslem population. The highest official, as well as the most simple peasant, chose out the woman or girl who caught his fancy, and took her to wife, converting her by force to Islam. As for the children, the Moslems took as many of them as they wanted, and then the remnant of the Armenians were marched away, famished and destitute of provisions, to fall victims to hunger, unless that were anticipated by the savagery of the brigand bands.

In the province of Diarbekir there was an outright massacre, especially at Mardin, and the population was subjected to all the aforementioned atrocities.

In the provinces of Erzerum, Bitlis, Sivas, and Diarbekir the local authorities gave certain facilities to the Armenians condemned to deportation—five to ten days' grace, authorization to effect a partial sale of their goods, and permission to hire a cart in the case of some families. But after the first few days of their journey the carters abandoned them on the road and returned home. These convoys were waylaid the day after the start, sometimes several days after, by bands of brigands or by Moslem peasants who spoiled them of all they had. The bands of brigands fraternized with the gendarmes and slaughtered the few grown men or youths who were included in the convoys. They carried off the women, girls, and children, leaving only the old women, who were driven along by the gendarmes under blows of the lash, and died of hunger by the roadside. An eyewitness reports to us that the women deported from the province of Erzerum were abandoned some days ago on the plain of Harpout, where they have all died of hunger, (fifty or sixty a day.)

The only step taken by the authorities was to send people to bury them, in order to safeguard the health of the Moslem population.

HOMELESS ARMENIAN CHILDREN DRIVEN INTO EXILE BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT (*Photo from Medem Service.*)

Thousands of Corpses

The same barbarities have been committed everywhere, and by this time travelers find nothing but thousands of Armenian corpses all along the roads in these provinces. A Moslem traveler, on his way from Malatia to Sivas, a nine hours' journey, passed nothing

but corpses of men and women. All the male Armenians of Malatia had been taken there and massacred; the women and children have all been converted to Islam. No Armenian can travel in these parts, for every Moslem, and especially the brigands and gendarmes, considers it his duty now to kill them at sight.

Recently MM. Zohrab and Vartkes, the Armenian members of the Ottoman Parliament who had been sent off to Diarbekir to be tried by the Council of War, were killed before they got there, near Aleppo. In these provinces one can only travel incognito under a Moslem name. * * *

The Armenian soldiers, too, have suffered the same fate. They were also all disarmed and put to constructing roads. We have certain knowledge that the Armenian soldiers of the province of Erzerum, who were at work on the road from Erzerum to Erzingan, have all been massacred. The Armenian soldiers of the province of Diarbekir have all been massacred on the Diarbekir-Ourfa road, and the Diarbekir-Harpout road. From Harpout alone 1,800 young Armenians were enrolled and sent off to work at Diarbekir; all were massacred in the neighborhood of Arghana. We have no news from the other districts, but they have assuredly suffered the same fate there also.

In certain towns the Armenians who had been consigned to oblivion in the prisons have been hanged in batches. During the last month alone several dozen Armenians have been hanged in Kaisaria. In many places the Armenian population, to save their lives, have tried to become Mohammedans, but this time such overtures have not been readily accepted, as they were at the time of the other great massacres. At Sivas the would-be converts to Islam were offered the following terms: They must hand over all children under 12 years of age to the Government, which would undertake to place them in orphanages, and they must consent for their own part to leave their homes and settle wherever the Government directed.

At Harpout they would not accept the conversion of the men; as for the women they made their conversion conditional in each case upon the presence of a Moslem willing to take the convert in marriage. Many Armenian women preferred to throw themselves into the Euphrates with their infants, or committed suicide in their homes. The Euphrates and Tigris have become the sepulchre of thousands of Armenians.

All Armenians converted in the Black Sea towns—Trebizond, Samsoun, Kerasond, &c.—have been sent to the interior, and settled in towns inhabited exclusively by Moslems. The town of Shabin-Karahissar resisted disarmament and deportation and was thereupon bombarded. The whole population of the town and the surrounding country, with the Bishop at their head, was pitilessly massacred.

In short, from Samsoun on the one hand to Sughart and Diarbekir on the other, there is now not a single Armenian left. The majority have been massacred, part have been carried off, and a very small part have been converted to Islam.

History has never recorded, never hinted at, such a hecatomb. We are driven to believe that under the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid we were exceedingly fortunate.

Several important documents in the in-

RESCUED ARMENIAN GIRLS IN THE CAMP AT PORT SAID
(Photo from Medem Service.)

dictment are written by German eyewitnesses, who call upon the German Government to stop the murderous deeds of their ally. One such document, addressed to the German Foreign Office by four teachers at Aleppo, is printed separately at the close of this article as CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE had previously obtained it through other channels. Another narrative given by Lord Bryce was printed in the Sonnenaufgang and the Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift in October and November, 1915, respectively. After its appearance in the latter periodical the German censor forbade its reproduction and confiscated all copies on which he could get his hands, but a few were smuggled out of Germany. The article is in part as follows:

Between May 10 and May 30, 1,200 of the most prominent Armenians and other Christians, without distinction of confession, were arrested in the Vilayets of Diarbekir and Mamouret-ul-Aziz.

It is said that they were to be taken to Mosul, but nothing more has been heard of them.

On May 30, 674 of them were embarked on thirteen Tigris barges, under the pretext that they were to be taken to Mosul. The Vali's aid de camp, assisted by fifty gendarmes, was in charge of the convoy. Half the gendarmes started off on the barges, while the other half rode along the bank. A short time after the start the prisoners were stripped of all their money (about £6,000 Turkish) and then of their clothes; after that they were thrown into the river. The gendarmes on the bank were ordered to let none of them escape. The clothes of these victims were sold in the market of Diarbekir.

About the same time 700 young Armenian men were conscribed and were then set to build the Kara-Baghtché-Habashi road. There is no news of these 700 men, either.

It is said that in Diarbekir five or six priests were stripped naked one day, smeared with tar, and dragged through the streets.

In the Vilayet of Aleppo they have evicted the inhabitants of Hadjin, Sheer, Albustan, Göksoun, Tasholouk, Zeitoun, all the villages of Alabash, Geben, Shivilgi, Furnus, and the surrounding villages, Fundadjak, Hassan-Beyli, Harni, Lappashli, Dört Yöl, and others.

They have marched them off in convoys into the desert on the pretext of settling them there. In the village of Tel-Armen (along the line of the Bagdad Railway, near Mosul) and in the neighboring villages about 5,000 people were massacred, leaving only a few women and children. The people were thrown alive down wells or into the fire. They pretend that the Armenians are to be employed in colonizing land situated at a distance of from twenty-four to thirty kilometers from the Bagdad Railway. But as it is only the women and children who are sent into exile, since all the men, with exception of the very old, are at the war, this means nothing less than the wholesale murder of the families, since they have neither the labor nor the capital for clearing the country. * * *

For a whole month corpses were observed floating down the River Euphrates nearly every day, often in batches of from two to six corpses bound together. The Turkish military authority in control of the Euphrates, the Kaimakam of Djerablous, refuses to allow the burial of these corpses, on the ground that he finds it impossible to establish whether they belong to Moslems or to Christians. He adds that no one has given him any orders on the subject. The corpses stranded on the bank are devoured by dogs and vultures. To this fact there are many German eyewitnesses. An employe of the Bagdad Railway has brought the information that the prisons at Biredjik are filled regularly every day and emptied every night—into the Euphrates. Between Diarbekir and Ourfa a German cavalry Captain saw innumerable corpses lying unburied all along the road.

The following telegram was sent to Aleppo from Arabkir: "We have accepted the true religion. Now we are all right." The inhabitants of a village near Anderoum went over to Islam and had to hold to it. At Hadjin six families wanted to become Mohammedans. They received the verdict: "Nothing under 100 families will be accepted."

Aleppo and Ourfa are the assemblage places for the convoys of exiles. There were about 5,000 of them in Aleppo during June and July, while during the whole period from April to July many more than 50,000 must have passed through the city. The girls were abducted almost without exception by the soldiers and their Arab hangers-on. One father, on the verge of despair, besought me to take with me at least his 15-year-old daughter, as he could no longer protect her from the persecutions inflicted upon her. The children left behind by the Armenians on their journey are past counting.

Women whose pains came upon them on the way had to continue their journey without respite. A woman bore twins in the neighborhood of Aintab; next morning she had to go on again. She very soon had to leave the children under a bush, and a little while after she collapsed herself. Another, whose pains came upon her during the march, was compelled to go on at once and fell down dead almost immediately.

Massacres in Mush District

The following harrowing narrative of happenings at Mush [also spelled Moush] was told by a German eyewitness, and

was turned over to Lord Bryce by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian relief:

The Winter was most severe in Mush; the gendarmes were sent to levy high taxes, and as the Armenians had already given everything to the Turks, and were, therefore, powerless to pay these enormous taxes, they were beaten to death. The Armenians never defended themselves except when they saw the gendarmes ill-treat their wives and children, and the result in such cases was that the whole village was burned down, merely because a few Armenians had tried to protect their families.

Thus the Winter passed, with things happening every day more terrible than one can possibly describe. We then heard that massacres had started in Bitlis. In Mush everything was being prepared for one, when the Russians arrived at Lice, which is about fourteen to sixteen hours' journey from Mush. This occupied the attention of the Turks, so that the massacre was put off for the time being. Hardly had the Russians left Lice, however, when all of the districts inhabited by Armenians were pillaged and destroyed.

This was in the month of May. At the beginning of June, we heard that the whole Armenian population of Bitlis had been got rid of. It was at this time that we received news that the American missionary, Dr. Knapp, had been wounded in an Armenian house and that the Turkish Government had sent him to Diarbekir. The very first night at Diarbekir he died, and the Government explained his death as a result of having overeaten, which of course nobody believed.

When there was no one left in Bitlis to massacre their attention was diverted to Mush. Cruelties had already been committed, but so far not too publicly; now, however, they started to shoot people down without any cause and beat them to death simply for the pleasure of doing so. In Mush itself, which is a big town, there are 25,000 Armenians; around Mush there are 300 villages, each containing about 500 houses. In all these not a single male Armenian is now to be seen, and hardly a woman either, except for a few here and there.

In the first week of July 20,000 soldiers arrived from Constantinople by way of Harpout with munitions and eleven guns, and laid siege to Mush. As a matter of fact, the town had already been beleaguered since the middle of June. At this stage, the Mutessarif gave orders that we should leave the town and go to Harpout. We pleaded with him to let us stay, for we had in our charge all the orphans and patients; but he was angry and threatened to remove us by force if we did not do as instructed. As we both fell sick, however, we were allowed to remain at Mush. I received permission, in the event of our leaving Mush, to take the Armenians of our orphanage with us; but when we asked for assurances of their safety, his only reply was: "You can take them with you, but being Armenians their heads may and will be cut off on the way."

On July 10 Mush was bombarded for several hours on the pretext that some Armenians had tried to escape. I went to see the Mutessarif and asked him to protect our buildings; his reply was: "Serves you right for staying instead of leaving as instructed. The guns are here to make an end of Mush. Take refuge with the Turks." This, of course, was impossible, as we could not leave our charges. Next day a new order was promulgated for the expulsion of the Armenians, and three days' grace was given them to make ready. They were told to register themselves at the Government Building before they left. Their families could remain, but their property and their money were to be confiscated. The Armenians were unable to go, for they had no money to defray the journey, and they preferred to die in their houses rather than be separated from their families and endure a lingering death on the road.

As stated above, three days' grace was given to the Armenians, but two hours had scarcely elapsed when the soldiers began breaking into the houses, arresting the inmates and throwing them into prison. The guns began to fire and thus the people were effectually prevented from registering themselves at the Government Building. We all had to take refuge in the cellar for fear of our orphanage catching fire. It was heart-rending to hear the cries of the people and children who were being burned to death in their houses. The soldiers took great delight in hearing them, and when people who were out in the street during the bombardment fell dead the soldiers merely laughed at them.

The survivors were sent to Ourfa, (there were none left but sick women and children;) I went to the Mutessarif and begged him to have mercy on the children at least, but in vain. He replied that the Armenian children must perish with their nation. All our people were taken from our hospital and orphanage; they left us three female servants. Under these atrocious circumstances, Mush was burned to the ground. Every officer boasted of the number he had personally massacred as his share in ridding Turkey of the Armenian race.

Harpout a Cemetery

We left for Harpout. Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians; from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie, and the dogs and the vultures lick their bodies. Now and then some man throws some earth over the bodies. In Harpout and Mezré the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eyebrows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else

ARMENIA, THE REGION OF ASIATIC TURKEY WHICH HAS BEEN THE SCENE OF UNPRECEDENTED MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS

hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing horses. This is all done at night time, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know of their agony soldiers are stationed around the prisons beating drums and blowing whistles. It is needless to relate that many died of these tortures. When they die, the soldiers cry: "Now let your Christ help you!"

One old priest was tortured so cruelly to extract a confession that, believing that the torture would cease and that he would be left alone if he did it, he cried out in his desperation: "We are revolutionists!" He expected his torture to cease, but on the contrary the soldiers cried: "What further do we seek? We have it here from his own lips!" And instead of picking their victims as they did before, the officials had all the Armenians tortured without sparing a soul.

Early in July 2,000 Armenian soldiers were ordered to leave for Aleppo to build roads. The people of Harpout were terrified on hearing this, and a panic started in the town. The Vali sent for the German missionary, Mr. Ehemann, and begged him to quiet the people, repeating over and over again that no harm whatever would befall these soldiers. Mr. Ehemann took the Vali's word and quieted the people. But they had scarcely left when we heard that they had all been murdered and thrown into a cave. Just a few managed to escape, and we got the reports from them. It was useless to protest to the Vali. The American Consul at Harpout protested several times, but the Vali takes

no account of him, and treats him in a most shameful manner.

A few days later another 2,000 Armenian soldiers were dispatched via Diarbekir, and, in order to hinder them the more surely from escaping, they were left to starve on the way, so that they had no strength left in them to flee. The Kurds were given notice that the Armenians were on the way, and the Kurdish women came with their butchers' knives to help the men. In Mezré a public brothel was erected for the Turks, and all the beautiful Armenian girls and women were placed there. At night the Turks were allowed free entrance.

The permission for the Protestant and Catholic Armenians to be exempted from deportation only arrived after their deportation had taken place. The Government wanted to force the few remaining Armenians to accept the Mohammedan faith. A few did so in order to save their wives and children from the terrible sufferings already witnessed in the case of others. The people begged us to leave for Constantinople and obtain some security for them. On our way to Constantinople we only encountered old women. No young women or girls were to be seen.

In November we knew already that there would be a massacre. The Mutessarif of Mush, who was a very intimate friend of Enver Pasha, declared quite openly that they would massacre the Armenians at the first opportune moment and exterminate the whole race. Before the Russians arrived they intended first to butcher the Armenians, and then fight the Russians afterward. Toward the beginning of April, in the presence of a Major Lange and several other high officials, including the American and German Consuls, Ekran Bey quite openly declared their intention of exterminating the Armenian race. All these details plainly show that the massacre was deliberately planned.

In a few villages destitute women come begging, naked and sick, for alms and protection. We are not allowed to give them anything, we are not allowed to take them in; in fact, we are forbidden to do anything for them, and they die outside. If only permission could be obtained from the authorities to help them! If we cannot endure the sight of these poor people's sufferings, what must it be like for the sufferers themselves?

It is a story written in blood.

Story of Red Cross Nurses

One of the most terrible of all the tales of horror collected by Lord Bryce was supplied by two Danish Red Cross nurses, formerly in the service of the German Military Mission at Erzerum and engaged early last year in Red Cross work at Erzingan, (both of which places have since been occupied by the Russians.) While they were at Erzingan the Armenians of the city were notified that they were to be deported, and were compelled to sell their property at ruinous prices. A convoy of these wretched creatures, including numerous women and children, were driven from the city toward Harpout, and soon stories were brought back by survivors of the wholesale butchery of the Armenians by their Turkish guards. Later the two Danish nurses learned of this from some of the very soldiers themselves, and determined to accompany one of the caravans of unfortunates, believing that they could prevent further slaughter.

The following morning, at a very early hour, we heard the procession of exiles passing in front of our house, along the high road leading in to Erzingan. We followed them and kept up with them as far as the town, about an hour's walk. Mr. G. came with us. It was a very large gang—only two or three of them men, all the rest women and children. Many of the women looked demented. They cried out: "Spare us, we will become Moslems or Germans, or whatever you will; only spare us! We are being taken to Kamakh Boghaz to have our throats cut!" and they made an expressive gesture. Others kept silent, and marched patiently on with a few bundles on their backs and their children in their arms. Others begged us to save their children.

Many Turks arrived on the scene to carry off children and girls, with or without their parents' consent. There was no time for reflection, for the crowd was being moved on continually by the mounted gendarmes brandishing their whips. On the outskirts of the town the road to Kamakh Boghaz branches off from the main highway.

At this point the scene turned into a regular slave market; for our part, we took a family of six children from 3 to 14 years old, who clutched hold of us, and another little girl as well. We intrusted the latter to our Turkish cook, who was on the spot. She wanted to take the child to the kitchen of Dr. A.'s private house, and keep her there until we could come to fetch her; but the doctor's adjutant, Riza Bey, gave the woman a beating and threw the child out into the street. Meanwhile, with cries of agony, the gang of sufferers continued its march, while we returned to the hospital with our six children. Dr. A. gave us permission to keep them in our room until we had packed our belongings. They were given food and soon became calmer. "Now we are saved!" they had cried when we took them. They refused to let go of our hands. The smallest, the son of a rich citizen of Baibourt, lay huddled up in his mother's cloak; his face was swollen with crying and he seemed inconsolable.

Once he rushed to the window and pointed to a gendarme: "That's the man who killed my father!" The children handed over to us their money, 475 piastres, (about £5,) which their parents had given them with the idea that perhaps the children, at any rate, would not be shot.

We then rode into the town to obtain permission for these children to travel with us. We were told that the high authorities were in session to decide the fate of the convoy which had just arrived. Nevertheless, Sister B. succeeded in getting word with some one she knew, who gave her the authorization to take the children with her, and offered to give them false names in the passport. This satisfied us, and, after returning to the hospital, we left the same evening with baggage and children and all, and installed ourselves in a hotel at Erzingan. The Turkish orderlies at the hospital were very friendly, and said: "You have done a good deed in taking these children." We could get nothing but one small room for the eight of us.

During the night there was a frightful knocking at our door, and we were asked whether there were two German ladies in the room. Then all became quiet again, to the great relief of our little ones.

Efforts to Save Children

Their first question had been, Would we prevent them from being made Mohammedans? And was our cross (the nurses' Red Cross) the same as theirs? After that they were comforted. We left them in the room, and went ourselves to take tea in the hotel café. We noticed that some discharged hospital patients of ours, who had always shown themselves full of gratitude toward us, behaved as if they no longer recognized us.

The proprietor of the hotel began to hold forth, and every one listened to what he was saying: "The death of these women and children has been decreed at Constantinople." The Hodja (Turkish priest) of our hospital came in, too, and said to us, among other things: "If God has no pity on them, why must you have pity? The Armeinans have committed atrocities at Van. That happened because their religion is ekzik, [inferior.] The Moslems should not have followed their example, but should have carried out the massacre with greater humanity." We always gave the same answer—that they ought to discover the guilty and do justice upon them, but that the massacre of women and children was, and always will remain, a crime.

Then we went to the Mutessarif himself, with whom we had not succeeded in obtaining an interview before. The man looked like the devil incarnate, and his behavior bore out his appearance. In a bellowing voice he shouted at us: "Women have no business to meddle with politics, but ought to respect the Government!" We told him that we should have acted in precisely the same way if the victims had been Mohammedans, and that politics had nothing to do with our conduct. He answered that we had been expelled from the hospital, and that we should get the same treatment from him; that he would not stand us, and that he would certainly not permit us to go to Harpout to fetch our belongings, but would send us to Sivas. Worst of all, he forbade us to take the children away, and at once sent a gendarme to carry them off from our room.

On our way back to the hotel we actually met them, but they were hurried past us so quickly that we had not even a chance to return them their money. Afterward we asked Dr. Lindenberg to see that this money was restored to them; but, to find out where they were, he had to make inquiries of a Turkish officer, and just at the moment of our departure, when we had been told that they had already been killed, and when we had no longer any chance of making a further search for them, the aforementioned Riza Bey came and asked us for their money, on the ground that he wanted to return it to the children! We had already decided to spend it on relieving other Armenians.

At Erzingan we were now looked askance at. They would no longer let us stay at the hotel, but took us to a deserted Armenian house. The whole of this extensive quarter of the town seemed dead. People came and went at will to loot the contents of the houses; in some of the houses families of Moslem refugees were already installed. We had now a roof over our heads, but no one would go to get us food. However, we managed to send a note to Dr. A., who kindly allowed us to return to the hospital. The following day the Mutessarif sent a springless baggage cart, in which we were to do the seven days' journey to Sivas. We gave him to understand that we would not have this conveyance, and, upon the representations of Dr. A., they sent us a traveling carriage, with the threat to have us arrested if we did not start at once. * * *

One day we met a convoy of exiles, who had said good-bye to their prosperous villages, and were at that moment on their way to Kamakh Boghaz. We had to draw up a long time by the roadside while they marched past. The scene will never be forgotten by either of us; a very small number of elderly men, a large number of women—vigorous figures with energetic features—a crowd of pretty children, some of them fair and blue-eyed, one little girl smiling at the strangeness of all she was seeing, but on all the other faces the solemnity of death. There was no noise; it was all quiet, and they marched along in an orderly way, the children generally riding on the ox carts; and so they passed, some of them greeting us on the way—all these poor people, who are now standing at the throne of God, and whose cry goes up before Him. An old woman was made to get down from her donkey—she could no longer keep the saddle. Was she

killed on the spot? Our hearts had become as cold as ice.

The gendarme attached to us told us then that he had escorted a convoy of 3,000 women and children to Mama Khatoun (near Erzerum) and Kamakh Boghaz. "Hep gildi bildi," he said—"all far away, all dead." We asked him: "Why condemn them to this frightful torment; why not kill them in their villages?" Answer: "It is best as it is. They ought to be made to suffer; and, besides, there would be no place left for us Moslems with all these corpses about. They will make a stench!"

We spent a night at Enderessi, one day's journey from Shabin Kara Hissar. As usual, we had been given for our lodging an empty Armenian house. On the wall there was a pencil scrawl in Turkish: "Our dwelling is on the mountains, we have no longer any need of a roof to cover us; we have already drained the bitter cup of death, we have no more need of a judge."

The ground floor rooms of the house were still tenanted by the women and children. The gendarmes told us that they would be exiled next morning, but they did not know that yet; they did not know what had become of the men of the house; they were restless, but not yet desperate.

Shot in Cold Blood

Just after I had gone to sleep I was awakened by shots in our immediate neighborhood. The reports followed one another rapidly, and I distinctly heard the words of command. I realized at once what was happening, and actually experienced a feeling of relief at the idea that these poor creatures were now beyond the reach of human cruelty.

Next morning our people told us that ten Armenians had been shot—that was the firing that we had heard—and that the Turkish civilians of the place were now being sent out to chase the fugitives. Indeed, we saw them starting off on horseback with guns. At the roadside were two armed men standing under a tree and dividing between them the clothes of a dead Armenian. We passed a place covered with clotted blood, though the corpses had been removed. It was the 250 roadmakers, of whom our gendarme had told us.

Once we met a large number of these laborers, who had so far been allowed to do their work in peace. They had been sorted into three gangs—Moslems, Greeks, and Armenians. There were several officers with the latter. Our young Hassan exclaimed: "They are all going to be butchered." We continued our journey, and the road mounted a hill. Then our driver pointed with his whip toward the valley, and we saw that the Armenian gang was being made to stand out of the highroad. There were about 400 of them, and they were being made to line up on the edge of a slope. We know what happened after that.

Two days before we reached Sivas we again saw the same sight. The soldiers' bayonets glittered in the sun.

At another place there were ten gendarmes shooting them down, while Turkisn workmen were finishing off the victims with knives and staves. Here ten Armenians had succeeded in getting away.

Later on, in the Mission Hospital at Sivas, we came across one of the men who had escaped. He told us that about 100 Armenians had been slaughtered there. Our informant himself had received a terrible wound in the nape of the neck and had fainted. Afterward he had recovered consciousness and had dragged himelf in two days to Sivas.

Twelve hours' distance from Sivas we spent the night in a Government building. For hours a gendarme, sitting in front of our door, crooned to himself over and over again: "Ermenleri hep kesdiler"—"the Armenians have all been killed!" In the next room they were talking on the telephone. We made out that they were giving instructions as to how the Armenians were to be arrested. They were talking chiefly about a certain Ohannes, whom they had not succeeded in finding yet.

One night we slept in an Armenian house where the women had just heard that the men of the family had been condemned to death. It was frightful to hear their cries of anguish. It was no use of our trying to speak to them. "Cannot your Emperor help us?" they cried. The gendarme saw the despair on our faces, and said: "Their crying bothers you; I will forbid them to cry." However, he let himself be mollified. He had taken particular pleasure in pointing out to us all the horrors that we encountered, and he said to young Hassan: "First we kill the Armenians, then the Greeks, then the Kurds." He would certainly have been delighted to add: "And then the foreigners!" Our Greek driver was the victim of a still more ghastly joke: "Look, down there in the ditch; there are Greeks there, too!"

Heroic Work of Americans

At the important City of Van a small group of American missionaries, doctors, and nurses behaved splendidly trying to do what they could to succor the Armenians. Matters in this region were complicated by the Russian campaign against the Turks, which embittered the latter greatly against the Armenians, who were accused of sympathy with the Russians, and by the fact that the Armenians resisted the Turks by force of arms in an endeavor to save their lives and property. Several of the Americans during the Van reign of terror died of disease, which ravaged

the city and outlying districts. The persecution against the Armenians of Van was carried out by Djevdet Bey, a brother-in-law of the renowned Enver Pasha, leader of the Young Turks. One of the horde of Armenian refugees who sought shelter within the group of buildings of the American mission at Van gratefully exclaimed:

"What would we do without this place? This is the third massacre during which I have taken refuge here."

From the annual report for 1915 presented by the Medical Department at Urmia to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States these extracts are taken:

A sad case was that of the mother of a girl of 12 who was being taken away to a life of slavery. The mother protested and tried to save her child, who was ruthlessly torn from her. As the daughter was being dragged away the mother made so much trouble for her oppressors, and clung to them so tenaciously, that they stabbed her twelve times before she fell, helpless to save her little girl from her fate. This woman recovered from her wounds. Some people were shot as they ran, and children that they were carrying were killed or wounded with them. In some cases men were lined up so that several could be shot with one bullet, in order not to waste ammunition on them.

One of the most terrible things that came to the notice of the Medical Department was the treatment of Syrian women and girls by the Turks, Kurds, and local Mohammedans. After the massacre in the village of ——, almost all the women and girls were outraged, and two little girls, aged 8 and 10, died in the hands of Moslem villains. A mother said that not a woman or girl above 12 (and some younger) in the village of —— escaped violation. This is the usual report from the villages.

One man, who exercised a great deal of authority in the northern part of the Urmia Plain, openly boasted of having ruined eleven Christian girls, two of them under 7 years of age, and he is now permitted to return to his home in peace and no questions are asked. Several women from 80 to 85 years old have suffered with the younger women.

The most diabolically cold-blooded of all the massacres was the one committed above the village of Ismael Agha's Kala, when some sixty Syrians of Gawar were butchered by the Kurds at the instigation of the Turks. These Christians had been used by the Turks to pack telegraph wire from over the border, and while they were in the City of Urmia they were kept in close confinement, without food or drink. On their return, as they reached the valleys between the Urmia and Baradost Plains, they were all stabbed to death, as it was supposed, but here again, as in two former massacres, a few wounded, bloody victims succeeded in making their way to our hospital.

Armenians of Moush Wiped Out

A refugee called Roupen, from the district of Sassoun, communicated these details to the Armenian community of Moscow, whither he escaped:

In the month of May the Turks attempted to force their way into Sassoun, and at the same time the massacres began again without warning at Harpout, Erzerum, and Diarbekir. The Armenians repulsed the Turks and took up a position round the town of Moush, [also spelled Mush,] where a large number of Turkish troops were concentrated. This was the situation when the Turks perpetrated the great massacre of Moush at the end of June. Half the inhabitants of Moush were massacred, the other half were driven out of the town. The Armenians never knew that at that moment the Russian troops were only two or three hours' distance from Moush.

The massacres extended over the whole plain of Moush. The Armenians, who had managed to retreat on to the heights of Sassoun with a remnant of their forces and a slender supply of munitions, attacked the Turks in the valleys and gorges of Sassoun, and inflicted considerable losses upon them. A fraction of the Armenians who escaped the massacre broke through the Turkish lines and reached Van, which was already in the hands of the Russian troops.

The number of Armenian victims is very large. In the town of Moush alone, out of the 15,000 Armenian inhabitants there are only 200 survivors; out of the 59,000 inhabitants of the plain hardly 9,000 have escaped.

Early in June the authorities ordered the Armenians to surrender their arms and pay a large money ransom. The leading Armenians of the town and the headmen of the villages were subjected to revolting tortures. Their finger nails and their toe nails were forcibly extracted; their teeth were knocked out, and, in some cases, their noses were whittled down, and the victims thus done to death under shocking, lingering agonies. The female relatives of the victims who came to the rescue were outraged in public before the very eyes of their mutilated husbands and brothers. The shrieks and death cries of the victims filled the air, yet they did not move the Turkish beast. * * *

In the town of Moush itself the Armenians, under the leadership of Gotoyan and others, intrenched themselves in the churches and stone-built houses and fought for four days in self-defense. The Turkish artillery, manned by German officers, made short work

of all the Armenian positions. Every one of the Armenians, leaders as well as men, was killed fighting; and when the silence of death reigned over the ruins of churches and the rest, the Moslem rabble made a descent upon the women and children and drove them out of the town into large camps which had already been prepared for the peasant women and children. The ghastly scenes which followed may indeed sound incredible; yet these reports have been confirmed from Russian sources beyond all doubt.

The shortest method of disposing of the women and children concentrated in the various camps was to burn them. Fire was set to large wooden sheds in Alidjan, Megrakom, Khaskegh, and other Armenian villages, and these absolutely helpless women and children were roasted to death. Many went mad and threw their children away; some knelt down and prayed amid the flames in which their bodies were burning; others shrieked and cried for help which came from nowhere. And the executioners, who seem to have been unmoved by this unparalleled savagery, grasped infants by one leg and hurled them into the fire, calling out to the burning mothers: "Here are your lions." Turkish prisoners who had apparently witnessed some of these scenes were horrified and maddened at remembering the sight. They told the Russians that the stench of the burning human flesh permeated the air for many days after.

Killed by Official Order

Armenian refugees who reached the Caucasus supplied details of their experiences from which the following has been recorded in the Bryce report:

The Turks gathered together about 5,000 Armenians by treachery and deception from twenty Armenian villages around the monastery of St. Garabed, at Mush, and massacred them. This took place near the wall of the monastery. Before the massacre began, a German officer stood on the wall and harangued the Armenians to the effect that the Turkish Government had shown great kindness to and had honored the Armenians, but that they were not satisfied and wanted autonomy; he then, by the report of a revolver, gave the signal for the general massacre. Among the massacred were two monks, one of them being the father superior of Sourp Garabed, Yeghishé Vartabed, who had a chance of escaping, but did not wish to be separated from his flock, and was killed with them. From the Sahajian district about 4,000 Armenians found refuge in the forests of the monastery, and fought against the attacking Turks and Kurds. They kept themselves alive on wheat, raw meat without salt, turtles, frogs, &c. Some of them finally surrendered, but no one knows the fate of the remainder. The monastery of St. Garabed was sacked and robbed. The Turks opened the tomb of St. Garabed and destroyed everything. Turkish chiefs took up their quarters in the monastery with imprisoned Armenian girls.

According to another report no one was spared in Mush, not even the orphans in the German Orphanage. Some of these were killed and others deported. The Rev. Krikor and Mr. Marcar Ghougasian, teachers in the German Orphange, were killed, and only two escaped death, Miss Margarid Nalbandian and Miss Maritza Arisdakesian. These were graduates of the German Seminary at Mezré, and owe their lives to a kind German lady.

According to the reports of some Armenians who had found refuge in the forests of Sourp Garabed and finally made their way to the Caucasus, Hilmi Bey was appointed for the purpose of clearing the Armenian provinces of Armenians. This man reached Erzerum on May 18, and then went to Khnyss, Boulanik, Khlat, &c., massacring every Armenian in these places. According to a letter dated June 19, (July 3,) written to one of these refugees, Hilmi Bey had three army corps (?) with him, a body of gendarmes, and the volunteers of Hadji Moussa Bey and Sheik Hazret, who had come to Mush to massacre the Armenians. To these forces were joined the Turkish mob of Mush, the Turkish refugees from Alashkerd and Badnotz, Keur Husein Pasha and Abdul-Medjid Bey. The massacres were directed by Governor Djevdet of Van, Commander Halil of Diliman, Governor Abd-ul-Khalak of Bitlis, and Governor Servet Bey of Mush. The order for massacre was given on June 28, (July 11.) According to Turkish Government statistics 120,000 Armenians were killed in this district.

Slaughter at Trebizond

The Armenians of the important port of Trebizond, which has since been occupied by the Russians, also went through the throes of deportation and massacre. The decree of deportation affecting the Trebizond Armenians was promulgated on June 24, 1915. Subsequent happenings are thus described by G. Gorrini, late Italian Consul General at Trebizond:

From June 24, the date of the publication of the infamous decree, until July 23, the date of my own departure from Trebizond, I no longer slept or ate; I was given over to nerves and nausea, so terrible was the torment of having to look on at the wholesale execution of these defenseless, innocent creatures.

The passing of the gangs of Armenian exiles beneath the windows and before the door of the Consulate; their prayers for help, when neither I nor any other could do anything to answer them; the city in a state of siege, guarded at every point by 15,000 troops in

complete war equipment, by thousands of police agents, by bands of volunteers, and by the members of the Committee of Union and Progress; the lamentations, the tears, the abandonments, the imprecations, the many suicides, the instantaneous deaths caused by sheer terror, the sudden unhinging of men's reason, the conflagrations, the shooting of victims in the city, the ruthless searches through the houses and in the countryside, the hundreds of corpses found every day along the exile road, the young women converted by force to Islam or exiled like the rest, the children torn away from their families or from the Christian schools, and handed over by force to Moslem families, or else placed by hundreds on board ship in nothing but their shirts, and then capsized and drowned in the Black Sea and the River Deré Menderé—these are my last ineffaceable memories of Trebizond, memories which still, at a month's distance, torment my soul and almost drive me frantic.

When one has had to look on for a whole month at such horrors, at such protracted tortures, with absolutely no power of acting as one longed to act, the question naturally and spontaneously suggests itself, whether all the cannibals and all the wild beasts in the world have not left their hiding places and retreats, left the virgin forests of Africa, Asia, America, and Oceania, to make their rendezvous at Stamboul.

Unfortunates of Baiburt

Baiburt, mentioned often in the news as the scene of fighting between Russians and Turks, was also the scene of terrible outrages. According to an Armenian lady deported from Baiburt, who communicated her experiences to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, the Armenian population of the place was deported in three batches. She went with the third batch. She told of her sufferings on the road as follows:

We had got only two hours away from home when bands of villagers and brigands in large numbers, with rifles, guns, axes, &c., surrounded us on the road, and robbed us of all we had. The gendarmes took my three horses and sold them to Turkish mouhadjirs, pocketing the money. They took my money and the gold pieces from my daughter's neck, also all our food.

After this they separated the men, one by one, and shot them all within six or seven days—every male above 15 years old. By my side were killed two priests, one of them over 90 years of age. The brigands took all the good-looking women and carried them off on their horses. Very many women and girls were thus carried off to the mountains, among them my sister, whose one-year-old baby they threw away; a Turk picked it up and carried it off, I know not where. My mother walked till she could walk no further, and dropped by the roadside on a mountain top.

We found on the road many of those who had been deported from Baiburt in the previous convoys; some women were among the killed, with their husbands and sons. We also came across some old people and little infants still alive but in a pitiful condition, having shouted their voices away.

We were not allowed to sleep at night in the villages, but lay down outside. Under cover of the night indescribable deeds were committed by the gendarmes, brigands, and villagers. Many of us died from hunger and strokes of apoplexy. Others were left by the roadside, too feeble to go on.

One morning we saw fifty or sixty wagons with about thirty Turkish widows, whose husbands had been killed in the war; and these were going to Constantinople. One of these women made a sign to one of the gendarmes to kill a certain Armenian whom she pointed out. The gendarme asked her if she did not wish to kill him herself, at which she said: "Why not?" and, drawing a revolver from her pocket, shot him dead.

The worst and most unimaginable horrors were reserved for us at the banks of the Euphrates and in the Erzingan Plain. The mutilated bodies of women, girls, and little children made everybody shudder. The brigands were doing all sorts of awful deeds to the women and girls that were with us, whose cries went up to heaven. At the Euphrates the brigands and gendarmes threw into the river all the remaining children under 15 years old. Those that could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water.

In a recent cablegram Lord Bryce adds: "All the civilized nations able to assist the Armenians today should know that the need is still extremely urgent. Several hundred thousand exiles who survived the horrors of deportation are now perishing of exposure and starvation in the Arabian desert. Latest reports of neutral eyewitnesses describe terrible conditions. Sick people are throwing themselves into graves, begging grave diggers to bury them; women are going mad and eating grass and carrion; parents are putting children out of their misery, digging their own graves and awaiting death. The future of the Armenian Nation depends on saving the refugees in Russia, but this requires worldwide assistance for feeding, clothing, housing, and repatriation."

Protest of German Teachers Against Massacres of Armenians

This protest to the German Foreign Office was written and signed by the Faculty of the German High School at Aleppo, Turkey, and came into the possession of the British Government through the censorship of the mails. A copy of it was found in a letter written by Dr. Edward Graetner, one of the signers, from Basle, Switzerland, on July 7, to a distinguished German theologian in a neutral country. It is presented here, with the private letter of Dr. Graetner, as documentary confirmation of the current reports of atrocities committed by the Turks against the Christian Armenians in Turkey.

ALEPPO, Oct. 8, 1915.

WE humbly beg to report the following to the Foreign Office:

We feel it our duty to call the attention of the Foreign Office to the fact that our school work, the formation of a basis of civilization, and the instilling of respect in the natives will be henceforward impossible if the German Government is not in a position to put an end to the brutalities inflicted here on the exiled wives and children of murdered Armenians.

In face of the horrible scenes which take place daily near our school buildings before our very eyes, our school work has sunk to a level which is an insult to all human sentiments. How can we masters possibly read the stories of "Snow-white and the Seven Dwarfs" with our Armenian children, how can we bring ourselves to decline and conjugate, when in the courtyards opposite and next to our school buildings death is reaping a harvest among the starving compatriots of our pupils?

Girls, boys, and women, all practically naked, lie on the ground breathing their last sighs amid the dying and among the coffins put out ready for them.

Forty to fifty people reduced to skeletons are all that is left of the 2,000 to 3,000 healthy peasant women driven down here from Upper Armenia. The good-looking ones are decimated by the vice of their jailers, while the ugly ones are victimized by beatings, hunger, and thirst. Even those lying at the water's edge are not allowed to drink. Europeans are prohibited from distributing bread among them. More than a hundred corpses are taken out daily from Aleppo.

All this is taking place before the eyes of highly placed Turkish officials. Forty to fifty people reduced to skeletons are lying heaped up in a yard near our school. They are practically insane, and have forgotten how to eat. If one offers them bread they push it indifferently aside. They utter low groans and await death.

Ta-â-lim el alman (the cult of the Germans) is responsible for this, the natives declare.

It will always remain a terrible stain on Germany's honor among the generations to come.

The more educated inhabitants of Aleppo maintain that the Germans do not really approve of these outrages. Perhaps the German people, too, are ignorant of these events. How would it be possible otherwise for the usually truth-loving German press to report the humane treatment of Armenians accused of high treason? But it may be that the German Government's hands are tied by reason of certain contracts. No—when it is a question of thousands of helpless women and children who are being driven to certain death by starvation the words "opportun" and "Kompetenzvertäge" can no longer have any meaning. Every cultured human being is competent to intervene, and it is, in fact, his sacred duty to do so. Our esteem among the generations to come is at stake. The more refined Turks and Arabs shake their heads sorrowfully when they see brutal soldiers bringing convoys through the town of women far advanced in pregnancy, whom they beat with cudgels, these poor wretches being hardly able to drag themselves along.

There are, moreover, dreadful hecatombs of human beings, as shown in the inclosed decree of Djemal Pasha.

This is a proof that in certain places

the light is feared, but people have not yet the will to put an end to these scenes, which are degrading to mankind.

We know that the Foreign Office has already received descriptions of the local condition of affairs from other sources. Since, however, the procedure of deportation has in no way been ameliorated, we feel it more than ever our duty to submit this report for your perusal.

Above all, we realize to the full the danger with which German prestige is here threatened.

DIRECTOR HUBER,
Dr. NIEPAGE,
Dr. GRAETNER,
M. SPIELER.

In his own letter, Dr. Graetner gives further details of what he witnessed:

I am going to tell you more about the Armenian episode, for this time the question was not one of the traditional massacres, but of nothing more nor less than the complete extermination of the Armenians in Turkey. This fact Talaat Bey's Turkish officials cynically admitted with some embarrassment to the German Consul. The Government first made out that they only wanted to clear the war zone and to assign new dwellings to the emigrants.

They began by enticing the most warlike of the mountaineers out of their rocky fastnesses. This they did with the help of the securities of the Turkish Empire, of the heads of their own churches, of the American missionaries, and of one German Consul. Thereupon began expulsions from everywhere, even from districts to which the war will never be carried. How these were effected is shown from the fact that out of the 18,000 people driven out of Kharput and Sivas only 350 reached Aleppo, and only eleven out of the 1,900 from Erzerum. Once at Aleppo, the poorest of these were by no means at the end of their troubles. Those who did not die here (the cemeteries are full) were driven by night to the Syrian steppes, toward the Zor on the Euphrates. Here a very small percentage drag out their existence, threatened by starvation.

I state this as an eyewitness. I was there in October of last year and saw with my own eyes several Armenian corpses floating in the Euphrates or lying about the steppe.

The Germans, with a number of laudable exceptions, witness these things quite unperturbed, holding out the following excuse:

"We just need the Turks, you see!"

I know for a fact, moreover, that an employe of the German Cotton Association and one on the Bagdad Railroad were forbidden to help the Armenians. German officers have also raised a complaint against their Consul for his sympathy with the Armenians, and a German teacher, although most capable, was not appointed to a school of the Turco-German Association on account of his having an Armenian wife. They are afraid that the Turks might take offense at this. The Turks are less considerate.

"The question is one of a Turkish internal affair; we must not mix ourselves up in it!" This is what one constantly hears people say. Once it was a question, however, of persuading the Armenians to yield, they did mix themselves up in it!

The Armenians of Urfa, seeing the fate which had befallen their compatriots from other districts, refused to leave their city and offered resistance. Thereupon no less a person than Count Wolf von Wolfskehl ordered the town to be bombarded, and after the surrender of 1,000 Armenian men he had not the power to prevent their being massacred.

ANGLO-FRENCH MUNITIONS CONFERENCE

From Left to Right: M. Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions; Mr. E. S. Montagu, British Minister of Munitions; Mr. Lloyd George, British Secretary for War.

(Pach Photo News, Inc.)

JAPAN'S NEW PREMIER

Lieutenant General Count Seiki Terauchi, Who Has Succeeded Marquis Okuma as Premier of Japan.
(Photo from American Press Association.)

The Total of Armenian and Syrian Dead

By William Walker Rockwell, Ph. D.

Professor in Union Theological Seminary and Member of American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief

HOW many Armenian and Syrian noncombatants have died of disease, hardship, or violence during the last two years?

There are no perfectly reliable statistics of the racial elements which compose the population of Turkey. The ordinary Turkish figures for the Armenians and other Christian groups are too small, for two reasons: First, the Turks are anxious to minimize the strength of the Christian minorities, in order to block European demands for internal reforms; second, some Christian families fail to report all their men to the Government, in order to evade their full duty in the matter of military service. The Armenian figures, on the other hand, are collected by the Armenian Patriarchate, till recently in Constantinople; and they certainly do not underestimate the numbers of their own millet or community. Though some German writers have inclined to accept the Turkish figures, the consensus of foreign opinion holds that there were in Turkey before the war at least 1,600,000 to 2,000,000 Armenians. How many of them are alive today?

No official list of the deaths has been kept. Nameless and unrecorded corpses have marked every trail down which the exiles straggled on their weary march toward the region of Aleppo. The scows of Trebizond and the flatboats of the Euphrates did not record passengers "lost overboard." In the desert vultures were the only coroners. Along the line of the Bagdad Railway, where imported system prevails, more accurate information may perhaps exist; but those who may know won't tell.

In some localities the death rate has been terribly high. From one small group of villages only 15.2 per cent. of the inhabitants are known to have reached what was, for the time at least, the goal of their deportation. A common estimate of the mortality has been 50 per cent. of the total Armenian population; in other words, that from 800,000 to 1,000,000 have perished. In May, when I tabulated in the "Fifth Bulletin of the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief" what we then knew, it seemed probable that the number of survivors was under 1,150,000. The total Armenian losses to that date would then be between 450,000 and 850,000, according as we estimate the population before the war at 1,600,000 or at 2,000,000. In view, however, of the frightful starvation since reported in the Deir-el-Zor region and elsewhere, it is quite possible that by this time the losses have reached 50 per cent.

How many Armenians have died in massacres? During the siege of Van the Turks are said to have slaughtered 55,000 Armenians in the surrounding country. That is the report brought back by the Americans who were in Van during the siege; one of them told me that the Russian authorities forbade people after that to eat fish drawn from the great inland lake of Van, because of the multitude of the floating corpses of massacre victims. How many tens of thousands have died like the 1,213 men of Marsovan, who were marched up into lonely valleys and "deported" by knives at their throats or by bullets in their backs? Who can number the Armenian soldiers in labor regiments who were divided up into squads of 300 or 400 to mend roads, only to be shot and sabred to a man on suspicion of revolutionary plots? How numerous were the bundles of those drowned by the Kurds at Kemakh, that rolled down the Euphrates and were washed ashore near the railroad bridge at Jerablus, only to be refused burial by a local Turkish official because he could not be sure of the religious affiliations of the long-since deceased? If we add horror to horror, we must at the end confess that we do not

know. To Van add Marsovan; pile on Bitlis, Trebizond, Erzerum, Erzingan, Harpout, and thrice-savage Kemakh; exhaust even the villages of those provinces (now conquered by Russia) which formed what we may style the massacre zone; make all possible deduction for exaggeration or downright lies, and you reach a ghastly total that must remain forever ringed around with impenetrable gloom.

How many Armenians are left? In May, 1916, the best figures were as follows:

Aleppo, Zor, Damascus, and southward	486,000
Constantinople and Smyrna, natives not deported, about	150,000
Armenians in other parts of Turkey, perhaps	300,000
Refugees in the Russian Caucasus	182,800
In districts of Turkey occupied by Russia	12,100
In Salmas, Persia, (some of them refugees from Turkey)	9,000
Total living Armenians	1,139,900

The largest item tabulated in May was 486,000. That number was, however, reported on Feb. 3. Concerning those regions we have had later cables that hundreds are dying daily; that mothers are throwing babies into the Euphrates in despair; that survivors in many regions had to eat grass—until the fierce rays of the Mesopotamian Summer dried up the grass, when some of the more desperate turned to cannibalism or attacked carrion. Therefore we may lop off another hundred thousand or two as the terrible toll of the year in which America has been toying with the problem of relief. There may be a scant million of Turkish Armenians still unburied.

The Armenians are not the only unfortunates; the Syrians also have been decimated. There are many varieties of Syrian Christians. Some lived near the Persian border and in ancient Assyria, and are known as Nestorians, or Assyrian Christians. Some of these living north of Mosul have been massacred. The Nestorian Highlanders, who, according to figures I communicate from a pamphlet now in press, claimed before the war to number 90,000, had to fight their way out to Persia in the Autumn of 1915. Our committee fed during November and December, 1915, no less than 30,000 of these refugees from Turkey, in addition to an equal number of destitute Christians whose homes were on the Persian side of the boundary. Though the death rate has been high, it has not perhaps reached the one-third to one-half reported through native channels of information. Before the war there were from 160,000 to 200,000 Syrian Christians (inclusive of Nestorians, Roman Catholic Uniats, Protestants, and some scattered communities of Jacobites) living in the Tigris region, exclusive of Diarbekir, in the Highlands of Kurdistan, and in Northwestern Persia, (Adarbaijan.) Great numbers have perished, but no one knows how many. During the Turkish occupation of Urmia (Jan. 2-May 20, 1915) 4,000 died of want and of epidemics in that town, and 1,000 were killed in outlying villages. That is the outstanding item in the long roll of death in Persia.

The woes of the Syrians in modern Syria, near the Mediterranean, are also crying. It is said that at least 80,000 of the inhabitants of the Lebanon have died of starvation; and some have been deported into the region of Sivas, Asia Minor. (See "The Near East," London, June 9, 1916.) The Syrian Mount Lebanon Relief Committee, a native organization in New York, asserts that 100,000 have perished in the Lebanon alone. An American traveler, just back from Beyrout, says that in that centre of information the estimates vary from 80,000 to 120,000. In addition, there has been awful misery among the Palestinian Jews.

The number of marchers in New York's great "preparedness" parade last May was about 125,000. They took about thirteen hours to pass a given point, marching twenty abreast. If the ghosts of the Christian civilians who have perished miserably in Turkey since the commencement of the great holocaust should march down Fifth Avenue twenty abreast there might be a million of them, and they would then take four days and eight hours to pass the great reviewing stand—in fact, longer, for most of them would be women and children.

Austro-Hungarian Atrocities in Serbia

Current History Magazine, in presenting the official reports of the belligerent nations regarding atrocities, does so as an unbiased annalist. The editor does not attest the accuracy of the charges, but is assured of the authenticity of the documents.

AN extraordinary contribution to the tales of horror of the present war is found in the "Report Upon the Atrocities Committed by the Austro-Hungarian Army During the First Invasion of Serbia," by R. A. Reiss, D. Sc., professor at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. This report, of which the English translation has just been published in London, is issued as an official document by the Serbian Government. Professor Reiss is a distinguished man of science, a skilled investigator, and presumably an impartial judge. He himself collected and verified his facts on the spot during the months of September, October, and November, 1914.

It is an incomplete report because at the time the enemy occupied a large part of Serbia, where it was impossible to pursue the inquiry, and because many civilians had fled from the devastated regions. The damage is therefore more considerable and the number of victims greater than even this ghastly record shows. The delay in publication is due to the troubles of the Serbian Government.

Shocking Array of Evidence

If the facts set down in cold print are shocking, the photographs with which the volume is illustrated are even more revolting, some of them, like numerous references in the text, being unfit for reproduction on account of the bestiality and obscenity which they depict.

Professor Reiss begins with an account of the explosive bullets used by the Austro-Hungarian Army. He tells how Serbian soldiers,

returning from the front, related that when the enemy attacked them with rifle fire, one could hear two detonations, viz., the sharp crack when the bullet left the rifle, and a second detonation which sometimes seemed to take place behind and sometimes in front of them. The solution of the mystery was soon found. In the cartridge pouches of the Austrian prisoners were found cartridges * * * (containing) genuine explosive bullets, forbidden by the rules and conventions of war. Subsequently your (the Serbian) army * * * seized whole ammunition cases full of them. Besides this, machine-gun belts were found filled entirely with cartridges containing explosive bullets. * * * The labels on these boxes bear the printed designation "Einschusspatronen," (sighting cartridges.) These bullets come from the State factory at Wellersdorf, near Vienna. The Austrian eagle is conspicuous on the base of the cartridge case. * * * The bullet, which explodes within the body, is shattered and the fragments act like shrapnel. Finally there is the action of the gases which further enlarge the wounds and break the bones.

Professor Reiss questioned a great number of Austro-Hungarian prisoners and discovered that the privates did not know these bullets before the war. They were always locked up in time of peace and their use was reserved exclusively for war. The Professor proceeds:

I have also observed that the Austro-Hungarian troops made use of expanding, so-called "dumdum" bullets. * * * But at the time I was without proof positive that the Austro-Hungarians really employed expanding bullets, which are, however, far less dangerous than explosive bullets.

Massacres of the Wounded

The bombardment of open towns is described by Professor Reiss as an eyewitness, for he visited Belgrade, Shabatz, and Loznitza while they were under fire. Shabatz was sacked from end to end by enemy troops after it had been bombarded. Loznitza will have to be largely rebuilt. Countless houses were set on fire by the invaders, who were evidently provided with some special substance for making buildings burn rapidly. That Serbian soldiers who had been wounded and captured were massacred on frequent occasions was confirmed by the evidence of Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war, as well as by official reports of the Serbian military authorities, accounts of eyewitnesses, and photographs taken

CIVILIAN PEASANTS HANGED BY HUNGARIANS AT LESHNITZA, SERBIA
(PHOTOGRAPHED Aug. 20, 1914)

on the spot. Among the depositions of Austrian prisoners are the following:

No. 42, squad leader in the Twenty-eighth Infantry Regiment, deposes that Lieutenant Müller of the Third Battalion, Ninth Company of his regiment, gave orders to "finish off" the Serbian wounded, as he did not wish to be troubled with them.

The Austrian witness, No. 44, of the Fifty-third Infantry Regiment, deposes that before they crossed the frontier a man in Austrian uniform with his ears and forearms cut off was led past the troops on horseback. The officers told them: "This is what is in store for you if you surrender." They, moreover, declared that the man was a Croat; but none of the soldiers present knew him.

Professor Reiss comments on No. 44:

In my opinion the cruelty involved in thus parading on horseback one of their own men mutilated in this fashion precludes the possibility of his having been an Austrian. Is it not more likely that it was a Serbian soldier, mutilated after having been tricked out in an Austrian uniform, in order to strike terror into the hearts of the invading troops? * * * The Austrian officers spread the fable among their men that your [the Serbian] soldiers cut off the ears, noses, * * * and gouged out the eyes of their prisoners. Perhaps they sought to provide ocular demonstration at the expense of some unfortunate Serbian? This does not seem unlikely to me.

The investigator concludes:

From my inquiry then it follows that there have been massacres of Serbian prisoners and wounded. I need not relate here in detail what happened at Yovanovatz, where a large number of soldiers of the second levy, belonging to the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Regiments, (Timok Division,) who had surrendered to the Austrians, were massacred by the enemy. You know the facts of the case, and the official reports are in your hands; you have, moreover, an ocular proof of the crime in the photographs which were taken on the spot.

Massacres of Civilians

The longest and most horrible section of the report is that dealing with the massacres and atrocities in which civilians were the victims. After discounting, as Professor Reiss does, the exaggerations due to excitement and overwrought emotions, there remains a picture of barbarities and excesses as dark and damning as any in the history of war from the earliest times. He has tabulated the different forms of death and mutilation inflicted upon the civil populace by the invading army. Very many persons were burned alive. In the parish of Prnjavor alone they number 122. Both in the case of the killed and the wounded the injuries were inflicted on all parts of the body. The number barbarously mutilated is also very great.

FAMILY MASSACRED AT KRIVAIA, SERBIA

There were many cases of the abduction of young girls and their detention for days at a time by the enemy. Officers as well as men were guilty of these outrages, but the officers did not go to the same extreme as they permitted the privates in the worst orgies of lust and drunkenness.

A great deal of the evidence is that furnished to Professor Reiss by prisoners. The following are some typical statements made by Austro-Hungarian soldiers:

No. 46 of the Twenty-eighth Regiment of the line relates that a certain Lieutenant Lazar, (Hungarian,) with his eighty soldiers, had killed no less than thirty men and women. His company saw the entrance of a café blocked with half-burned victims. This occurred near Zvornik, (the village of Zuline.)

No. 47 of the Twenty-sixth Regiment relates that he had seen scattered portions of human bodies—feet, arms, heads, &c. * * *

No. 48 of the Twenty-sixth Landsturm states that the men were given the order to bayonet all living creatures—women, men, and children—without distinction. A private of the Seventy-ninth Regiment told him that near Drenovatz the Austrian officers made a ring of twenty-six persons round a house and then set fire to the house, thus burning the twenty-six victims.

No. 49 of the Seventy-eighth Regiment says Captain Eisenhut gave the order to kill every living thing in Serbia. The Hungarians devastated every village in Syrmia.

Execution of Hostages

The story told by the Austrian witness No. 50 contains some amazing episodes:

All men, old men and children, were captured and driven before the troops with bayonet thrusts. These people were questioned as to the position of the Serbs and the comitadjis. If their answers failed to satisfy the officers they were shot immediately. In most cases, when the troops entered a village the greater number of the hostages, or even all of them, were killed. These unfortunate people were almost always old men or children. * * *

Next morning, not far from him and four of his colleagues, (this witness was a hospital sergeant,) a private came running to him with the news that Lieutenant Berticz Joseph, a Hungarian, wanted to shoot seven innocent persons. Witness requested his friend, Lieutenant Stevan Raikovitch, to go and see what was the matter and if possible to prevent Berticz from committing the crime. As they approached a wood Berticz saw him and called out: "Don't come; if you come nearer, I will kill you." He stopped and witnessed the following: Seven men (two old men of about seventy and five boys of about fourteen or fifteen years of age) were tied together. The soldiers dug their grave before his eyes. Liutenant Berticz went up to the first old man, a deaf mute, struck first him, and then another with his fist, showed them the pit, and said: "You Serbian swine, this

is for you." He then had the first old man led up and shot. The second was bayoneted to death. The five boys were shot by a volley. Lieutenant Raikovitch called out to Berticz: "Have you permission to do this?" And he added: "I shall go to Lieut. Col. Petrovitch (or Simonovitch) and tell him what you have done." The latter promised to make an inquiry, but did nothing. The victims had no weapons. * * *

The men were incited by their officers to commit atrocities. Wherever the regiment passed through, the officers urged them to kill everything, cows, pigs, chickens, in fact everything whether it was required for the subsistence of the army or not. The men got dead drunk with "schnapps" in the cellars. They allowed the liquor to run out so that often the cellars were inundated with alcohol. * * * At Krupanj witness was shown a young girl who had been violated. * * * The girl was pretty and 16 years old. Two women supported her statement. After the battle of Krupanj they marched on Bela Tzrkva, and everywhere witness saw the bodies of peasants, old men and young, who had been killed.

Here are two more statements by Austro-Hungarian prisoners:

No. 56, Corporal of the Twenty-eighth Landwehr Regiment, deposes that in Shabatz the Austrians killed over sixty civilians beside the church. They had previously been confined in that building. They were butchered with the bayonet in order to save ammunition. The soldiers who acted as executioners numbered eight. Witness could not bear to look at the sight. The bodies lay for two days in the square before they were buried. The eight soldiers were Hungarians. A General and the officers gave the order for the massacre. There were several old men and children among the victims.

No. 71 of the Ninety-seventh Regiment of the line, states that * * * in Yania he saw four old men dragging a cart full of rifles, ammunition, &c. A group of twenty women and children followed the cart. A few moments later he heard a volley and was informed that the whole party had been shot. He never saw them again.

Told by Serbian Civilians

Coming now to the evidence of Serbian civilians we read of wholesale massacres at different villages. At Prnjavor the Austrians had the list of the local members of the "Narodna Odbrana," the society which is blamed for the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo. The Austrians shot every member of the society. At the same town the Austrians arrested 500 to 600 women and girls and kept them at the hotel for four days for the pleasure of the soldiers. One of the worst crimes was that committed at Leshnitza, a place of 1,200 inhabitants. A party of forty persons were taken to witness the execution of 109 victims beside the railway station. One of the witnesses, a man of 60, gives the following details:

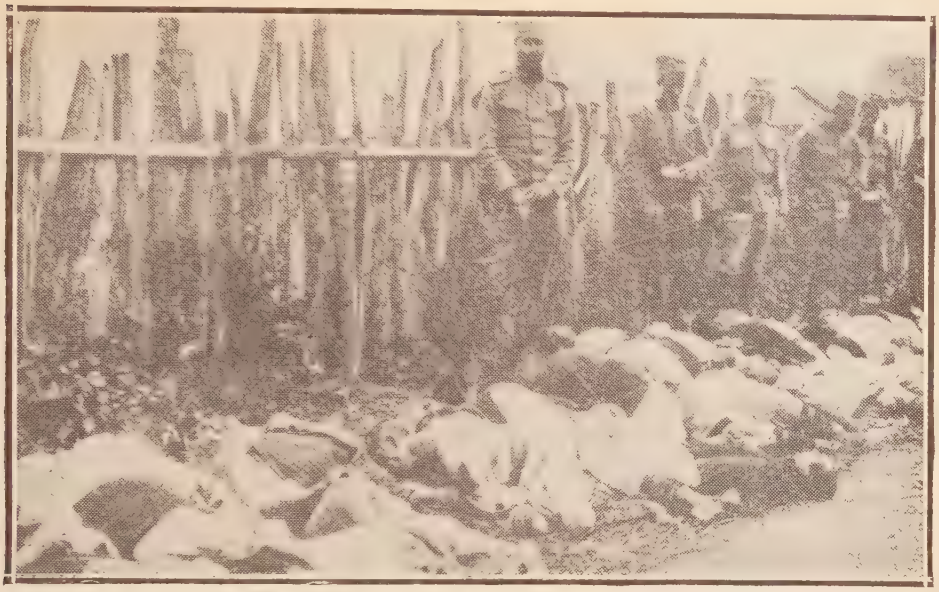
The 109 persons massacred at Leshnitza were men and children from 3 to 15 years of age. All the victims were tied together by the arms with ropes. A wire was drawn round them. The Austrian soldiers stood on the railway embankment, and it was here that they fired their volley. The Serbs fell into the pit in front of them, which had been dug all ready beforehand. Directly after the volley the soldiers filled in the ditch without waiting to see whether their victims were dead or only wounded.

At Breziak the Austrians killed fifty-four persons in various ways. Most of them were disemboweled with large sabres. Among the victims were a man and his wife and their three daughters, aged 18, 14, and 7 years. They were found in a ditch mutilated in different ways, pinioned and all tied together, with their dog.

An Appalling Picture

The official records of the military authorities contain some of the most horrible stories. The following picture by a Serbian Lieutenant is hardly to be equaled for concentrated "frightfulness." Some of the details have had to be omitted because of their bestiality:

Being in command of the sentinels on outpost duty, I made the rounds of the village of Tzulkovitch and the neighborhood. There in a ravine I saw piled up, one on top of the other, the corpses of twenty-five lads between 12 and 15 years of age and of two old men of over 60, pierced with bullets and slashed with knives and bayonets. On exploring a house I discovered two dead women, their bodies riddled with bullets. In the yard of a house lay an old woman killed beside her daughter. * * * Within the house beside the extinct fire sat an old man, haggard and dying, covered with bleeding wounds caused by knife and bayonet thrusts. He said to me: "I cannot tell how it is that I am still alive. For three days I have sat here looking upon my dead wife and child, whose bodies lie beyond the door. After covering us with shame they massacred us with their knives and then they fled, the cowards. I am the only one left alive. I look upon that pool of blood, their blood, which spreads toward me, and I cannot even take one step to move away from it." In another yard I found a little boy of four,



PEASANTS MASSACRED AT LOZNITZA, SERBIA, BY HUNGARIAN TROOPS

thrown in there after he had been killed. The corpse had been partly devoured by dogs. Near him lay a young woman, stripped, and her slaughtered infant. * * * A little further on the body of an old woman was stretched on the ground. * * * In the interior of the house lay the body of a very beautiful young girl, all convulsed by the final agony, her clothing covered with blood. On the floor, almost hidden beneath a pile of rugs, lay an elderly woman, also killed.

In the three districts of Polzerie, Matchva, and Yadar, the various kinds of death and torture inflicted were apportioned as follows:

	Males.	Females.
Victims shot	345	64
Victims killed with knives	113	27
Victims hanged	7	6
Victims massacred and clubbed to death with sticks and butt-ends of rifles	48	26
Victims disemboweled	2	4
Victims burned alive	35	96
Victims pinioned and robbed	52	12
Victims whose arms were cut off, torn off, or broken	5	1
Victims whose legs were cut off or broken	3	0
Victims whose noses were cut off.	28	6
Victims whose ears were cut off.	31	7
Victims whose eyes were put out.	30	38
Victims whose genital organs were mutilated	3	3
Victims whose skin was cut in strips, or portions of their face detached	15	3
Victims stoned	12	1
Victims whose breasts were cut off	0	2
Victims cut in pieces	17	16
Victims beheaded	1	0
Little girl thrown to the pigs	0	1
Victims killed without the manner of their deaths being specified	240	55

Summing up the evidence Professor Reiss says:

The number of victims—children, women, young men, and old men—amounts to a comparatively high percentage of the population of the territory invaded. The evidence submitted to me also proves that the manner in which the soldiers of the enemy set about killing and massacring was governed by a system. It was the same system of extermination which is also reflected in the bombardment of open towns with shrapnel and fougasses and in the systematic setting on fire of dwelling houses and farm buildings. It is impossible to look upon the atrocities that have been committed as the acts of a few apaches, such as certainly may be found in every army.

That the butchery of the population was systematic and according to order is yet more clearly proved by * * * a pamphlet issued by the Austro-Hungarian high command and found in possession of the men. * * * It is from fear lest they should be massacred themselves that they probably perpetrated their first cruelties. But at the sight of blood, the phenomenon took place which I have often had occasion to observe;

man was transformed into a bloodthirsty brute. A positive access of collective Sadic frenzy seized upon the troops. * * * Once the bloodthirsty and Sadic brute was unchained and let loose by his superiors, the work of destruction was duly carried out by men who are fathers of families and probably kindly in private life.

Thus the responsibility for these acts of cruelty does not rest upon the privates—mere victims of the instincts of the wild beast which slumbers in every human being—but on their superior officers who failed to restrain these tendencies; nay, I will say even more, who aroused them. The massacres were all the more readily committed by the Austro-Hungarian soldiers, as they were stimulated by the prospect of gain by pillage, which was permitted, and even commanded, by their superior officers. * * * In short, it is beyond all doubt that the massacres of the civil population and the pillage were systematically organized by the command of the army of invasion; it is upon the command that all the responsibility must rest, and also the disgrace with which for all time to come this army has covered itself.

In discussing the causes of the massacres Professor Reiss lays particular stress on the press campaign in Austria-Hungary before the war, which had for its object the propagation of the belief that the Serbians would commit the abominations of which the Austro-Hungarians themselves are said to have given such a frightful exhibition. This was all part of the plan, says Professor Reiss, to wipe Serbia off the map.

2,658,283 Prisoners Held by the Central Powers

Official Statement, Aug. 1, 1916

THESE figures, not before published, were given to the German press by the Berlin authorities at the close of the second year of the war: The Central Powers now occupy in Europe the following square miles of territory of the enemy:

Belgium	11,330
France	8,200
Russia	109,375
Serbia	34,000
Montenegro	5,470
Total	168,375

The Allies occupy in square miles:

Alsace	390
Galicia and Bukowina	8,200
Total	8,590

The total number of prisoners of war on Aug. 1, the end of the two years of war, were as follows:

In Germany	1,663,794
In Austria-Hungary	942,489
In Bulgaria	38,000
In Turkey	14,000
Total	2,658,283

In August, 1915, the total number of prisoners held in Germany and Austria was 1,695,400, so that in the second year of war the number increased by practically a million.

Among the total number of prisoners held there are the following numbers of Russians:

	Officers.	Men.
In Germany	9,019	1,202,872
In Austria-Hungary	4,242	777,324
In Bulgaria and Turkey	33	1,435
Total	13,294	1,981,631

The prisoners of war in Germany proper are as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
French	5,947	348,731
Russians	9,019	1,202,872
Belgians	656	41,752
English	947	29,956
Serbians	.....	23,914
Total	16,569	1,647,225

The war material captured and now held in Germany is 11,036 guns, with 4,748,038 shells; 9,096 munition wagons and trucks, 1,556,132 rifles, 4,460 pistols and revolvers, and 3,450 machine guns. This does not include the large number of guns, shells, and transports which were captured and made use of at once on the field.

Statistics from hospitals and lazarets show that 90 per cent. of the wounded return to the front, 1.4 per cent. die, and 8.4 per cent. are incapacitated. Owing to the sanitary arrangements at the front the number of deaths from illness contracted has been reduced to a minimum.

Prisoners of War and Their Treatment

MILLIONS, actually millions of unfortunate soldiers and civilians are living through these terrible years as prisoners of war. The Central Powers alone hold more than 2,500,000, and the Entente Allies hold more than 1,500,000. Harsh treatment of prisoners is a constant theme of recrimination, and both sides have threatened reprisals because of cruelties charged to have been inflicted by the enemy authorities. How far actual conditions violate humanitarian principles or contravene international law cannot always be determined, but the data at hand are sufficiently authentic to be recorded here.

Prisoners in Germany

A report issued by the United States Embassy in Berlin contains the observations of Surgeon Karl Ohnesorg of the United States Navy, who visited the camps in the Berlin area. This report shows that Germany is making use of many prisoners by converting them into workmen, for which purpose they are housed in special quarters and fed by their employers.

At a large hide-curing company at Lichtenberg thirty-nine British soldiers are employed in sorting and salting hides and packing them for shipment to a tannery. A large room in the third story of one of the brick buildings of the plant has been fitted up for their use. It is well furnished, and shower baths with hot and cold water are to be had weekly. The schedule of the day's routine is as follows:

Arise at 6 A. M.	Work 2 P. M. to 4 P. M.
Coffee 6:30 A. M.	
Begin work 7 A. M.	Rest 4 P. M. to 4:30 P. M.
Breakfast 8-8:30 A. M.	
Work 8:30-12:30 P. M.	Work 4:30 P. M. to 7 P. M.
Rest and dinner 12:30 P. M.-2 P. M.	

The company allows each man three bottles of beer daily, and also gives them one pound of butter or margarine weekly. They receive 25 cents daily. They do not have to work on Sundays.

The City of Berlin Gas Plant employs 300 prisoners, 46 of whom are British, and they are comfortably housed in wooden barracks, and are divided into two working squads. Twenty-five work in the retort room at 36 cents a day, and the remaining 21 are employed at manual labor about the yards at 18 cents a day. The hours for work are the same as those of the German employes, with whom the prisoners work on friendly terms.

At Niederschoneweide, where eighty-two British are employed in a smelter and casting foundry, Surgeon Ohnesorg found the housing conditions unsatisfactory, but the rate of pay was 65 cents a day. British prisoners were also engaged in farming work at the villages of Gladow and Gross Glienicke, where they messed with their employers, receiving the same food and 12 cents a day. At the City of Berlin electric light plant at Moabit prisoners were handling coal for the power house and receiving 25 cents a day. They had Sunday off.

In a large coal yard at Charlottenburg the housing conditions were far from satisfactory and the sanitary arrangements not at all good. Eighteen British are quartered in one room on the basement floor of the office building. Double tier cots, such as are used in the German barracks, supplied with straw mattresses were given the prisoners. One of their number was detailed as cook. There is much room for improvement in the conditions under which the men live.

With but few exceptions all the British were well clothed and had good shoes. They were supplied with both uniforms and working clothes, and they received their pay weekly in money.

Instances of Brutality

In contrast to Surgeon Ohnesorg's report a picture of hardship and brutality is provided in the affidavits of five members of the crew of a British trawler who were captured in the first days of the war and who have recently been exchanged because of ill-health. The five men made their affidavits for the British Government, which has officially given out the summary from which the following extracts are taken:

The horrors of the prisoners' camp at Wittenberg, which have recently been confirmed by the evidence of Belgian doctors, and the minor cruelties of Ruhleben find a striking parallel in the more open acts of violence which are now known to have been committed at Sennelager (the prisoners' camp near Paderborn) on a number of unfortunate fishermen who were captured by the Germans in the North Sea in August, 1914, and who were subsequently taken to Sennelager

by way of Wilhelmshaven and Emden. The arrival of the prisoners at Wilhelmshaven is thus described:

"We were marched through the streets of the town through a hostile crowd which jeered and spat at us, taken to a naval prison and put into a cell without blankets and with a straw sack to lie on. We received two slices of black bread and a drink of unsweetened coffee. Two days after that we were had up for inquiry. A naval officer pointed a revolver at my head and asked me what warships were in the Humber. He said: 'If you speak the truth you will go out of that door,' pointing to one of the doors in the room. 'If you lie you will go out of that door to be shot,' covering me all the time with the revolver.

"I told him I had seen no warships. I was cook and my occupation kept me below.

"At Sennelager we were drawn up in the camp, as well as some French and Algerian military prisoners. The camp commandant then addressed us in the following terms: 'You English pigs, I will feed you out of the swine tub,' and shook his fist at us. He then allowed our guards to maltreat us by kicking and striking us to their hearts' content, and looked on laughing. We all were struck. This lasted for about two hours."

For a fortnight these unfortunate men were made to sleep out in the open fields, and no blankets were provided. Subsequently tents were erected, but the wants of the English civilians were always attended to last. "Nix (nichts) for the English" was the common cry.

"The labor of our camp, though supposed to be voluntary and paid for, was incessant, and we were forced out without food in the morning to hard labor on roads and light railways at the point of the bayonet. We did not receive any pay."

Punishments for any breaches of discipline (whether real or imaginary) reached the limit of brutality, while complaints on the part of the prisoners failed to effect substantial redress:

"When we were lining up in fours for our coffee, I was bitten by a wolfhound belonging to a sentry who always treated us with great hostility. He deliberately set his dog at me, and it bit me badly in the left leg above the ankle. I was arrested very shortly afterward and taken to prison. On my way there I met a motor car containing two officers and two women. They stopped the car and said something to the sentries which I could not understand. The sentries at once knocked my head against the wheel of the car, much to the delight of the occupants, who shouted out: 'Kitchener! Kitchener!' I was knocked nearly senseless and then taken to the prison. About midnight four drunken sentries entered my cell, knocked me down and kicked me, shouting out: 'Kitchener!' They then threw cold water over me and left me. The next day I was brought before the commandant for trial. I was told that I was charged with having spoken to an English soldier on the day on which the dog bit me. I had not even seen an English soldier. I believe the real reason they maltreated me was because I had shown sympathy to an old Belgian priest who had been knocked down by the sentries on some pretext and whom I had helped up."

Discipline seems to have been enforced by a torture known as "the ring-drill," which was apparently inflicted on trivial provocation:

"One of the most common punishments inflicted for trivial reasons (such as being a minute or two late for morning parade) was what our guards termed 'the ring-drill.' The victim had a canvas bag attached to his back with seven or eight bricks placed in it. He was then forced to run around a flagstaff erected in the camp for varying periods up to two hours. I have seen many cases where the victim fell from sheer exhaustion, and the guards kicked him until he rose, or until he was carried into the hospital on a stretcher by his fellow-prisoners. In the latter case the whole camp was paraded, and the victim was carried around so that they could all see the result of German camp discipline."

Another punishment took the form of binding prisoners to trees in such an attitude that the maximum amount of suffering was bound to follow.

In August, 1915, a representative of the American Embassy visited Sennelager, and after making an investigation told the prisoners that he would try and get them brought to Ruhleben. This plan was actually carried out in the case of certain old prisoners. Though food was very insufficient at Ruhleben, the conditions there, bad as they were, were tolerable as compared with Sennelager, and there was at least no direct brutality.

Discipline at Ruhleben

A glimpse of conditions at Ruhleben is given by William Simpson, a wool merchant of Sydney, Australia, who was interned at that camp while traveling in Germany and who was released on the ground that, being 57 years old, he was past the fighting age:

Baron Taube, the second in command, was intended for a pirate king of the worst type. For the slightest offense a prisoner was put on bread and water for seven to fourteen days. He was ably seconded by Dr. Gaiger, the Chief Surgeon, who had to pass the prisoners to be invalided out. On one occasion two patients escaped from the hospital and got away, which enraged the Baron so much that he ordered all the other patients to leave the building and walk through a heavy snowstorm to the horse boxes, and three of them died of exposure. After a few

months we were served with mattresses and a pillow stuffed with bristly shavings. We had fish twice a week, very often putrid; meat twice a week, and thick potato soup three times weekly, which was our rations. Every morning each prisoner was given a fifth of a loaf of war bread, which was 80 per cent. potatoes and 20 per cent. coarse bran, and uneatable. Since I left Ruhleben I have gained thirty-four pounds, but still I am not up to my normal weight. If it had not been for the parcels of food sent to us from American and English women I should have died.

Treatment of Russian Prisoners

The treatment of Russian prisoners in Germany, for whose relief a central committee has been organized in Switzerland, is described by C. Oberoutcheff, secretary to that body. Information as to the condition of the Russians was first obtained from the delegates of the International Red Cross Commission and was later verified by personal talks with former prisoners, according to Mr. Oberoutcheff:

The daily rations of the prisoners is very scanty; in the morning they are given coffee without milk or sugar, and 200 grams of potato bread to last them the entire day. At noon they receive a small quantity of soup, some vegetables, and sometimes, but not often, a piece of meat. Supper is much the same. It is clear that the prisoners must go hungry. The English, French, and Belgian prisoners often receive supplies of food from their Governments, relief societies, or relatives and friends, but it is not so with the Russians. Russian prisoners often beg help, not only of their own richer countrymen, but of prisoners of other nationalities. Many of these would be glad to give it, but it is forbidden. The hungry Russians, however, take their soup plates to the French and beg for their leavings, and get them. Driven to desperation, they sometimes even search the garbage and devour everything they find there that can possibly be eaten. We have heard of this from English and French prisoners who saw it, and I have been told of it by the Russians who have actually been obliged to do it.

According to Mr. Oberoutcheff, there are more than 2,000 prison camps in Germany and Austria, and only about 100 of them receive help from relief committees.

German Prisoners in Russia

Sensational details of alleged tortures suffered by war prisoners at the hands of the Russian authorities have been printed in Germany. For example, the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, under the heading, "Hell in Russia," cites a number of instances in which it charges that the Russians abused their prisoners, compelling them to work long hours without sufficient food or clothing. In the Winter, with the temperature 50 degrees below zero, it is said, prisoners, including the sick, were compelled to work in the open when barefooted and dressed in rags until arms and legs were frozen. Rheumatism, typhoid, tuberculosis, and other diseases, the account continues, have caused the death of thousands of prisoners, and medical aid is entirely insufficient. At Urgum 3,000 prisoners are reported to have died of typhoid in a short time. Many of the prisoners, the newspaper says, become insane. One instance is cited of 250 insane prisoners who are reported to have been flogged and driven into a room large enough for only 100, containing no bedding, after which the doors and windows were boarded. The account proceeds:

They were left there twenty-six hours without food or water. When the room was opened many of the prisoners fainted and the others were whipped. Other prisoners were confined for several days at a time in deep, damp pits, and were struck over the head with iron bars. Sick prisoners have been transported in cattle cars to hospitals, where they received such poor attention that, according to reports of physicians, the death rate was 90 per cent.

The punishment of prisoners is so barbarous that some Russian soldiers have refused to carry out their orders. The commander of the Moscow district, Sandetmeki, issued a public order prohibiting humane treatment of prisoners, especially officers, and in consequence prisoners were slowly tortured to death.

It was such reports as these that led the German Government to address a vigorous protest to the Russian Government "against the barbarous treatment of prisoners of war," a demand for its immediate cessation, and a threat of reprisals. According to a statement issued by the Overseas News Agency of Berlin on Aug. 31, 1916:

Officers and sailors of the Russian Navy who are prisoners in Germany have been brought into a reprisal camp because for more than a year German naval officers and sailors in Siberia have been treated by the Russians not as members of the navy but as common criminals.

The Russian officers and sailors will be

treated exactly as are the German prisoners in Russia until the Russian Government decides to treat the Germans as sailors who did their duty for their country.

The Russian actions are said to have been caused by the friendly advice of England, who declared that the Germans were not regular sailors, but pirates. All diplomatic negotiations were without result. The Russian General Staff even pretended that proved facts were untrue, and this caused the German Government to adopt the countermeasures.

The cry for reprisals has been constantly heard in England, where the Government has been accused of being too lenient. Members of Parliament have urged that only by taking measures in regard to German prisoners could the German Government be forced into improving the treatment of British prisoners in Germany. But the British Government has held to the view that such arguments would logically lead to still more reprisals and that the situation, instead of being relieved, would be aggravated.

War Prisoners in England

From the available evidence, it appears that the German prisoners in the United Kingdom are well treated. Thus, a series of reports by officials of the United States Embassy in London on twenty-three internment camps, which has been issued as a British Foreign Office document, testifies to the excellence of the accommodation and food, and also to the cordiality of the relations existing between the authorities and the prisoners. Such expressions as "the soldiers in this camp seemed to be well and in good spirits," "everything about this camp was found in excellent condition," and "this camp seemed to be almost a model of its kind," are to be found in nearly all the reports.

Certain of the camps visited are set aside entirely for the internment of civilians. One of these is at Cornwallis Road, Upper Holloway, London, where there were 714 prisoners on the date of inspection. B. A. Beal, who makes the report, states that the entire camp is run by the prisoners themselves. No prisoner is compelled to work, but those who wish to do so may find employment, for which they receive wages. No complaints were made, although the investigator had an opportunity to talk with the prisoners privately. Other civilian camps are at Douglas and Knockaloe, Isle of Man. In the former there were 2,744 prisoners, who "appeared contented and well." At Knockaloe, which was examined by three representatives of the United States Embassy, there were 20,563 men interned, divided among four camps. The prisoners appoint their own committees, who look after such matters as the kitchen, recreation, education, and the library. In the library of each camp there are about 4,000 books. Nearly 72 per cent. of the interned men are at work. In Camp 4 Professor Albers, who has lived over twenty years in Manchester, directs the school work. The study covers commercial subjects, languages, mathematics, and physics. There were, the investigators say, no complaints of a serious nature.

Certain camps are devoted to officer prisoners and their servants. That at Donington Hall, Derbyshire, was examined by Mr. Beal and W. H. Buckler, on June 9 last. At that time there were interned 102 military officers, thirty-nine naval officers, fifty military orderlies, one naval orderly, and three civilians. The interned officers, says the report, run their own mess in the same way as an English officers' mess is run. For the regular bill of fare for three meals the officers pay 65 cents a day, which they supplement as they wish from the canteen. The system of taking walks in the surrounding country has been lately inaugurated. "On the day of our visit," the reporters add, "one of us went out with the walking party and enjoyed a pleasant walk through beautiful country." Another officers' camp is that at Holyport, near Maidenhead, under the command of Colonel J. R. Harvey, who "seems to have the confidence of the interned officers, who spoke in pleasant terms of him." The system of walks through the country on prisoners giving a limited parole was also instituted here, and the prisoners expressed themselves much pleased with this liberty.

With regard to the internment camp at Leigh, Lancashire, the report says:

This camp seemed to me to be noteworthy on account of its great neatness and cleanliness, and on account of the general good health of the men consequent thereon, and also on their regular exercise in the open air.

It is conducted on strict military principles, but the men, being soldiers, seem to understand this. They are under the charge of their own Feldwebel, (Sergeants,) who are trusted by the commandant, and who have an excellent influence over the men under them.

At Frongoch, near Bala, North Wales, the prisoners had arranged work for themselves, which included fifty-five classes of instruction in languages, (comprising English, German, French, Spanish, and Italian,) as well as instruction in electricity, engineering, mathematics, drawing, shorthand, and gardening.

Everything in the camp at Handforth, Cheshire, where 2,713 prisoners were interned, was found in excellent condition. The German officer who had charge of the running and care of the camp seemed to have the confidence of the men, who all appeared to be in excellent physical, mental, and moral condition. The camp at Jersey is described as almost a model of its kind.

Civilians Interned in England

A special correspondent of a London daily writes this interesting description of life in the civilian prison camps:

THERE are 32,000 German civilians interned in England. I have just seen 26,000 of them. At the end of a pilgrimage which took me to the further side of the Isle of Man and ended in an Islington workhouse, which showed me the gentle alien enemy hewing stone in a hillside quarry, painting a portrait in a comfortable studio, making clogs, studying Spanish, and emerging from a game of water polo, which introduced me to alien enemies in bunks, on plank beds, and on spring mattresses, aliens who spoke English with an Oxford manner, aliens who spoke only German, aliens who spoke what no self-respecting Teuton would admit to be German, alien enemies of every sort of education, profession, social status, income, character, and temperament, I may claim a tolerably comprehensive knowledge of the treatment which German civilians receive at the hands of our Government.

We go first to the Isle of Man, where the vast majority of the German civilians under our flag are now concentrated. In Knockaloe Camp, which is some eleven miles from Douglas, near Peel, about 23,000 men are now under guard. Not one plank of all the building in this city of huts was on the ground when the war began.

This place was taken over by the authorities, and now, inside four miles of barbed wire fence, stand twenty-three clusters of wooden huts, each cluster or compound fenced off from the others and each capable of housing 1,000 men. Water was brought in from reservoirs on the mountain side, a system of water-borne drainage, with septic tanks, was constructed, hot and cold water was laid on to the shower baths in each compound, and a power station to light the whole camp with electricity was built and equipped. The military authorities provide a guard of 2,000 men for the 23,000 prisoners.

The huts are soundly built, and each man makes his tiny quarters, whether bunk or bed, cozy. The bunks are preferred, apparently because they give a certain privacy, a suggestion of a separate room. But around his bunk or above his bed each man arranges a little collection of private treasures—postcards, pictures, a book or two.

Every man has 18 ounces of bread a day. It is baked in the camp by some of the interned men under ideal conditions, and first-rate bread it is. Each man has 8 ounces of fresh meat, cooked in diverse ways. There were meatpies, there was stew with vegetables, there was that dish common to Germany and Scandinavia—a great roll of minced meat baked. Eight ounces of potatoes are in

the ration, and an ounce of margarine. Tea or cocoa—they care little for tea—sugar, and condensed milk, condiments, and fresh vegetables are issued. There is also a ration of flour and onions. The authorities will buy back, if the men so choose, a portion of this flour, and allow the money to be spent on other viands. Each compound has a Kitchen Committee, elected by the men themselves, which controls this transaction and the cooking in general.

Those who have money can add to their dietary. The canteen will sell them anything that a reasonable man can desire except alcohol. But they can buy coffee, and they do, to the tune of 5,880 pounds in a month. Cigarettes are sold by the million. When I went around the canteen it had 259 dozen pound pots of plum jam in store. In one week it sold 680 pounds of that popular sausage called Leberwurst. These figures must, of course, be considered in relation to the 23,000 mouths of the camp. The prices are fixed to cover the cost of working, and in general are rather lower than most of us pay ourselves.

Many of the prisoners also receive parcels of food from outside. Food from Germany has much diminished in the last few months. The arrangements for the delivery of parcels to the prisoners are such as to obviate any suspicion that a man does not receive what has been sent him. The one exception to this rule is articles which are contraband. Not many things are contraband, but among them are German newspapers and alcohol. Attempts to smuggle these into the camp in parcels of innocent aspect are numerous and humorous. I have seen a tin of harmless cheese in which lurked coyly a bottle of liquor. A tin of lard was guilty of the same crime. A wooden box often has a double end concealing a newspaper or two. Lurking in another parcel were tablets of solidified grog, a substance not very exhilarating, but still faintly suggesting alcohol. The most ingenious piece of smuggling which I have met came from another camp. A sausage when cut disgorged the case of a clinical thermometer. Inside that tiny case was a letter rolled up small. And, after all, there was nothing in it which, if it had been sent honestly, would not have passed the censor.

What do they do all day, these 23,000 men? A handful of them are quarrying. Another handful are at agricultural work—for that there is no lack of volunteers. But the difficulties of guarding them would prevent any such employment on a large scale, even if the Manx farms could absorb many. Some of the men are doing woodwork, and very clever stuff they turn out, which is sold on the American market. The work of the camp—cooking, baking, shoemaking, tailoring, and so forth—keeps many employed. They study, and can obtain teaching in most of the European languages. But, when all is said, the industrial output of these 23,000 is meagre.

Their recreation fields are ample and well used. They play football and the like with plenty of zest and vigor. The recreation rooms are excellent. They have orchestras of high merit, and the camp has several theatres. The best evidence that the men are well occupied is in the health of the camp, which is far better than that of the surrounding civilian population—and the Isle of Man is a health resort. The death rate of the prisoners is something less than two per 1,000.

The other camp in the Isle of Man stands just outside Douglas, and is of a different character. It is comparatively small, with only some 2,700 prisoners. A large proportion of these are housed in the permanent buildings of an institution for holiday makers. A big, imposing hall thus becomes available for gymnastics and recreation and work of all sorts, and a swimming bath sixty feet long provides more sport and exercise.

Many of the prisoners are domiciled in England, and in England their wives and families remain. Thirty-three of these wives, who are Englishwomen, are allowed to reside in the island and see their husbands once a quarter. The wives of the others are allowed to visit the island at long intervals and remain there for a week, during which they may see their husbands three times.

Quite different problems are suggested

by the camp at Islington. The workhouse in Cornwallis Road, Holloway, is its home. It is therefore situated in the middle of a thickly populated district. It has only one tennis court and one croquet ground as a means of exercise for 700 men. It has no military guard. Four policemen suffice to maintain discipline and keep the prisoners in. These are odd conditions, but they can easily be accounted for.

Every one of these men—with the exception of forty kept separate from the rest—is beyond suspicion of any attempt to get out. They have all been in England at least ten years. They are all married to English wives. If they give any trouble—which is almost unknown—the single sufficient penalty is that they may go to the Isle of Man. The English wife does not want that to happen. So the real guard of the camp is not the four policemen, but a party of sensible, practical Englishwomen. But the prisoners need little conjugal admonition. When the barbed wire fence of the camp was blown down in a storm these obliging prisoners promptly stuck it up again. The separate forty represent yet another phase of the alien question. They are a miscellaneous collection of men, some naturalized, some not of enemy origin, who have been interned under the Defense of the Realm act. They may be spies. They may be under suspicion of spying. They are men whom, for one reason or another, it would be dangerous to have at large. Among them is Baron von Bissing. Except under escort, and then only on the rarest occasions—to see a dentist, for example—they are never allowed out.

Underfed Prisoners at Ruhleben

Official Report by Dr. Taylor of the United States Embassy at Berlin

RECENT protests from the British Government regarding the starvation of civilian prisoners in Germany are based upon the increasing severity of conditions reported earlier in the year by Dr. A. E. Taylor of the United States Embassy at Berlin. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE here reproduces the substance of two of these reports, with the dispatches which they elicited from Sir Edward Grey, in which he offered to exchange prisoners with Germany and threatened reprisals if the sufferings of the British at Ruhleben were not ameliorated.

Dr. Taylor's report of May 24, 1916, is in the following terms:

I have the honor to present a supplementary report bearing upon the conditions of food supply and nutrition in the camp of the interned civilians at Ruhleben.

In the report presented a few weeks ago a detailed statement was offered of the amount of foodstuffs devoted to subsistence during that time. Since then a sharp reduction has been made in the amount of foodstuff allotted to the camp. In order to illustrate the present state of affairs, the ration provided by the authorities for the camp in Ruhleben may be contrasted with the ration for military prisoners promulgated in the latest food program of the Kriegministerium. The differences are concerned largely with the allowances of meat and fish. There is also a difference in the potato ration. In other respects, such differences as exist would not have a marked bearing upon nutrition from the standpoint of energy content, though such differences as do exist are not to the advantage of the Ruhleben ration.

The Prison Menu

The menu for working prisoners of war just issued contains per week 2,800 grams (about 6 pounds) of bread, 300 grams (10½ ounces) of meat, (including bones,) 200 grams (7 ounces) of sausage, 500 grams (1 pound) of fish, fish roe, and herring, and 9,500 grams (21 pounds) net of potato, corresponding to 10,500 grams gross weight. The difference in the diet of the working and non-working prisoners lies in the bread ration, which for the non-working prisoners is 2,100 grams (4 pounds 10 ounces) per week.

The present allotment of foodstuff authorized by the military authorities for Ruhleben is much lower in meat, fish, and potato. It provides per man per week 200 grams (7 ounces) of fresh meat, (including bones.) It provides, secondly, 1,600 pounds (800 kilograms gross weight) fresh fish, (corresponding to about 215 grams per man per week,) or 200 grams sausage or legumes. The potato ration is 4,000 grams (8 pounds 12 ounces) per week per man. Viewing the protein content

of the sausage and fish as equal in both estimates, it is apparent that the military prisoner of war is allotted per week 1,150 grams of these protein-carrying foods, while the civil prisoner of war in Ruhleben is allotted 400 grams of the same article, a little more than one-third the amount allotted the military prisoner of war. The potato ration of the civil prisoner is less than half that of the military prisoner.

In the absence of a detailed and quantitative inventory of the food supplies coming into Ruhleben from outside of Germany, it is impossible to state definitely whether the total food supply in Ruhleben is now sufficient for the nutritional needs of the camp. It must be borne in mind that many of these prisoners receive little or substantially nothing from the outside. One result of the present ration allotment is already seen in the fact that some of the Jews are appearing at the camp kitchen to secure food which is to them not ritualistically clean. This reduction in allotment of food supplies is made all the more striking by the fact that the prisoners of war, as a group, receive from outside of Germany at the present time as many, or more, food units per man as are received in Ruhleben. During the last week I have visited two prison camps in which the British prisoners subsisted practically entirely upon supplies received from abroad. Nevertheless, these men have at their disposal the regular ration for prisoners of war quoted above, to take or leave at their option. It is true that many of the interned civilians in Ruhleben receive more than they need. It is also true that some of them receive in notable amounts articles of food that must be classed as luxuries. On the other hand, many of these prisoners receive little or nothing, and are, therefore, largely or entirely dependent upon the food supplied by the authorities.

Less Than Half Enough Food

A more detailed report on the food supply at Ruhleben was made by Dr. Taylor three weeks later, on June 14. After a technical analysis of various food values he pointed out that the reduced nutriment scale mentioned by him in his previous report still continued. Taking the amount of foodstuffs furnished by the German authorities during the week ended May 11, he said:

Noteworthy in this diet, as contrasted with the previous diet, is the absence of fish and of margarine. All the fat present in the diet is incidentally contained in the several foodstuffs, and the diet is as fat-free as it is practically possible for a diet to be. * * *

These figures indicate that the food supplied by the authorities to the interned civilians in Ruhleben during the last week, if applied to all the men, represented less than half of the requisite food units. For the men who took food, less than two-thirds of the units were supplied by the authorities of the camp.

The authorities directly in charge of the subsistence of the camp are not following the official menu. When the diet of the interned civilians in Ruhleben was worked out, the sum of 66 pfennige per man per day was allotted for the purchase of foodstuffs, coal and costs of transportation being included. (The present figure for prisoners of war is 86 pfennige.) For some time the authorities in Ruhleben have not been permitted to expend this entire sum, (amounting to about 2,600 marks per day,) but only a certain fraction of it. The unexpended moneys have accumulated in the camp treasury, and this accumulation now represents a large sum. I am, of course, in no position to state what the saving has been, variously estimated between 60,000 and 200,000 marks. It is, however, clear that if the authorities in Ruhleben were permitted to expend 2,600 marks per day for food, (with or without the addition of the accumulated savings,) the difference in the amount of food now supplied and once supplied would not exist.

A notable feature of the diet for the last week was the absence of vegetables. Rhubarb was served once, and no sugar was furnished with it, but instead the kitchenmen were instructed to employ saccharine for sweetening, and a determined amount of saccharine was supplied to them for that purpose. The kitchenmen followed their instructions, and the camp as a unit protested to the kitchen against the peculiar after-taste that followed the eating of the rhubarb. It is my judgment that such manner of use of saccharine is entirely without justification. Prior to the war, the use of saccharine in foodstuffs was absolutely prohibited in Germany. If the authorities in Ruhleben are not able to furnish sugar with such foods as are normally prepared with sugar, the correct procedure would be frankly to notify the men to this effect, offer the individual men saccharine for their own use, if they choose to employ it, leave it to other men to furnish their own sugar if they wish, and not impose upon 3,000 men an artificial sweetening agent without their knowledge or consent.

During this period of time, while the authorities have been reducing the foodstuffs supplied to the camp, less and less food has been coming in from abroad, and this despite the fact that an increased number of packages came in during May as against April. Despite this increase in number of parcels, the amount of food received was reduced.

Potato Bread Rejected

During the last month a very notable deterioration in the quality of bread has been noticed; and in addition, week by week, a larger percentage has arrived in so moldy a condition as to make it unfit for food. In April the estimated loss due to poor condition was 800 packages; in May the estimated loss

has been almost one-half of the bread received.

The bread from England (which is in transit all the way from two to five weeks) has arrived in very poor condition owing to mold, 30 to 40 per cent. of it being unfit for food in April, while 80 per cent. of it was unfit for food in May. There are two English breads that always arrive in perfect condition, i. e., those of Barker and the Army and Navy Stores. Confronted with the shortage of bread, many men in the camp have attempted to use the K-bread; of these a goodly proportion report that they cannot continue its use on account of symptoms and signs of indigestion.

No relief is to be obtained from the canteen. The canteen no longer carries butter, sugar, or milk, and has practically no tinned meat of any kind. I inspected the canteen, and found it to contain only a small supply of canned vegetables and some fresh vegetables. I am advised that the canteen has reached its present low ebb because the authorities at Ruhleben are not permitted to go on the open market to purchase foodstuffs. When they apply to the higher authorities they are informed that such foodstuffs are no longer available.

Under these circumstances the men have fallen back upon their store supplies, and a number of men in the camp are at present living largely on food supplies from abroad that have been in their possession for weeks or even months. These accumulated supplies are now being rapidly reduced; when they are exhausted the men will face a critical situation.

I have attempted to determine the amount of food that comes in from abroad, but this is absolutely impossible, except by stationing a number of men at the parcels delivery to open, count, and examine the contents of 10,000 packages during a week or more.

About 1,600 of the British subjects draw relief funds. These men purchase in the canteen, or did when it contained anything they wished. They also purchase to some extent from other prisoners. As stated, not only is very little on sale in the canteen, but the prices are very high for unit food value.

In the camp is a group of some 300 or more men, who belong to a group at first termed "pro-German," but now termed "countryless," ("heimatslos.") These men were born in Germany, or have lived here since childhood; but since they were of British parentage they were technically regarded as of British citizenship, or at least not of German citizenship, though they are to a large extent German in interests and sympathies. Since these men are not upon the British relief lists, a special German relief was organized for their benefit some time ago. Through the instrumentality, and largely through the personal generosity, of Prince Max of Baden, a relief fund of considerable size was raised in order to relieve the needs of these men who were interned in the British civilian camp.

Prisoners' Dissatisfaction

Though these men receive nothing else from the outside, it is interesting to note that their sugar ration (they also receive the regular camp sugar ration) is much larger than the legal ration now authorized in Germany.

The interned men are deeply dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. It has always been their understanding that it was the policy and the intention of the German Government to supply them with a physiologically adequate ration. A review of the present ration of the prisoners of war indicates that it is the aim of the "Kriegsernährungsamt" to supply a ration which shall be physiologically adequate, though professedly containing little more than enough to cover minimal requirements; and it is believed that the official prisoners' ration contains as much as the daily food of many millions of German subjects. There is no question that the official prison ration is an adequate ration from the standpoint of animal nutrition. In addition to this allotted camp ration the prisoners possess the foods sent in from abroad as addenda.

In the case of the Russian prisoners these extra foodstuffs sent in from abroad are small in amount; in the case of the French moderate; in the case of the English large. In all the prison camps that I have visited it is the practice to prepare food for the number of men in the camp, irrespective of nationality, in accordance with the menu of Professor Backhaus. As a rule, the British prisoners take little or none of the food, and their share is eaten by prisoners of other nationalities. In Ruhleben the state of affairs at present existing has convinced the interned civilians that the situation is, so to speak, reversed; that the German authorities seem to regard the foodstuffs sent in from abroad as the regular diet of the interned men, and the camp allotments as the addenda.

Bad Housing Conditions

Later Mr. Gerard, American Ambassador at Berlin, summarized another phase of the situation at Ruhleben in the following letter to Mr. Page, our Ambassador at London:

The reports of Dr. Taylor, our expert on food questions, which have been transmitted to you, indicate in detail what are the conditions of subsistence in the camp at Ruhleben.

I regret to state that the housing arrangements of the prisoners have not been improved. At Ruhleben the prisoners are greatly overcrowded in their barracks. The imperial authorities, after two years of war, have undoubtedly had plenty of time to provide lodgings for these prisoners. It is intolerable that these educated men should be caged like animals—six in each stable stall. In some of the stalls the cots touch each other. The light is bad for reading, and reading is a necessity if these unfortunates are to be kept here through a third Winter.

In the lofts over the cattle stalls it is still worse. For example, in Barrack No. 2 a cross-section of the loft is about nine feet high in the middle, at the highest point, and the place is mansarded in such a way that the sides are only about four feet high. The floor of this part of the barn measures about thirty by forty feet.

The beds here are so close that they touch. Sixty-four men live in this narrow space. The light from the windows is so dim that the eyes of the prisoners will be seriously injured if they do not lose their sight entirely. And it cannot be doubted that this semi-obscurity will cause depression and mental troubles.

The heating system needs to be improved, and provision ought to be made for drying clothes by means of radiators, or for a drying room in each barrack. The prisoners have to respond to calls in the open air, often in the rain, and have no means of drying their soaked garments.

I learn that many things, such as soap, for instance, which are usually given even to prisoners of the common law, have never been given to the prisoners at Ruhleben. Promises have been made from time to time by various officials on the subject of improved housing. It is inadmissible that the present conditions should be maintained; they will be impossible for a third Winter.

The officials in charge of the camp—and I am convinced that they are doing all that is in their power to ameliorate these conditions—have not the authority to make the necessary reforms, but the state of things I have described must force itself upon the attention of every inspector sent by the authorities responsible for the management of the camp.

Grey Threatens Reprisals

Dr. Taylor's reports were productive of urgent notes from the British Foreign Office calling for reforms at Ruhleben and suggesting that, if Germany could not feed her prisoners, she should exchange them. The second of these notes from Sir Edward Grey, dated June 23, is here reproduced. It is addressed to Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain, and includes a threat of reprisal against Germany:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I have read with much concern the reports drawn up by Dr. A. E. Taylor of the United States Embassy at Berlin, on the food supply and nutrition at Ruhleben, which you were good enough to inclose in your notes of the 30th May and 20th ult.

It appears from Dr. Taylor's last report that the food supplied by the German authorities to the interned civilians at Ruhleben during the week ended June 14, if applied to all the men, represented less than half of the requisite food units. It also appears that much of the bread coming from outside Germany during the last month is of inferior quality or has arrived in bad condition.

In my note of the 3d ult. I had the honor to state that if the German Government are not in a position to feed the prisoners in their hands properly, it is clearly their duty to release them.

His Majesty's Government are still awaiting the reply of the German Government to their proposal that British and German civilians should be released, if over 50 and if over 45 in cases where they are unfit for service in the field, in both cases subject to the condition that there are no military reasons for their detention, and they had intended, in the event of the German Government accepting this proposal, to make a further proposal.

In view, however, of the serious state of affairs revealed in your Excellency's note, I shall be much obliged if your Excellency will request the United States Ambassador at Berlin by telegraph to propose to the German Government that the whole of the British civilians at Ruhleben shall be released in exchange for a similar number of German civilians interned in this country.

Should the German Government not accept this proposal within a week from the receipt by them of the telegraphic summary of this note, his Majesty's Government will be compelled to consider what course they should take with reference to the rations at present supplied to German civilians interned in this country.

Since that time the British blockade has tightened and the food situation in all the 2,000 or more prison camps in Germany and Austria has not improved, though arrangements for the exchange of the older prisoners have been perfected. A report sent out by the British Official Press Bureau in September says:

"Members of the last monthly batch of British prisoners released from the camp for interned civilians at Ruhleben had some terrible stories to tell when they reached London of the unnecessary cruelties inflicted on them by their jailers. They confirmed the statement in Mr. Gerard's last report that the authorities have done nothing, although they have had two years for the effort, to ameliorate the conditions of life in the horse-box dwellings which form the prison. But for the food parcels sent from England many would be starved."

A Spaniard's Life in German Prisons

By Valentin Torras y Closa

This extraordinarily interesting narrative was related by Señor Torras to the Madrid correspondent of The London Telegraph, who wrote it in English for his paper. The first half of the story, somewhat condensed, is presented below, leaving the concluding portion, with the author's escape, for publication in a later issue.

I AM a native of Manresa, in the Province of Barcelona; and I am a little more than 36 years of age. By trade I am a mechanic. I was working at Valenciennes, a town in French Flanders, close to the Belgian frontier, in the employment of a firm named Cail. I was quite happy. I earned enough; my employers showed me much consideration, and I had already saved a few thousand francs. Who would have thought that I was about to pass from that state of modest well-being to the horrors of the German camps for prisoners of war! * * *

As long as I live I shall remember the entry of the Germans into Valenciennes. It was 7:30 o'clock in the morning of Aug. 25, 1914. During the night we had heard the noise of the guns in the distance. Suddenly four shots in rapid succession made us understand that the invaders were coming. These four shots —they were not blank—had been fired at four buildings belonging to the Postal Administration. They did a lot of material damage, but I do not know if there were any victims.

After this not very tranquilizing announcement columns of helmeted men in gray began to pass along. The people watched them from behind the windows; there was scarcely a soul in the streets. As there was not a single soldier in Valenciennes the Germans met with no resistance. They installed themselves in the public buildings and published proclamations in a sort of French, threatening terrible reprisals if they were molested. The town endured the law of war in silence.

At 2 o'clock in the morning of this day there was a terrible tragedy in the vicinity of the town. To the south of Valenciennes there is a little agricultural town called Quérénaing. The distance is about three kilometers. In it a few English stragglers and a lost platoon of the Twenty-sixth French Territorials had taken refuge. There were not more than eighty men altogether. The officer who had placed himself in charge of them, perceiving German patrols on the road leading from Valenciennes, requisitioned some carts in which people were fleeing from the neighborhood and turned them upside down on the railway bridge so that the Germans, detained by this obstacle, might lose time. I know the place very well. The road is down below, and the railway above on a sort of ramp.

A Taste of Frightfulness

The German advance guard arrived, and was followed by batteries of field guns. The French and English offered a brief resistance behind the shelter of the carts, then marched toward Le Cateau. The Germans did not pursue them for long. However, a German detachment entered Quérénaing, and ascertained the names and residences of the owners of the carts. The people had not fled because, owing to the brief combat which I have mentioned, it was impossible to cross the road without receiving a bullet. They were all in the town awaiting the restoration of calm. This was their undoing. The Germans shot them all—twenty men and two women—in spite of their tears and supplications. The execution took place close to the walls of a château belonging to a retired officer, about 100 yards from the last houses of Quérénaing. Then the whole town was burned with astonishing rapidity. The Mayor was sick at the time, and could not leave his bed. He was burned alive.

We learned all this in Valenciennes, because the inhabitants of Quérénaing took refuge in our town, and we helped them as best we could. I spoke with one of the refugees, who told me that they were all astonished that the Germans had

respected the château of the retired officer. But a few days later the château was sacked by order of a German Colonel, who, if I remember rightly, was named Kentzel, or something like that. All the furniture was loaded on motors and sent to Belgium.

On Aug. 25 the Mayor of Valenciennes issued a proclamation recommending absolute order, so that the town and its inhabitants might not be punished. The advice was respected. From Aug. 26 interminable columns of troops of all arms began to pass through—infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, pontoon, and machine-gun sections. It was a human sea that covered the fields and roads. As I was a neutral, I went about to see the passing of the German armies. I was quite calm and much interested in the spectacle. Nevertheless, without saying anything, I prayed for the triumph of France, the country where I earned my bread, and for which I had much affection.

Surrender of Maubeuge

All the shops were emptied in the most meticulous and orderly manner. The Germans began sacking those places whose proprietors had fled, but they soon went on to the rest. The people, resigned, hoped for the return of the French and their allies. It was known that Maubeuge, the frontier fortress close to Valenciennes, was resisting the German siege. But on Sept. 7, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, some soldiers from its garrison arrived in the neighborhood of Valenciennes. They said Maubeuge had surrendered, and that they and a few others had managed to escape. They asked if there were many Germans in Valenciennes, and were told that there was only a detachment of 200 men, but that German troops from Belgium were arriving at every moment.

I think that about 2,000 soldiers, with guns, escaped from Maubeuge. They took the direction of Douai. A platoon of them hid in ambush near Orchies and fired at a motor car conveying a German General and his adjutants. The Germans avenged themselves by shooting many of the inhabitants of that place. They said the shots had been fired by them, and not by regular soldiers. It was about that time that the Germans shot the Curé of Maing, which is quite close to Valenciennes. The poor man was riding along the road on his bicycle, when a sentry shouted "Halt!" I do not know what happened between them. But, at any rate, a patrol brought the priest as a prisoner to the Church of Nôtre Dame de Valenciennes, and he was shut up in the sacristy for a couple of days. A German Catholic clergyman went to see him. It was believed in Valenciennes that nothing would happen to him, but he was condemned to death for espionage. The unfortunate man said that when he was seized he was going to Valenciennes to make some purchases and get news of various friends. The Mayor asked for his pardon, which was refused, and the sentence was carried out.

One evening I witnessed the following incident in the Faubourg Poirer. A German officer was riding along on a bicycle. One of the wheels broke, and the officer began to curse in his own language. Suddenly he became calm. He had seen a boy approaching, pedaling vigorously. He approached the boy, stopped him, compelled him to dismount, and rode away on the boy's cycle, leaving his own broken machine behind. But the boy began to weep, and exclaim that the bicycle was not his, that he hired it, that he had no money, and that his father would beat him. I was approaching to console him when I heard a great noise. It was the officer returning on the boy's bicycle. I thought that out of pity for the boy's despair he was going to return the machine. But things turned out differently. When the officer came close to us he shouted in French: "Shut up, apache!" and fired his revolver. The boy fell to the ground. The bullet had struck his arm. I ran to his assistance, and meanwhile the officer rode away, still on the bicycle. I did not see him again.

A Furious Officer

Three days later my misfortunes began. On Sept. 26, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, I was returning to my abode in the Faubourg de Paris. I have not mentioned that I was the only lodger in

the house of a widow. Shortly after shutting my room and stretching myself on the bed I heard loud knocking at the street door. Without knowing why, I was much alarmed. There is truth sometimes in forebodings. A German officer entered, accompanied by a patrol, and between him and me the following dialogue ensued, in French:

"You are a mechanic?"

"Yes, Sir. I was working at the Maison Cail."

"Very good. We want you. Come with me."

"Why?"

"It is not for me to give explanations."

"Pardon me, M. l'Officier, I am a citizen of a neutral country."

"That doesn't matter. We want you to work at the station, where we have put up a shop for repairing locomotives."

"I cannot obey you; I am a Spaniard. Spain is not at war with any country. Leave me here. You will be able to find other workmen."

The officer was furious. Doubtless he was not accustomed to meeting with opposition.

"You are not a Spaniard," he shouted angrily. "You are a Frenchman."

"I am a Spaniard, and I will prove it."

I opened a trunk and took out my papers. They were in order. The officer stood, fixing his eyes on me attentively.

"Very well," he said, after a few moments, "let us make an inventory of all this."

They opened my two trunks where I kept my clothes, my savings, and a few modest treasures. The whole lot was worth about 4,500 francs. The officer dictated and one of the soldiers wrote. Then the officer, taking charge of all my papers, of all I had in my pockets, and of the inventory, said: "We shall send you home through Switzerland. Follow us. We are taking you to the station."

"And my trunks?" I inquired, somewhat alarmed.

"They will also be sent to the station. My men will take charge of them."

Done as said. I bade farewell to my landlady; fortunately I owed her nothing. I had given her a little money in advance, and she still had a few francs in hand.

[After telling how he was turned over to another officer and forced into a train without his trunks, papers, or money, the author's narrative proceeds thus after his arrival at Mons the next morning:]

I got out of the train at Mons and was walking along the station, when, much to my surprise, the officer, pointing to one of the trains, full of wounded and prisoners, said:

"Get in here!"

"Why in this one? It is a military train."

"Get in at once!"

I protested. At that moment a vision of captivity passed through my mind.

"I will not get in until you return my papers and my trunks, containing all the money that I possess."

"Get in, cursed Frenchman!"

"I am not French; I am a Spaniard. This is an outrage!"

Lost Identity

People began to collect around us. The officer was irritated, and looked at me in such a way that I stepped back a few paces; I thought he was going to strike me. Probably he had an idea that I was trying to escape, for he shouted something in German, and almost instantaneously I found myself surrounded by armed soldiers. I made myself hoarse with shouting as the officer disappeared, taking my papers with him. From that horrible moment I was nobody; I could not prove my identity; I was lost.

A non-commissioned officer seized me by the arm and thrust me against the open door of a carriage. Several soldiers hoisted me in the air and threw me inside. When I recovered from my astonishment the door was shut, and outside, on the platform, two sentries stood motionless with fixed bayonets. And at that moment the train began to move. I gazed around. I was in a truck similar to those which in France and Belgium are used for the transport of cattle. The train, as I learned afterward, consisted of fifty, all of the same kind. My truck contained fifty persons —Belgian and French peasants and

wounded soldiers of the two nations. The latter were lying or squatting on straw that was stained with blood. Their wounds had received no more than a hasty dressing. Many of them were sleeping heavily and seemed to be devoured by fever. Others were talking excitedly and recounting their experiences of the war, without anybody paying any attention to them. The majority begged incessantly for water, but there was none for them. They were given an occasional draught of almost hot beer, which did not calm their constant thirst.

The doors had been locked on the outside, and the train was like an immense prison on wheels. This was the phrase of a well-dressed Belgian with gold spectacles: "We are in a rolling prison cell," he kept on repeating. And it was the truth. The peasants in the truck could not understand the reason for their capture and the journey. They had been dragged out of their houses without being given time to say farewell to their families, and had not the least notion of what the Germans intended to do with them. Many of them belonged to Valenciennes. I got into conversation with some, and related my adventures. They said that I would undoubtedly be released, because the Germans would not dare to injure a foreign subject.

The Marne Battle

The train crawled along at a tortoise pace. It stopped at every station, and waited for interminable troop trains to pass in the direction of France.

"They need all the men they can get," said one of the wounded, sitting up on the straw.

"Is that the case?" I asked.

"Yes. I was on the Marne. I saw the final. I was wounded on the Aisne, near Craonne, in an attack on a hill. The Germans took me prisoner."

He went on talking, and everybody listened to him in silence. I learned from him that there had been a great battle in Champagne, and that the Germans had retired toward the north. In Valenciennes we had not had the least news of such a notable success. Night fell, and the interminable journey continued. The Germans did not give us the least attention. There was a large escort on the train, and now and again a man went along the footboard outside looking into each wagon, one by one. We should have died of hunger but for the charity of the Belgians who, whenever it was possible, came to the stations and gave us cold meat, sweets, and fruit. The wounded had no desire to eat; they begged for water, ice, or something cooling. They were parched. Inside the truck, despite the open windows, the temperature was that of an oven.

As the wounded occupied the greater part of the space the rest of us remained standing in the most uncomfortable positions. I fell into a dream, and I believe that even in my distressing posture I slept for a few moments. During the night four German sentries were placed in each truck. They were territorials, or "Landsturm," as they are called in Germany. The four in my truck all wore spectacles or pince-nez. They seemed to be sad and weary. On the following day they were relieved by another four.

Arrival at Liege

We arrived at Liége at evening on the second day. We were given some soup, which was far from appetizing; it consisted of dirty water, in which a few indefinable things floated about. The Germans were not very generous with their table furniture. As I have said, the train consisted of fifty trucks, so fifty plates, metal plates, were distributed, one for each truck. From that plate, without spoon or fork, fifty men had to eat in turn. I had no fancy for the soup, not only because it seemed to me to be very filthy but also because I was accustomed to eat from my own plate.

We spent the night at Liége station. Our truck was an inferno and a latrine. The stench was unbearable. Some of the wounded soldiers, maddened by fever, sang the "Brabançonne" and the "Marseillaise." The guards ordered them to be silent, but the men, in their delirium, laughed in a manner that filled me with dread. Hours passed without the train moving. We saw nothing except the ar-

rival and prompt departure of other trains. Sometimes the platforms were filled with German soldiers; then they remained almost empty, and we only saw the sentries or occasionally an officer who marched along hurriedly and disappeared through a door or behind a line of carriages.

At daybreak our convoy resumed its journey. We crossed the German frontier at a place which I was told afterward was Herbesthal. "Now the worst begins," said an old Frenchman. "We have left Belgium and are in Germany. The refreshments, cigars, and chocolate are finished; the insults will begin." * * *

Storms of Insults

While we were passing through the fields we were not quite so sad, although frequently the old women and boys working in them shook their fists and threw potatoes at us. But in the stations there were always crowds of the populace, who greeted us with storms of insults. I did not understand their language, but some of the Belgians translated for us. We were qualified as cowards, traitors, pigs, and so forth. Naturally we did not reply; we pretended not to hear.

On reaching Cologne we were again locked in the wagons. The sentries marched away, and we remained alone. We thought that we would get some food, but were mistaken. After stopping for two hours we resumed our journey. We were able to notice a curious thing at Cologne. In one of the streets close to the station we perceived four men of straw suspended from the balconies, just as the figure of Judas is hanged to the arm of a lamppost in some Spanish towns at the Feast of Pentecost. But the straw figures represented French soldiers. One was dressed in the uniform of a soldier of the line, another was a Chasseur Alpin, the third was a Zouave, and the fourth an artilleryman.

So we went on, crawling across Germany, day and night. I remember that journey like a dreadful nightmare. Three days passed. We received nothing—no food, no water. No attention was paid to the wounded. We were not even allowed to cleanse the truck of the filth that covered the floor. We were in agony from the heat and nausea. I am a workman, and accustomed to live a hard life, and have much physical strength. Yet on the night of Sept. 30 I believed that I was dying. Weakness, the heat, fatigue—we were still unable to sit down—the sight of the agony of those poor soldiers, delirious and eaten up with gangrene; the evil stenches, the indignation I felt because of the outrage of which I was the victim—all these causes united to bring on a fainting fit which my companions believed was mortal. They laid me on one side, among the moribund. They could do nothing for me. All the provisions and the bottles of various drinks given to us by the charitable Belgians were exhausted. Everybody, resigned, hoped for death as a deliverance from that torture.

Zossen-Bunsdorf Prison

When I recovered from my faint some of my companions told me that, according to one of the Landsturm—when we left Cologne four guards were again placed in each truck—we were approaching the German capital. And, as a matter of fact, we reached Berlin at 3 o'clock in the morning on Oct. 1. In the train we were given café-au-lait, a slice of bread and butter, and a piece of very hard sausage. We asked for water, and a pail was put in. It was drained in a moment. But there were many of us, and the pail was small, and we were left with our thirst unquenched. The train went on, and at 5 o'clock in the morning we arrived at Zossen-Bunsdorf. We alighted, and many of us could not stand on our feet. Some of the wounded did not move, I do not know how many had died on the way, being unable to get that information. I only know that as many of us as were not seriously wounded were lined up, while the others remained for the time being in the train. I suppose they were sent to some hospital.

We crossed the town between lines of soldiers of mature age, and were also escorted by a few police. Everything was silent, and there was nobody in the streets. We only saw one woman at the door of a baker's shop, who looked at us,

making signs of astonishment. By a road passing across some level fields we finally reached the camp which was our destination. It was a vast space, bare and sandy, almost square, with sides about 1,200 meters in length. It was inclosed by very high barbed wire fences. The quarters of the commandant were in a small house, standing apart, which had belonged to a barber. There were no huts, no canvas tents—absolutely nothing except the barbed wire and the naked earth. And it was upon the bare ground that more than 15,000 men, French, Belgian, English, and Russian, slept—or gave way to despair.

Camp Without Shelter

We underwent an inspection. Each one of us was given an enameled plate, a spoon, and a blanket, and we were told to accommodate ourselves as best we could. The next morning the camp began to show some signs of animation. The prisoners rose and made the best morning toilet that circumstances would allow. Soon groups were formed, and we conversed, or walked around the camp, keeping very close to the wire and trying to see what was going on outside the inclosure. Many of the prisoners came out of curious burrows which had been dug in the sand with the help of plates and spoons. These shelters, something like big mole runs, belonged generally to groups of four or five men. To make them a few of the men, nearly always of the same nationality, formed a group, and some excavated with plates and spoons, while the others distributed the sand, the work lasting a few days. The right of each group to its burrow was scrupulously respected. There were no disputes on this matter. Nevertheless, only a few hundreds of the prisoners had their shelters; the majority slept in the open air, "à la belle étoile," as a professor of the Sorbonne with whom I struck up a friendship said.

The food on the first day (Friday) was not so bad as I had expected. But I must confess that as time went on it grew worse and worse. I have been in Zossen, Chemnitz, and Gross-Poritsch. At the last-named place those who had no money died from hunger. But later on we will come to those details, which are ever present to my mind.

Brotherhood in Misfortune

The majority of the French and Belgians, and all the English, procured food from the canteen, because they had money, and many of them lent to those who had none. There was true brotherhood in misfortune. The Russians were the most unfortunate; hardly one of them had a farthing, and they had to be satisfied with the camp ration, which consisted of coffee in the morning, rice, lentils, or pease about noon, and soup at night. The bread was bad in quality and small in quantity. Occasionally some hardly perceptible scraps of meat appeared in the rice. At the beginning of my stay in the camp this meat was beef or mutton. But after a few weeks—and this was told us by our guards—it was salted dog!

On that Friday, as soon as I was able, I made my appeal to the Commandant. He listened attentively. He spoke French well, and I speak it fluently.

"I am a Spaniard," I told him. "I have been the victim of an outrage which I can only suppose was due to a mistake. I must be set at liberty as soon as possible. I cannot prove my identity, because all my papers were taken from me at Valenciennes."

He said he would inquire into the matter. Four or five days later I was summoned to his office, and was no sooner in his presence than he addressed me severely:

"I know who you are. You are a Frenchman. You tried to deceive me. You are a Frenchman belonging to Valenciennes. The story you have told me is nothing but a pack of lies. But it is not easy to deceive a German officer."

I made an energetic protest, but he shook his head in disbelief. I begged to be allowed to write to the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin, but this was refused. "It is possible that you know Spanish," he said, "but that proves nothing. There are also Germans who know it, yet they are Germans none the less."

As I kept on protesting, he summoned a soldier, and ordered him to remove me

to the camp, which was done in the roughest possible manner. About that time I formed a friendship with two French prisoners, a Sergeant and a private. The Sergeant had been a chief of a department at the Bon Marché in Paris. The private was a lawyer, and highly educated. Both had money. As I had not a franc, for the officer who seized me at Valenciennes had left nothing but air in my pockets, they took pity on me, and, seeing that I ate nothing but the rations, they invited me to the canteen. They fed me precisely as they fed themselves. One evening they proposed that I should help them in making a shelter. The nights were beginning to grow cold, and it frequently rained. I joyfully accepted the proposal.

I had noticed that close to the camp a number of laborers were constructing a large barracks, and from them we managed to borrow a couple of spades. With these and our plates and spoons we set to work. It took us three days. We began by making a hole about five feet deep. Then we began a gallery, starting at the bottom of the hole, and drove it in a slanting direction upward until it reached the ground level. To enter the shelter we got into the hole, and then crawled along the gallery. There we lay down and slept, with sufficient discomfort, but at any rate protected from the inclemency of the weather.

A very tedious season began. Rain fell every day and our pit was filled with water. We tried to bail it out with our plates, but were rarely successful. And so in order to reach our mole-run we had to wade through that muddy water. Sometimes a pool formed at the top of the gallery and the water flooded it. Then we had to wake up and make a hurried escape. Moreover, we ran the danger of the roof of the gallery, which had no support, falling in and suffocating us. There had already been some accidents of this kind, and thus when we lay down we were never sure of waking up.

A Cruel Deception

About the middle of October the Commandant summoned me, and said he was going to send me to Switzerland, because it had been learned in Berlin that what I had said was true. Mad with joy, I asked for permission to say farewell to my two friends. With an ironical smile he granted my request. They were highly pleased over my good fortune, and gave me letters for their families.

A soldier conducted me out of the camp, and took me to a solitary house in the midst of a dismal plain, about a kilometer from the barbed wire. It was a prison. Much to my surprise and disgust, I was shut up in a very dirty room, which had a window close to the ceiling and a strip of matting on the floor. You may imagine my indignation and rage. I shouted and banged at the door, but to no purpose. A sentry was passing, rifle on shoulder, and when I made too much noise he said some words in German, which must have been threats. But I paid no heed, and would have been glad if he had shot me, so great was my anger and distress.

I spent two days there. Some food was thrown into my plate, which I could not wash, or even clean with sand, as we did in the camp. After forty-eight hours of this I was taken back to the camp. My French friends were surprised to see me again; they thought I was in Switzerland. But a few words they said gave me the key to the mystery. On the day after my imprisonment the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin, Señor Polo de Bernabé, arrived in the camp. As is well known, he was in charge of the interests of France and Russia in Germany as long as the war lasts. In the camp there was a Portuguese named Tonio Antuan, who was as badly treated as myself. I knew him, because he had worked in Valenciennes at a steel factory, if I am not mistaken. He approached the Ambassador and asked him to deliver a letter to the Portuguese Minister in Berlin. Señor Polo said he would do so, but informed the man that as his country and Germany were no longer friendly his claim might not be successful.

Some time later this Portuguese disappeared from the camp in a somewhat singular manner. In due course I will tell how at Chemnitz the Germans per-

sisted in making me pass for him. It is one of the most extraordinary episodes of my captivity, which I am still unable to explain.

"If we had known that you were in prison," said my friend, the Sergeant, "we would have told the Ambassador, even at the risk of punishment. But what could we do? We thought you were free."

Physical Sufferings

After that painful experience a monotonous life began for me, in which physical sufferings overcame the mental pangs. I don't know if I make myself clear. I mean that the rain, the cold, the damp, the dirt, the nightly dangers, left me no time to reflect on my misfortunes. I think it was better so, because otherwise I should have gone mad.

I had been given the uniform of a prisoner of war with the armlet on which was written in large letters the German word indicating the unhappy condition of those who wore it. But I had no change of linen. That which I wore fell to pieces, and was very dirty. And, even worse, there was no water in the camp except such as fell from heaven. They gave us a little, by measure, to drink. So there was none to waste on washing. When it rained heavily and small pools were formed, those nearest to them hurried to wash their faces and hands, or to wring out a shirt.

About the end of October, or the beginning of November, some soldiers who had been barbers sought permission to purchase scissors and razors in Zossen and to devote themselves to their profession in the camp. It was granted, and they arranged their shops in the open air. The prisoners, who had heads of hair and beards like savages, took it in turns to have their hair cut and their faces shaved. About that time a large hut was erected at one side of the camp, in which some 400 wounded prisoners were lodged. I managed to see it one day, saying that a friend was inside. It was a very poor place. The beds were on the floor. The wounded told me that they received scarcely any attention, and that in the pharmacy there was no more than a few packets of carbolized gauze, tincture of iodine, and some lozenges. The same place served for the prisoners who fell ill in the camp.

The 15,000 or 16,000 of us in the camp were divided into companies of 250 men. Each company was commanded by a German officer. We were guarded by about 1,000 men of the Landsturm, most of whom were perfect demons. Their most frequent action was a kick. I was kicked twice during my stay at Zossen, and on both occasions it was for approaching what the guards thought was too close to the wire fencing. At the same time those soldiers who kicked us and showered upon us at every moment the worst adjectives in the German vocabulary would buy whatever we wanted in the canteen for a small reward. They never refused, and seemed very pleased to get our orders.

Many people from Zossen came to see us, and this was not the least of our trials, because, far from showing us sympathy, they hurled the grossest insults at us, and made derisive gestures with their hands, which filled us with fury. Nevertheless, there were a few exceptions. I remember a married couple, consisting of a German and a Frenchwoman, who had pity for our lot, and on a few occasions gave us some old French newspapers which had been purchased in Berlin. I was in Zossen-Bunsdorf until Dec. 18. On that day I was transferred to another prisoners' camp, and the second part of my captivity began.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[French Cartoon]

Decay

WILLIAM: "Rumania has just declared war on you."
FRANCIS JOSEPH: "It's a good idea—"

[English Cartoon]

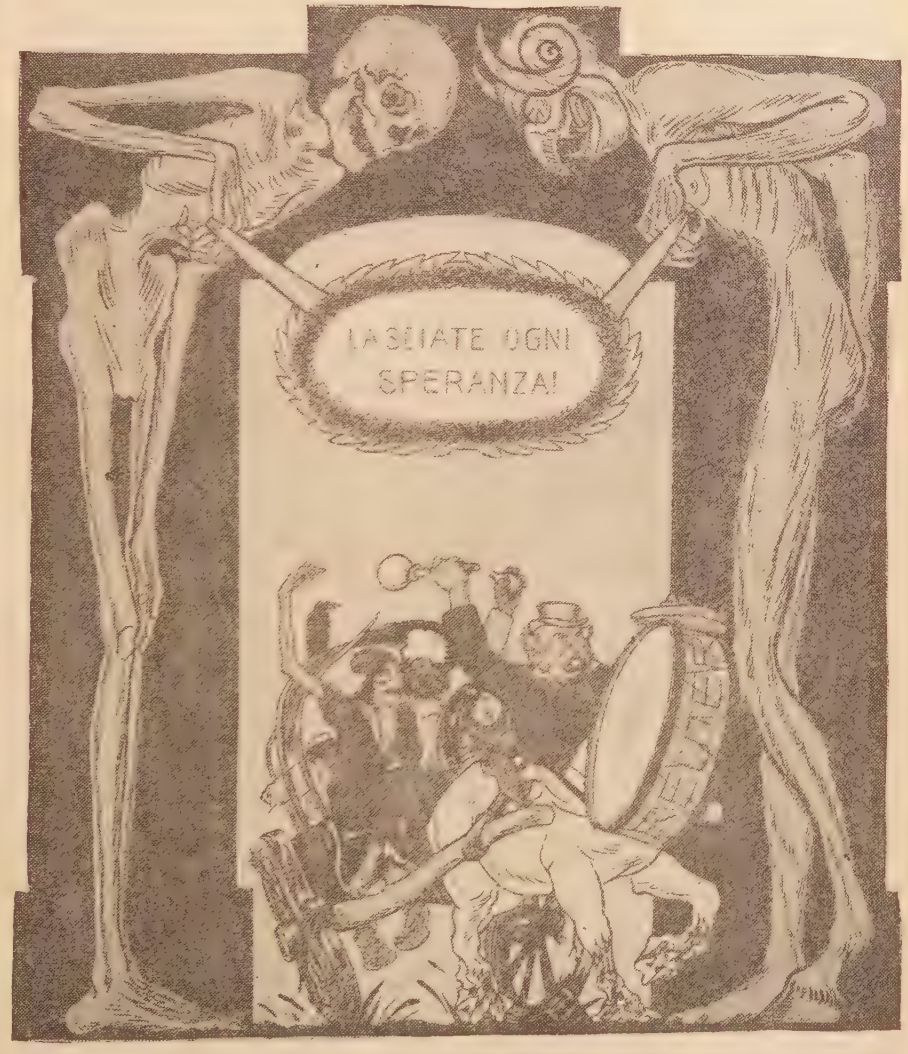
Some Question

—From The London Sketch.

THE SWEET THING: "How many m's are there in 'some,' Jack?"

[German Cartoon]

Who Enters Here Leaves Hope Behind

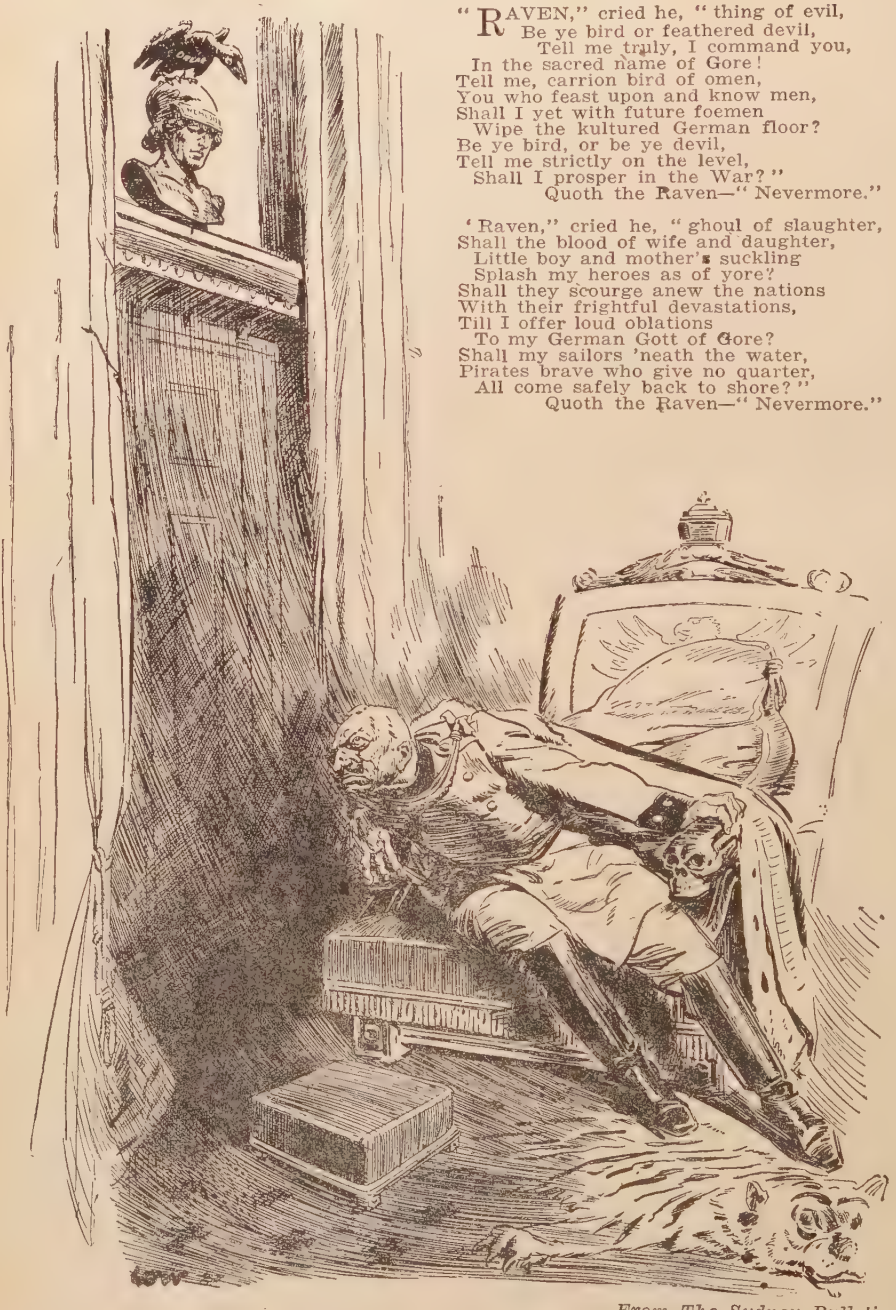


—© *Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

Entrance of the Entente into the third year of war: The door and the fools who pass through it.

[Australian Cartoon]

Quoth the Raven—



"RAVEN," cried he, "thing of evil,
Be ye bird or feathered devil,
Tell me truly, I command you,
In the sacred name of Gore!
Tell me, carrion bird of omen,
You who feast upon and know men,
Shall I yet with future foemen
Wipe the kultured German floor?
Be ye bird, or be ye devil,
Tell me strictly on the level,
Shall I prosper in the War?"
Quoth the Raven—"Nevermore."

'Raven," cried he, "ghoul of slaughter,
Shall the blood of wife and daughter,
Little boy and mother's suckling
Splash my heroes as of yore?
Shall they scourge anew the nations
With their frightful devastations,
Till I offer loud oblations
To my German Gott of Gore?
Shall my sailors 'neath the water,
Pirates brave who give no quarter,
All come safely back to shore?"
Quoth the Raven—"Nevermore."

—*From The Sydney Bulletin.*

Nevermore!

[German Cartoon]

The Mexican Expedition

—© *Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

The end of the "Mexican war"; or, the return from the wild goose chase.

[French Cartoon]

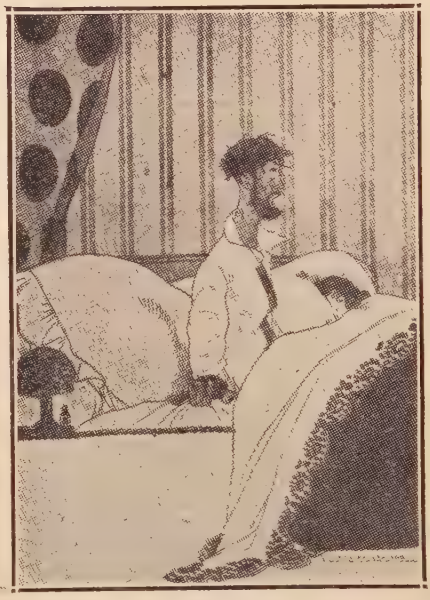
The Latest Mode

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

The Best Women of All Nations Have Adopted It.

[French Cartoon]

The Poilu's Ordeal



—From La Baionnette, Paris.

FRENCH SOLDIER, HOME ON FURLOUGH: "Ohhhh! How can one sleep in this silence!"

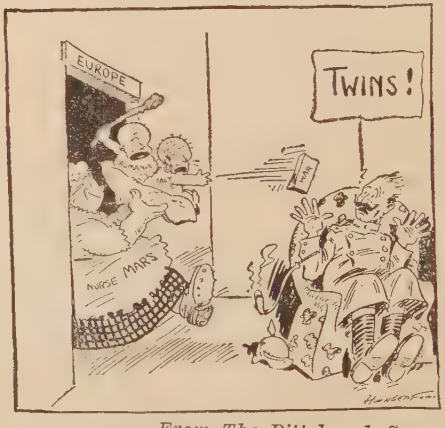
[German Cartoon]

The Seven Neutrals and the Wicked Sea Cat

UNCLE SAM: "You go first!"

[American Cartoon]

More War Babies



—From The Pittsburgh Sun.

When Italy and Rumania declared war on Germany.

[German Cartoon]

Hard to Understand

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

"Both above and below I imagined Germany to be something quite different."

[English Cartoon]

Canute the Second

—*By Raemaekers, in Land and Water.*

Germany's All-Highest bids the waves roll back.

[Russian Cartoon]

A Necessary Operation

[Pulling Turkey's German Teeth]

—From Lukomorye, Petrograd.

"Don't you dare to bite!"

[German Cartoon]

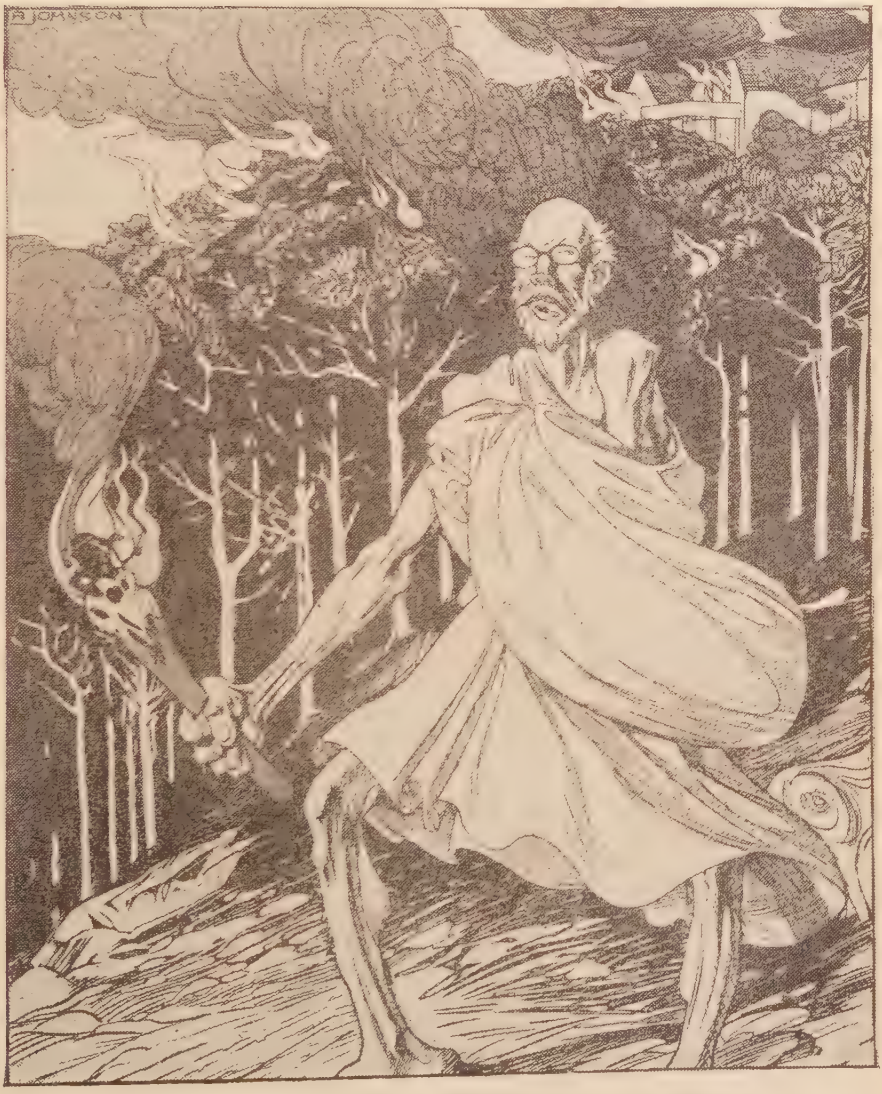
The Violation of Greece

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

The old, worn-out, but gayly caparisoned steed, "Freedom of Nations," is driven right on despite all opposition.

[German Cartoon]

The Incendiary



—© *Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

Venizelos, the Greek firebrand, mourning in the underworld because his name is remembered by posterity.

[German Cartoon]

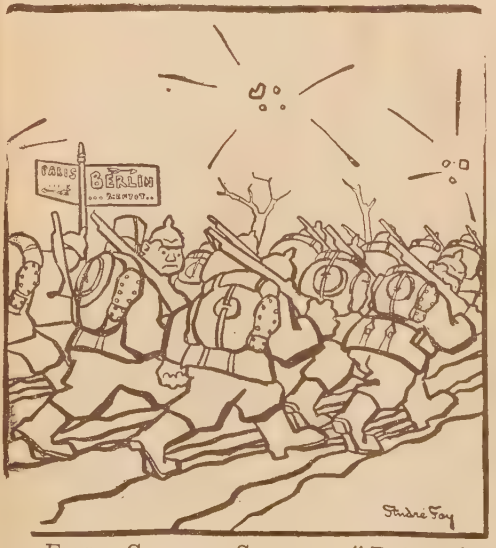
Russia's Mass Sacrifices

—© *Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

Ivan Kronos devours his own children in order to save their father.

[French Cartoon]

On the Somme



FIRST GERMAN SOLDIER: "But we're retreating!"

SECOND GERMAN SOLDIER: "Not at all, you fool; we're getting up a good speed to jump on England."

[South African Cartoon]

Rouge et Noir

—*From The Cape Times, Cape Town.*

The arch gambler is losing steadily.

[Russian Cartoon]

The Eclipse of the Crescent

—*From Boudilnik, Petrograd.*

Apropos of the allied campaign to cut off Turkish communications in the Balkans.

[German Cartoon]

A "Miss" Harvest

—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

Miss Britannia fails to get through with her mowing machine.

[French Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Repentance

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

"I did not will this!"

[Italian Cartoon]

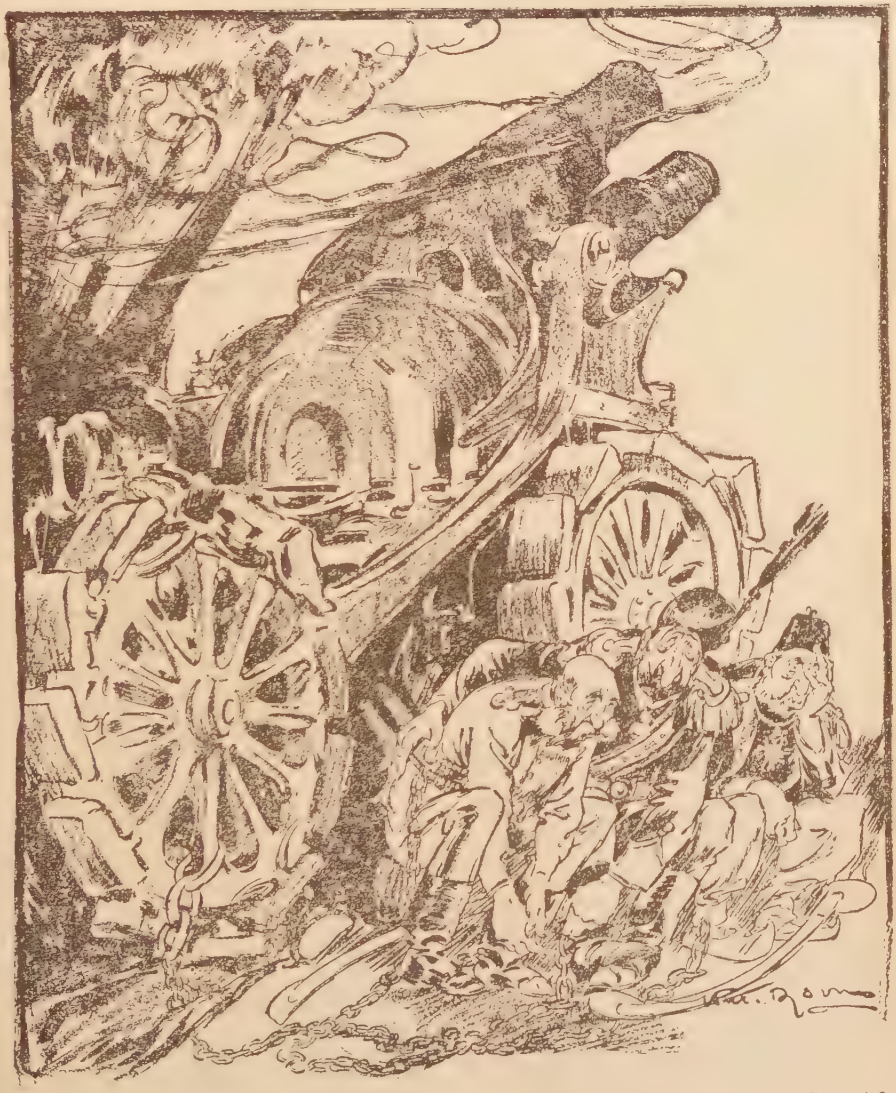
Like Master, Like Servant

—*By Sachetti, Italian Artist.*

Paintings that attracted much attention when exhibited in London.

[English Cartoon]

The War Weary



—Will Dyson in London Chronicle.

It is not only the German gunners who are chained to the gun.

[French Cartoon]

An Anxious Moment

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

WILHELM: "Come on, old chap! See friend Ferdinand smashing in the door!"
FRANCIS JOSEPH: "The ass! He's going to wake up the Greeks."

[English Cartoon]

Imperial Strategy

The Kaiser's latest observation post. —*By Will Dyson.*

[French Cartoon]

Resurrection

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

In spite of the German hawk, the Greek soul awakes at the approach of the hereditary enemy.

[German Cartoon]

Rumania

—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

The dance begins.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From September 12 Up to and Including October 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Sept. 12—Russians near the Bukowina border drive Teutons from several heights in the Bialy-Cheremosh region.

Sept. 15—Rumanians in Transylvania commence an advance across the Aluta River; Teutons recapture positions lost west of Kapul in the Carpathians.

Sept. 16—Russians resume closing-in movement on Halicz; Teutons dislodged from positions south of Brzezany; Rumanians in Transylvania occupy Fogaras.

Sept. 17-19—Germans recover territory lost near Halicz and drive back Russians on the Vladimir-Volynski and Sereth River fronts.

Sept. 20—Austrians recapture Szurduk Pass in Transylvania.

Sept. 21—Teutons in Transylvania occupy heights on both sides of Vulcan Pass; Germans in Volhynia assault Russian Stokhod positions near the Kovel-Rovno railroad.

Sept. 22—Russians occupy the summit of Smotrec in the Carpathians but are repulsed on the Stokhod.

Sept. 26—Rumanians again occupy the heights on both sides of Szurduk and Vulcan Passes.

Sept. 28-30—Germans win three-day battle at Hermannstadt, driving the Rumanian troops into the mountains.

Oct. 1—Russians begin another strong offensive north and south of Lemberg.

Oct. 3—Germans take offensive south of Dvinsk, attacking the Russians near Novo Alexandrovsk.

Oct. 5—Rumanians carry Parajd in Transylvania after three days' fighting.

Oct. 6—Rumanians withdraw from the region of Fogaras, in Transylvania, and are forced back over the Alt and Homorod Rivers.

Oct 8—Austro-Germans recapture Kronstadt and force entire Rumanian line to retreat in Transylvania.

Oct. 9—Teutons continue advance in Transylvania, capturing the town of Toerzvar and an island in the Danube.

Oct. 10—Rumanians in Transylvania driven from passes in the Hargitta and Carole Mountains.

Oct. 11—Invasion of Rumania begun by Austro-German troops; Rumanians defeated in the Alt Valley.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Sept. 12-13—French on the Somme carry trenches from Béthune to Peronne and close in on Combles.

Sept. 15—British pierce German lines on sixteen-mile front, taking the towns of Flers, Martinpuich, and Courcelette; French take positions east of Combles and reach the outskirts of Rancourt.

Sept. 17—French smash German lines south of the Somme and take Vermandovillers and Berny; British take Mouquet Farm.

Sept. 18—British take heavily fortified work between Ginchy and Bouleux Wood; French take Deniecourt.

Sept. 25—British on the Somme take the fortified villages of Morval and Les Boeufs.

Sept. 26—Allies take Combles, Thiepval, and Gueudecourt.

Sept. 28—British capture the greater part of a German redoubt north of Thiepval; Germans repulsed at Verdun in attack on Thiaumont-Fleury line.

Oct. 4—British troops north of the Somme complete the capture of Eaucourt l'Abbaye.

Oct. 7—British break the German line from the Bapaume Road southeast for ten miles; French advance northeast of Morval.

Oct. 8—Allies beat off German attacks near Les Boeufs and west of Sailly.

Oct. 10—French seize strong positions north of Chaulnes.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Sept. 12—French capture two miles of Bulgar trenches on the Macedonian front.

Sept. 13—French and Serbs drive Bulgars out of Sorovitz, near Florina.

Sept. 15—Serbs rout Bulgars east of the Cerna; French pierce their defenses east of the Vardar and British west of the river take the town of Mukukovo; Russians and Rumanians retire in Oobrujda.

Sept. 17—Serbs continue advance against the Bulgars west of Lake Ostrovo and defeat them near Kaimakcalan.

Sept. 18—Russian and French forces occupy Florina.

Sept. 19—Serbs fight on their own soil, capture Krushegrad and Neokazi, north of Florina, and take the highest summit of the Kaimakcalan Range north of Lake Ostrovo; Teutons pierce new Rumanian line in Dobrudja.

Sept. 20—Bulgars evacuate Viglista and fall back on Svesda to defend Monastir; Rumanians check the Teutons in Dobrudja.

Sept. 21—Rumanians resume the offensive in Dobrudja and drive Teuton and Bulgar forces back toward the Bulgarian frontier.

Sept. 22—Serbs on the Brod River advance to Urbani.

Sept. 24—British occupy Jenmita on the west bank of the Struma and attack Kara-Dzakovbala; Serbs begin attack at Starkovgrob.

Oct. 1—British break Bulgarian line on the Struma south of Orljak and take two fortified villages.

Oct. 2—Rumanian troops cross the Danube and invade Bulgaria between the fortress of Rustchuk and Tutrakan, flanking Mackensen's army; Serbs occupy the village of Kotchovie, north of Kaimakcalan.

Oct. 3—Bulgars abandon their line along the Brod River and in the region of Starkovgrob and are retreating northward.

Oct. 4—Rumanians that flanked Mackensen forced by encircling attack to retreat back into Rumania; Serbs cross the Cerna River and reach the Monastir Railroad.

Oct. 5—Allies occupy two more villages on the way to Monastir; British gain the whole of Yenikeui.

Oct. 6—British occupy village of Nevolyen.

Oct. 7—French troops on the Macedonian front occupy the town of German on Lake Presba; British occupy five villages on the east bank of the Struma; Russians take Kara Baka and Besaul in Dobrujda.

Oct. 8—French take the Baba Mountains and occupy Kisovo; Serbs push on toward Monastir.

Oct. 9—Serbs cross the Cerna River in two places; British take three more villages on the Struma front.

Oct. 10—British occupy five more villages on the Struma front and force Bulgars to retreat to the hills northwest of Seres; Italian Army from Avlona resumes advance in Albania along the road to Monastir.

Oct. 11—British take two more towns; French take the first line on the Doiran front.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Sept. 12—Italians beat off Austrian attacks between Vallarsa and the head of the Posina Valley.

Sept. 14—Italians take important positions in the Zara Valley.

Sept. 15—Italians begin new offensive on the Isonzo front, with Trieste as the objective.

Sept. 16—Italians take important positions on the way to Trieste in the Carso region.

Sept. 22—Austrians blow up the summit of Monte Cimone.

Sept. 25—Italians storm the peak of Monte Cauriol.

Sept. 26—Austrian counterattacks on Monte Sief repulsed with heavy losses.

Sept. 27—Italians occupy a high position between Menari and Tovo, near Cimone.

Oct. 1—Austrians driven from the slopes of Monte Lagazuoi.

Oct. 4—Austrians repulsed in the Travignolo-Avisio Valley.

Oct. 7—Italians seize a mountain peak over 8,000 feet high at the head of the Vanoi Cismon Valley.

Oct. 10—Italians storm Austrian positions on the slopes of Monte Pasubio and advance toward Rovereto.

Oct. 11—Italians break Austrian lines north of the Vepacco River and advance in the Trentino south of Rovereto to the southern slopes of Mount Roite.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

Sept. 12—Turks check Russian offensive in the Ognott sector of Turkish Armenia.

Oct. 5—Russians suddenly resume their offensive west of Trebizond and capture a strongly fortified position in the River Kara Burnu region.

Oct. 7—Russians capture fortifications of Petra Kala on the Black Sea coast, forty-five miles west of Trebizond.

Oct. 11—Russians in the Caucasus dislodge Turks from mountain slopes and gain the right bank of the River Karshutdarasi.

AERIAL RECORD

In two days of unusual activity on the western front, Sept. 23 and 24, fifty-two aeroplanes were destroyed in France. The Germans brought down twenty-four, the Allies twenty-eight.

A fleet of twelve Zeppelins attacked the eastern counties of England on the night of Sept. 23. Two machines were brought down, thirty-eight persons were killed and 125 hurt. On the night of the 25th a fleet of seven Zeppelins made another raid, killing thirty-six persons and injuring twenty-seven. A third raid was made in the early morning of Oct. 1, and another Zeppelin was brought down. One man was killed.

NAVAL RECORD

Thirty-six vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been sunk in the war zone during the month, in addition to eleven British fishing steamers and eleven Belgian lighters.

The Cunard liner Franconia, used for transport duty, was torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea.

The French auxiliary cruiser Gallia, used as a transport, has been sunk by a submarine.

Two German submarines were sunk in the Arctic Ocean on Oct. 9 by a Russian torpedo boat, following an attack on the Russian wireless station at Sepnavolak.

The German submarine U-53 entered the harbor of Newport on the afternoon of Oct. 7, stayed a few hours, and sailed away. During the morning of Oct. 8 it ravaged shipping off the cost of the United States, sinking the British freighters Strathgena and West Point, the Dutch freighter Blommersdijk, the Norwegian freighter Christian Knudsen, and the British passenger liner Stephano, which carried a number of American citizens. The crews and passengers were given time to take to their small boats.

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. V.—No. 3 December, 1916

25 Cents a Copy
$3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH	An Editorial Survey	385
THE WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES:		
The Conflict Enters a New Phase: German View	By H. H. von Mellenthin	395
The Month's Military Developments: American View	By J. B. W. Gardiner	400
THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME IN DETAIL. IV.	By M. Ardouin-Dumazet	404
ACTIVITIES OF GERMAN SUBMARINES		410
The Voyage of the Deutschland	By Captain Paul Koenig	437
NEW WAR METHODS AND VICTORY	By Winston Spencer Churchill	413
THE PROFIT SIDE OF WAR	By Charles Johnston	416
BRITAIN'S DAUGHTERS AT DANGEROUS TASKS	By Hall Caine	423
ON THE BATTLEFIELDS OF PICARDY	By Count Ferri-Pisani	426
A NIGHT BATTLE AND A CLOSE CALL	By Harry C. Collins	432
ITALY AND THE PINCH OF WAR	By Dr. Bruno Roselli	440
AUSTRALIA'S DEFEAT OF CONSCRIPTION	By Spencer Brodney	446
Human Losses in the First Two Years of the War		450
THE WAR'S ORIGIN AND LASTING PEACE	Address by Viscount Grey	454
The German Chancellor's Reply to Viscount Grey		459
AN ITALIAN DIPLOMAT'S PART IN THE WAR	By Gabriel Hanotaux	463
The Responsibility for the War	By Tommaso Tittoni	465
Karl Liebknecht's Arraignment of Germany		469
GERMANY'S PROMISE TO POLAND: Proclamation by the Central Powers		470
Poles Under German Rule	By N. L. Piotrowski	473

Contents continued on next page

Copyright, 1916, by The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved. Entered at the Post Offices in New York and in Canada as second class matter.

CONTENTS—*Continued*

PAGE

FORCING BELGIANS TO WORK IN GERMANY: Statements by von Bissing and Mercier 478

Treatment of German Soldiers by the French: A German Countercharge . . 483

The Evacuations of Lille: Official German Reply to Charges 485

The Facts Regarding Louvain: Semi-official Belgian Statement 488

BRITISH REPLY TO AMERICAN PROTEST AGAINST TRADE BLACKLIST . 489

Sweden's Fight for Neutrality 493

THE PARTITION OF KAMERUN . . . Gustave Babin in L'Illustration 496

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR:

PAGE

WHERE HEROES SLEEP IN FRANCE . . 501
A Scotsman's Tribute.

"BUT WE SHALL LIVE FOREVER" . . 502
A Soldier's Last Letter.

"BANTAMS AND BLEUETS" 503
By a Russian Journalist.

PAGE

MY EXPERIENCE AT THE FRONT . . 504
By Sarah Bernhardt.

DIARY OF A FRENCH WAR PRISONER IN GERMANY 506

AN INTERNED BELGIAN'S STORY . . . 508
Letter by René Bourgeois.

TYPICAL GERMAN WAR SURGERY . . . . By Dr. H. M. Richter 512

THE WAR DOCTOR'S PERILOUS TASK . Lord Northcliffe in London Times 514

German Trench Villages Forty Feet Under Ground 519

A SPANIARD'S LIFE IN GERMAN PRISONS 522

ITALY, PRUSSIA, AND AUSTRIA, 1866-1916 . . By Alfredo Comandini 531

Austrian Red Book on Rumania's Entrance Into the War 533

THE INVASION OF TURKEY . . . . . By James B. Macdonald 536

Turkish Foreign Minister's Defense of Armenian Massacres 544

Siege and Surrender of Kut-el-Amara: General Lake's Report . . . 545

ACTIVITIES OF THE JAPANESE NAVY . . Japanese Admiralty Report 550

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS . 27 Cartoons, All Nations 555

PROGRESS OF THE WAR . . . . . Chronology to Nov. 12 575

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

HISTORIC PORTRAIT OF KAISER . . *Frontis*
MOTHER OF GENERAL VON MACKENSEN 385
RUINS OF COMBLES VILLAGE 400
FRENCH SOLDIERS IN REVIEW 401
POETRY OF WAR IN PICARDY 416
VILLAGE NEAR FRENCH FRONT . . . 417
ITALIAN ALPINI CHARGING 432
BURSTING OF GIANT SHELL 433

PAGE

BINDING THE ENEMY'S WOUNDS . . 464
RED CROSS CORPS AT WORK 465
TRANSPORTING BRITISH WOUNDED . . 480
RAILWAY AMBULANCES 481
CAPTAIN BOELKE 512
GENERAL DE WITTE 513
GENERALS FOCH AND FAYOLLE . . . 528
AMIENS CATHEDRAL IN ARMOR . . . 529

CREATOR OF THE GERMAN FLEET

This Portrait of the Kaiser Appeared in a Leading German Magazine After the Battle of Skagerrak. Copies of It Recently Reached America on the Deutschland.

(© *Illustrirte Zeitung, Berlin.*)

MOTHER OF GENERAL VON MACKENSEN

She Is Holding a Newspaper Portrait of Her Famous Leader of the German Offensive in Dodrudja.

(© *Underwood & Underwood.*)

CURRENT HISTORY
A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES
DECEMBER, 1916

THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES

Progress on All Fronts

THE war situation in the past month has inclined somewhat favorably to the Allies. The British and French made advances in France, the latter having executed a brilliant and effective stroke in the recapture of Forts Douaumont and Vaux, with many prisoners and much equipment. By this feat the French regained in a few hours what cost the Germans eight months and 600,000 men; moreover, it definitely dispelled any illusions the Germans may have cherished as to the ultimate fall of Verdun, and proved a new inspiration to the French. Along the Somme and Ancre both French and English made several effective thrusts into the German inner lines, and advanced two or three miles along an extended front.

In the Balkans the fortunes of war swayed from side to side. The armies of the Central Powers made a formidable advance into Rumania, capturing the important City of Constanza and reaching a point nearly fifty miles within the Rumanian border; but early in November this advance was checked, and then changed into a retreat. At this writing the Teutonic forces have been driven back thirty miles, and one wing of Mackensen's army is in grave danger of being caught between two strong Russian armies. The Serbians, with French assistance, have achieved success along the Cerna, and have recaptured a considerable area of their own territory. By Nov. 16 their forces, co-operating with the Franco-Russo-Italian army to the west of them, had driven the enemy back over the Bistritza River, and on Nov. 19 they captured Monastir. Greece seems to have grown quieter, and has accepted the domination of her affairs by the Entente Powers. The independent movement under Venizelos is making further progress with allied assistance.

Italy has scored a distinct success on the Carso plateau and is now within striking distance of Trieste, which seems destined ultimately to fall into Cadorna's hands.

There has been sanguinary fighting all along the eastern front, from Riga to the Carpathians. The advance of the Russians has been checked, and they have met with some reverses; the fighting in the vicinity of Halicz has been particularly severe, and the advantage seems to rest with the Germans, for the moment, but the bloody struggle still continues. No important events are chronicled in Asia Minor, but the British are completing the capture of German East Africa.

There were no important naval engagements, but the month brought a renewal of German submarine activities with great losses to English and neutral shipping. Several large steamships with Americans aboard have been torpedoed; but the Germans assert that in each instance the vessels either offered resistance or attempted to escape. The merchant submarine Deutschland again crossed the Atlantic and reached New London safely with a cargo of dyestuffs and securities valued at several million dollars. It was reloaded with a cargo

of rubber, nickel, and copper, and quietly left port before daylight on Nov. 17. A few hours after leaving, while passing through the narrow opening of Long Island Sound, the submarine rammed one of its convoying tugs; the tug was sliced in two, and immediately sank with five of its crew. The Deutschland was slightly damaged and at once returned to port. She is expected to resume her voyage before Dec. 1.

Peace Prospects Remote

The prospects of peace made no appreciable improvement during the month. The speeches of the German Chancellor and the British Foreign Minister, printed elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, offer no hope of an early solution. A feeling is manifest at Washington that the re-election of President Wilson may encourage him at an early day to take the initiative in suggesting a conference of the belligerent powers, with a view to discussing possible terms of peace, but the surface indications give slender hope that any mutual basis can be reached until the war enters a new phase.

While all the powers undoubtedly desire to end the struggle, their aims are so widely divergent and their hatreds so implacably fixed that further exhaustion must ensue before peace can come in sight. A significant passage in Viscount Grey's blacklist reply, printed elsewhere in these pages, indicates that Great Britain is preparing for a long struggle, the duration of which cannot be now foreseen.

Germany also is clearly of the same opinion, as is shown by the announcement on Nov. 15 of the proposed introduction of compulsory nonmilitary service. Major Gen. Groener, former Chief of Military Railways, has been given supreme control of all German industries and economic resources. It is understood that he will at once proceed to organize all the man power and woman power in the empire, so that every ounce of potentiality may be employed, and every available man capable of bearing arms may be released from industrial service and sent to the front.

General Fayolle, in Command on the Somme Sector

AFTER the first days of fighting on the Somme front, last July, General Fayolle, who commands the French forces there, declared that victory was certain, if the Entente forces continued to pursue it "with energy and method." The two words, the two qualities, are characteristic of the man. Energy and method General Fayolle practices himself and demands from all his subordinates. A General of Artillery, he recognizes the fact that artillery plays the essential rôle in the war today; he asks for the best guns obtainable, and he asks for the greatest results from his guns. He is in particular a master of the correlation of artillery with infantry, which has gone so far, in the French Army, that the protecting "curtain of fire" moves just far enough ahead of the advancing infantry to secure them against the spray of the bursting shells, and no further.

First, the heavy guns must smash the obstacles in the way of the infantry; then, under cover of the curtain fire, the infantry must reach exactly the objective assigned to every battalion, to every company. But it is not enough to destroy the trenches, the troops of the enemy; there remain his guns. And the best way to guard one's infantry against the enemy's guns is to make a direct attack on these guns and put them out of commission. Therefore General Fayolle has developed the organization of his "counterbatteries," whose sole objective is the guns of the enemy. He always insists that the greatest successes gained by his men are due to his domination of the enemy's guns by his own counterbatteries.

When, in crossing the field of battle, as he daily does, he notices the enemy's shells falling more thickly than usual, he immediately asks: "What are my counterbatteries doing?" And he requires a sufficient answer. General Fayolle always desires to see exactly what his guns are accomplishing. He goes to the batteries, asks what their objective is, inquires into the sighting,

the number of hits; he demands exact answers, and is no friend of zone fire or of fire not accurately controlled. He holds, in a word, that it would be foolish to ask for energy and method, unless he himself daily set the example of both. A man of 64, almost of an age with Joffre, General Fayolle is one of the most noteworthy men in the French Army.

Mackensen and Sakharoff in Dobrudja

THE outstanding fact in the Dobrudja fighting in November was the appearance of General Sakharoff to command the Russo-Rumanian troops then retreating before Field Marshal von Mackensen. Sakharoff was one of the four able Generals fighting under General Brusiloff, (Kaledin, Sakharoff, Stcherbatoff, Letchitsky,) and had greatly distinguished himself on the sector facing Lemberg. His transfer to Dobrudja shows that Russia holds this to be a very important fighting zone. Without doubt, very considerable forces, both of men and guns, went with him, crossing the Danube by pontoon bridges at Braila or Galatz, where Russia built pontoon bridges in the war of 1877, while Dobrudja was still Turkish territory.

Now, Sakharoff's forces, based on Ismailia, Reni, Galatz, and Braila, are only from 50 to 75 miles from their bases; but it is difficult to name any real base for Mackensen's army nearer than Germany, that is, some 1,000 miles off, by way of Sofia, Nish, Belgrade, and Hungary; at no nearer point, it would seem, can Mackensen get large supplies of heavy guns and the shells to load them with, and these are the backbone of his campaign. Food, in no very large quantities, he may get from Bulgaria or Turkey; but, without heavy guns and large calibre shells, he cannot go on fighting. And he can get them only over a thousand miles of railroad, much of which is only a single track.

This would seem to place an enormous advantage of position in the hands of the Russian commander, whose efforts may easily be supplemented by attacks on both of Mackensen's wings, from the Danube flotilla, on the west wing, and from the Black Sea Fleet on the east. The dispatches leave us a good deal in the dark as to what has really happened on the Danube. There have been suggestions of Russian crossings along the line of the Czernavoda Bridge, only a short section of which may have been cut, and also further south, at a point nearer Silistria. And there are reports of artillery duels across the river both at Silistria and at Turtukai, both of which may mean preparation for a Russian crossing.

It will be remembered that in 1877 the Russians crossed the Danube by pontoon bridges at two points, first clearing the great river of Turkish monitors and gunboats, and then protecting their pontoon bridges by stringing chaplets of contact mines across the river above and below each pontoon bridge. The artillery duels at Silistria and Turtukai may well be the prelude of a similar manoeuvre; if so, then a considerable Russo-Rumanian force may at any moment appear well in the rear of Mackensen's army, and cut that thin and perilously long line of supplies. In this case, Mackensen's position would be almost desperate; it might involve the loss, or surrender, of his entire army, which must already have lost very heavily, and which can only be reinforced with the utmost difficulty—if it can be reinforced at all. Before the new year we shall probably see developments in Dobrudja which may well be decisive for this part of the campaign.

The Fall of Monastir and Its Consequences

DECEMBER would seem to be the decisive month in Balkan fighting. In the early Winter of 1877 the Russians won the great victory of the Shipka Pass, fought in the midst of blizzards, and December saw Turkey practically knocked out as a military power. In the Balkan war of 1912 the allied kingdoms reduced Turkey to impotence in December and effectively ended the war. The present month may see an equally decisive turn in the Macedonian campaign in a rapidly unfolding series of events, of which the fall of Monastir is likely to be the key.

To understand why, with a battle line of some 150 miles, General Sarrail has

been directing practically the whole of his effort against the Monastir corner of the line, we must gain some insight into the position of the mountain chains which determine the shape of the Macedonian battlefield, and thus practically compel a certain line of strategy. The mountain formation is somewhat as follows: There are three important mountain chains running almost north and south; the western chain, which separates Albania from Macedonia, runs down into Greece, with the classic name of Pindus. The central chain runs down to the eastern coast of Greece, through Mount Olympus, and forms the coast of Thessaly. The valley of the Upper Cherna ("Black River") lies between these two chains, and Monastir dominates this valley. The third, the eastern chain, runs southward from the Balkan ridge, and branches out into the three prongs of the Chalcidike peninsula, of which Mount Athos is the eastern prong. Between the second and third north-and-south chains runs the great Vardar River, reaching the sea near Saloniki. The Struma River flows beyond the third chain.

Now, it happens that there is a break in the central chain a little to the south of Monastir, and through this break the Cherna flows, bending northward, and entering the Vardar some thirty miles north of the present Bulgarian line on the Vardar. Let us suppose, then, that the composite force under General Sarrail should complete the present movement and occupy the whole of the Monastir Valley. It could then do one of two things—it could push on up to the head of that valley and through the pass at its head, coming down upon the Belgrade-Saloniki railroad, some 140 miles north of Saloniki; or it could move along the Cherna and reach the Vardar thirty miles behind the Bulgar lines. In either case the whole Bulgar army on its present line would be trapped, and its main line of supplies cut, unless it had meanwhile withdrawn all along the line for a distance of thirty miles. The English force would meanwhile advance up the Struma Valley, on the direct road to Sofia.

It seems, therefore, that Sarrail's conception is brilliant and likely to succeed; he may either, by the present flanking movement, force the Bulgar army back thirty miles, away from their prepared positions, or, better still from his point of view, he may be able to get behind them, cut their line of supplies, and catch them in a trap. For these reasons, it seems likely that the present struggle in the Monastir Valley may bring about a series of very rapid and decisive military events within a comparatively short time, and that the new year may see the turning point of the whole Macedonian campaign.

A Forgotten Factor: The Natural Wastage of Armies

IN most of the calculations regarding the duration of the war based on the total available forces of the belligerents and on their admitted or estimated losses, one very important factor is left out of the reckoning, namely, the natural wastage to which all armies are subject, in time of peace, through forces which continue to be operative during war also, and which are wholly independent of the total of losses due to war, whether through death, wounds, sickness, or capture. This factor may be illustrated as follows: Taking the German Army as an example, because the figures relating to it are both full and accessible, we find that the total of the peace army—the army with the colors at any time during a period of peace—is about 800,000; as the greater number of these men served with the colors for two years, it is clear that about 400,000 recruits were added to the German Army year by year.

After two years' service these men enter the reserve, serving five years there. There follow twelve years in the Landwehr, or Second Line Army, by which time the men have reached the age of 39. From 39 to 45 they are in the Landsturm, a home defense force. Of Landsturmers, there were, in 1912, 600,000 men who had spent two years with the colors; that is, 100,000 for each of the six years. In other words, of the 400,000 new men of the age of 20 added to the German Army each year, three-quarters, or 300,000, were gone by the

time they had reached the age of 45, and this, through causes ceaselessly operative in time of peace, but which continue, side by side with the war losses in time of war—by sickness, accident, death—in a word, by natural wastage.

If we add five years, it is clear that by the time 50 is reached the whole 400,000 are gone, so far as their fighting value is concerned; nine-tenths of them have actually joined "the great reserve." So it follows that if we take the whole period from 20 to 50 the yearly wastage of a standing army is exactly equal to the yearly number added as recruits; in other words, we may cancel the gains by the losses; the added recruits are just enough to make up those losses which have nothing to do with war.

The same thing, of course, holds good of the "peace army," the workers in munition factories and all other workers behind the fighting line. Therefore it follows that, for each country, there is a maximum which cannot be exceeded, except through the general growth of the population, and this, of course, will only take effect after twenty years. The male children born this year become "Kanonenfutter" only twenty years hence.

Now, the maximum for Germany in 1912 was about 10,000,000, of whom 4,000,000 were trained and 6,000,000 untrained. And, while the total losses must be deducted from this number, the yearly additions of new recruits must not be added to it, since they are exactly balanced by natural wastage—by sickness and natural deaths. If, then, Germany has hitherto lost 4,000,000 men, the maximum now available is 6,000,000; of these 2,500,000 would seem to be on the western front, 1,000,000 or more on the Russian front, and, possibly, 500,000 more in the Balkan Peninsula. This would absorb 4,000,000 more, leaving 2,000,000 reserves—the maximum possible, which cannot be increased, and from which all future losses must be directly subtracted, while no additions may be made. With losses of 200,000 a month, these would last ten months. The same principle of reckoning will, of course, apply to all belligerent nations.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

The Russian Empire and the Polish Question

TWO pronouncements by the heads of the Czar's Government have recently been cabled to this country, both of which are of the highest importance. The first concerns the question of a separate peace between Russia and the Teutonic powers, the declarations about which, by the President and Vice President of the Duma, were recorded in our last issue. These are now supplemented by a formal and forcible declaration of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who distinctly says that all these rumors of a separate peace to be made by Russia are deliberately manufactured by the enemies of the Entente, who are seeking to sow suspicion among the Allies and to disintegrate their coalition. The Russian Foreign Minister declares, as the Emperor himself has repeatedly declared, that Russia has only one policy—to stand by France and England and to fight the war to a victorious conclusion.

At the outset, the Emperor of Russia declared that Russia would not cease fighting so long as there was a single enemy on Russian soil. Since by far the largest part of the Russian Empire occupied by troops of the Central Powers is constituted by the Kingdom of Poland, of which the Emperor of Russia is at present the legal sovereign, this naturally involves the whole question of Poland and of Polish autonomy, as involved in the declarations recently made at Warsaw by the Central Powers concerning the creation by Germany and Austria of an autonomous Kingdom of Poland. On this subject the Russian Government has recently made a very important declaration. The Teutonic proposal, Russian Ministers say, is obviously not made in

good faith, for two reasons—first, because, while including that portion of Poland which is legally a part of the Russian Empire, it does not include the equally Polish provinces which are now part of Germany and Austria. The Central Powers, says Russia, are very generous with what does not belong to them, but show no intention of giving up what does belong to them. So that the Teutonic proposal does not really intend a genuine reconstruction of Poland at all.

Further, the Russian Government declares, this proposal is obviously in bad faith, because the first proclamation was followed not by the announcement of a constitutional government for Poland, not even by the choice of a King for the new kingdom, but by a call for volunteers—to fight in defense of Poland; that is, to fight against Russia. This is, therefore, in the opinion of the Russian Government, the real aim of the whole movement, while the creation of an autonomous Poland is a delusion and a trick. And this purpose, say the Russians, which would range Poles—legally subjects of the Russian Empire—in battle against the Russian Empire, is a glaring breach of international law. Poles so fighting would be guilty of treason, and, if taken prisoners of war, would be dealt with not as prisoners of war, but as traitors. An important consequence of this action of the Central Powers would seem to be that, by creating a new cause of hostility in Russia, it makes permanently impossible the conclusion of a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers; or, what amounts to the same thing, it demonstrates that the Central Powers have finally given up all hope of concluding such a separate peace.

* * *

Ireland and the War

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on Oct. 18, John Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalists, drew attention to the fact that Ireland had contributed 157,000 men—all volunteers—to the armies of the Allies; of these 95,000 were Roman Catholics and 62,000 Protestants, while there were 10,000 more Irishmen in the navy, making an Irish force of 167,000 men in all, and that they were drawn from every part of Ireland—north, south, east, and west. It will be remembered that immediately before the war Sir Edward Carson had organized the Ulster Volunteers, and that the south and west had answered by organizing the Nationalist Volunteers. Mr. Redmond pointed out that 30,000 of these Nationalist Volunteers had joined the British Army. Mr. Redmond, who was making a plea for a fuller trust in the Irish spirit, said, in conclusion:

> What I feel about these Irish soldiers is that by their gallant deeds they have already won a new place for Ireland before the world, a new place in the policy and councils of the empire. My conviction is that it is for Ireland in her own interests to keep that place, and it is for the empire in the empire's interests to enable her and to help her to keep it. How? By removing once and for all this fog of bad faith and bad management and by settling Ireland on a basis of freedom and responsibility. I put on one side for the moment the question of conscription for Ireland. All I will say at this stage—we may have to speak about it later on—is that it would not be a remedy but an aggravation, and I cannot bring myself to believe that any man responsible for the government of Ireland, either in the civil or in the military sphere, would at this moment recommend it. * * * Let the Government take their courage in both hands and trust the Irish people once and for all by putting the Home Rule act into operation, and resolutely on their own responsibility facing any problems that that may entail. * * * As one who has honestly done his best, and is prepared to continue honestly doing his best, no matter what the risk to his popularity, to help you to win this war, I do beg the Government to hearken seriously to my warning and advice.

* * *

Assassination of Austria's Premier

THE Austrian Premier, Count Stuergkh, was assassinated on Oct. 20, 1916, while at dinner in the Hotel Meissl und Schadn at Vienna, by Dr. Friedrich Adler, who shot him three times. The assassin, who is 32 years old, is a son of Dr. Victor Adler, a Reichsrat Deputy and a Socialist of a mild type. The son, Friedrich, confessed that his motive in killing the Premier was purely political. The assassin held very radical views, and in consequence his father and he were not on amicable terms. It is believed that he was partially unbalanced. The

crime was doubtless precipitated by the Premier's action with relation to the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, which he had refused to convoke since its adjournment in 1914.

Former Prime Minister von Koerber has been appointed to the place thus made vacant. He is regarded as decidedly Pan-Germanistic in his views. Count Adam Tarnowski has been appointed Austrian Ambassador to the United States in succession to Dr. Dumba, whose recall was demanded in consequence of his relation to activities in this country against the Allies. Dr. Dumba died suddenly early in November.

* * *

Women Doing Men's Work

OFFICIAL reports in England show that up to July, 1916, 766,000 women had directly replaced males in general occupations other than nursing and domestic service. It is believed that this number will be increased to nearly 1,000,000 by the first of the new year. The London Times, in commenting on the new tasks for women, says:

There are women employed on the Tyne as blacksmiths' strikers; they are at the fires doing tool fettling and light blacksmith's work and at the power hammer. Women are loading and discharging trucks and weighing material in a sulphur and copper works, and in timber yards they are molding and turning and carrying timber from the trucks. In a motor garage they are washing cars and changing and removing tires. A number of women are employed in a sheet iron works making gunpowder kegs. They do all the work—making the kegs, painting, and packing them. For another firm they are loading picric acid, cleaning the nitrating house, filling and emptying whizzer, and drying and sieving. In a cordite factory they are at work on small cordite presses with men overseers—work which some firms had definitely stated they could not do. The corporations of Hastings and Brighton have women as chair attendants, and in a scientific workshop women are now engaged in assembling the parts of barometers and compasses.

* * *

A Food Dictator for England.

ENGLAND is taking steps to safeguard her food supplies. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, announced in Parliament Nov. 15 that a food controller would be appointed, with full power over all departments concerned in food supplies. He added that if this measure was insufficient, it might become necessary to have recourse to food tickets. Aside from its relation to the food situation, the announcement is regarded as a significant demonstration that Great Britain is expecting protracted hostilities. Retail prices of food in England are 78 per cent. higher than before the war, 27 per cent. higher than a year ago. Eggs, fish, potatoes, and sugar are double the ante-bellum prices.

France also has begun a series of war economies. A Government edict invests a national board with powers to stop waste and compel economies in the use of coal, light, and provisions. Shops must begin closing at 6 P. M., restaurants and cafés must close at 9:30 P. M., theatres and operas must close on Mondays, motion-picture shows on Tuesdays, café concerts and music halls on Wednesdays; additional closing days may be named to reduce the consumption of coal for lighting.

* * *

German Socialists' Attitude.

AN illuminating revelation of the real attitude of German Socialists with respect to war is made in an important work just published by the German Socialists under the title, "Die deutsche Sozial-demokratie in und nach dem Weltkriege," by Konrad Haenisch, Member of the Prussian Diet. He completely destroys the illusion generally pervading this country that German Socialists are opposed to war. He says that behind the majority of the Socialists stand "millions of members of the German trade unions in compact mass. Almost unanimously they approve of the policy of Aug. 4, (the Declaration of War,) and against this rock of strength all the waves of opposition will break to pieces." He argues at length that his party was never opposed to universal service and rejoices that every boy at school and every youth from 16 to 18 will receive preliminary military training.

This Socialist author approves a manifesto by the party that "a war of defense does not exclude a war to attack the enemy, but it does mean the enemy

must be forced to accept peace." He explains that the votes of the German Socialists in the Reichstag against military estimates were not "contradictory to their national spirit. This refusal had nothing to do with the military preparedness of the country, but was always only a protest against the system * * * and the manner in which the funds were raised—indirect taxes and tariffs on the necessities of life." He says the German State has justified itself from the political, military, and organizing points of view; hence the Socialists renounce opposition to it.

* * *

Excluding Teutons from Trade

A GENERAL movement is in progress in England and France—with especial energy in England—to exclude entirely and permanently all Germans from engaging in domestic trade. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce has excluded from future membership any unnaturalized German, Austrian, Bulgarian, or Turk, or any firm in which any of the foregoing is a member, or any firm of which one-fifth or more of its stock is held by any of the foregoing nationalities. Severe restrictions are also being put upon naturalized subjects from those countries. The movement to exclude from all professional as well as commercial intercourse all unnaturalized subjects from enemy countries, and to so hamper naturalized subjects as to render their life miserable and to nullify their activities, seems to be spreading throughout England and Scotland and is receiving fresh impetus in France.

* * *

Alcohol and Man Power

FULL-PAGE advertisements denouncing the loss of man power through strong drink are among the most striking wartime features of the London newspapers in recent weeks. The demand for national prohibition of alcoholic drinks during the war and demobilization periods has crystallized into the Strength of Britain movement, and is fighting for its object with broadsides of startling facts such as these:

The man power lost in England through alcohol since the war began is just as if the entire man power of the United Kingdom had stood idle for 100 days. The liquor traffic is using up 500,000 workers. Alcohol has used up 3,000,000 tons of coal during the war, though tens of thousands of miners have enlisted, reducing the coal output to a point below the absolute needs of the nation. It has crowded out 60,000,000 tons of necessary freight on the railways and 50,000,000 cubic feet of shipping space on vessels, in face of the fact that important articles of food and clothing have had to be restricted or prohibited because of lack of shipping space. Since the war the manufacture of alcohol has consumed over 3,000,000 tons of food, with sugar enough to last the nation eighty days, and has forced up the cost of living.

These and similar counts in the indictment are buttressed with extracts from official reports, one of which shows that in a shipyard employing 8,000 men the absences through drink amounted to a loss of 50,000 hours in one week; in another shipyard during four weeks of March, 1915, 670,000 hours of work were lost, or one-quarter of all the normal time of all the men. "How long," demand the reformers, "will the Government allow this colossal waste of man power to go on undisturbed?" They assert that the suppression of alcohol would save $30,000,000 a day, (more than the war is costing,) besides thousands of lives. The Strength of Britain movement has the signatures of more than a thousand of the foremost Admirals, Generals, statesmen, scientists, and literary men of the United Kingdom.

* * *

Effects of Drink Restriction

THE effects of restricted drinking on crime are conclusively shown from the English official records. Convictions for drunkenness in England and Scotland in weekly averages from January to September, 1915 and 1916, were as follows:

	1915.	1916.
London	1,055	546
Liverpool	155	116
Manchester	83	51
Newcastle	61	39
Birmingham	44	26
Leeds	26	12
Sheffield	22	11
Middlesbrough	30	17
Gateshead	21	12
Total	1,497	830

This meant a reduction in 1916 of 44.6

per cent.—males, 46.9 per cent.; females, 38.7 per cent.

For Scotland the average weekly figures for the same periods were as follows:

	1915.	1916.
Edinburgh	114	80
Glasgow	505	326
Dundee	60	49
Aberdeen	43	31
Total	722	486

The reduction here is 32.7 per cent. in 1916—males, 35.3 per cent.; females, 27.1 per cent.

* * *

The New Arabian State

EVENTS in Arabia, where a revolution against Turkey broke out several months ago, are developing rapidly. In August, according to Amsterdam dispatches, the leaders of the Arabian movement were negotiating with Enver Pasha, representing Turkey, for the establishment of a Caliphate in Arabia and Turkey's recognition of Arabian autonomy. Enver Pasha especially objected to the first demand, being desirous of retaining the religious hold on the Arabs which the Turkish Sultan, as the Caliph, is supposed to have in Islam. The negotiations ended in complete failure.

Early in September the French Government, in full accord with the Government of Great Britain, dispatched a delegation of French Moslems to the Grand Sherif of Mecca. The delegation left Marseilles for Jedda, Arabia, with the mission to congratulate the new Arabian Government on its deliverance from Turkey. It was also carrying a substantial sum of money for the purpose of rendering financial aid to the new State. To cover the expenses of the expedition the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, according to Le Temps, Paris, asked Parliament on Sept. 29 to supply him with 3,500,000 francs. The Minister spoke of the traditional interest France has always had in Moslem affairs. He disclosed the fact that the French Government had furnished a vessel for the British and French Moslems, in which to resume their annual pilgrimages to Mecca by way of Jedda. Thousands of such pilgrims have already taken advantage of this free service. This is an important factor in the development of the Franco-Arabian relations.

The culminating event in the evolution of the new Oriental nation is the communication which reached Washington from Mecca on Nov. 11. In this document Sherif Abdullah, Minister of Foreign Affairs, asks the recognition by the United States of the new Arabian kingdom. As monarch of the new State, the leader and originator of the revolution, Grand Sherif Hussein Ben Ali of Mecca, has been chosen unanimously by the Emirs and Imams of the various Arabian tribes and regions.

* * *

JAPAN, though nominally in the war, has profited enormously in trade in consequence of the war. Her specie holdings, which stood at $175,000,000 before the war, bid fair to reach $350,000,000 by the end of the year. Russia has floated a $25,000,000 loan in Japan, and has established a further credit there for war supplies of $40,000,000. Japan has gone energetically after trade formerly held by Germany, and will prove a formidable competitor not only to that nation, but to all others. Her shipbuilding industry is expanding to an unusual extent, likewise her cotton industry. In 1916 her spindles increased 2,763,000, with 123,000 hands; in the chemical, metal, and other industries new capital is being invested, large factories are erected, and trade is being sought and developed to an extraordinary extent.

* * *

DURING the first two years of the war the United States exported goods to the value of $7,000,000,000 and imported to the amount of $3,900,000,000. Gold imports from Aug. 1, 1914, to Oct. 13, 1916, were $863,473,000; exports, $231,822,000; net imports, $631,651,000. Railroad securities returned to the United States from Europe between Jan. 31, 1915, and July 31, 1916, were $1,300,000,000; 748,547 shares of United States Steel common and 141,736 preferred were returned up to Sept. 30, 1916. The obligations of foreign Governments, bankers,

and merchants held here on Nov. 1, 1916, are estimated at $1,931,000,000, distributed as follows: British America, $212,000,000; Europe, $1,627,000,000; Latin America, $88,000,000; China, $4,000,000.

* * *

Sounding War's Praises

A CONTRIBUTOR to this issue of Current History Magazine has written quite confidently on "The Profit Side of War," discounting many of the losses and horrors of the present conflict and drawing up an imposing array of material and spiritual blessings brought to the warring nations by the shedding of blood. The article is certain to provoke comment, but even a brief glance at another article—that upon "Human Losses in the First Two Years of War"—will present a phase in opposition to any extravagant admiration for the blessings of war. More than 5,000,000 dead! More than 13,000,000 wounded and maimed! Place this illimitable sea of human sorrow over against all the gains that can be enumerated, and these gains look very small. It is well occasionally to count up the beneficial products of war, for even war has compensations; but any one who sees it steadily and sees it whole will be in little danger of missing the fact—namely, that the good results of war are mere by-products of a hideous survival of barbarism, whose chief effects are to destroy human happiness, to promote hatred, to pile up mountains of debt, and to retard civilization. It is a nation's first duty to fight in self-defense; but present events in Europe do not indicate that war is a good thing to start for its own sake.

* * *

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY closed last term with a grand total of 575 undergraduates, as against 3,263 in 1913. The present term starts with 500.

A French Soldier's Letter

The letter that follows was written by a wounded French corporal when about to come out of the hospital. He is a modest peasant from the Vosges Mountains, who has been decorated with the Military Medal and the War Cross, and who has lost two brothers in the war:

My Commandant: I hasten to reply to your letter of the 23d, which gave me great pleasure. I am getting much better; with two more weeks of the hospital I could go out on furlough. But I have a request to make. May I return directly to the front after seven days' leave, and rejoin my old regiment, the —th? For I have a firm desire to go back to my old corps. I even dare to think that no one can refuse me, since I have been wounded six times and am returning to the front as a volunteer for the seventh time.

If I see that my request has been refused when I get out of the hospital, I am going to rejoin the —th anyhow. In spite of everything, I will try to find some means to get on one of the permissionaire trains to the front, and will hide my weapons, which must be returned to the depot. Please tell me at once what I shall do.

I think that if this favor is refused me, and I get back to my old regiment without orders, I cannot be punished, for I deserve this favor.

I wish you good luck on your sector. Please accept, &c.,

(Signed) V———

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Conflict Enters a New Phase

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

THE military events on the various fronts during the period ending about the middle of November brought to a close one phase of the war and ushered in another. J. L. Garvin, editor in chief of the English weekly The Observer, writes: "The glorious chapter of the allied offensive on the Somme is closed. The new chapter is beginning, as the Germans have fully recovered their morale. There will be no breaking through by the Allies on the west this year, nor will there be any extensive withdrawal of the German line between Arras and Noyon."

General Sir Henry Rowlinson, "right hand" of General Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British forces in the west, declares that the German line undoubtedly could be broken—sooner or later. He explains that British military power has not yet reached its maximum strength, that this will not be the case until next Spring at the earliest, and next Summer at the latest. Major Gen. F. B. Maurice, Director in Chief of the military operations in the British Ministry of War, reiterates his assertion that the Allies had not at all planned a "break-through" in the West. * * *

The close of the period under discussion was marked by the fact that not the Somme front, but the Verdun area, was once more in the foreground of interest, and by the second fact that Brusiloff's "break-through" attempt against Lemberg and across the Carpathians has been compelled to yield its predominance of interest and significance to the Rumanian campaign.

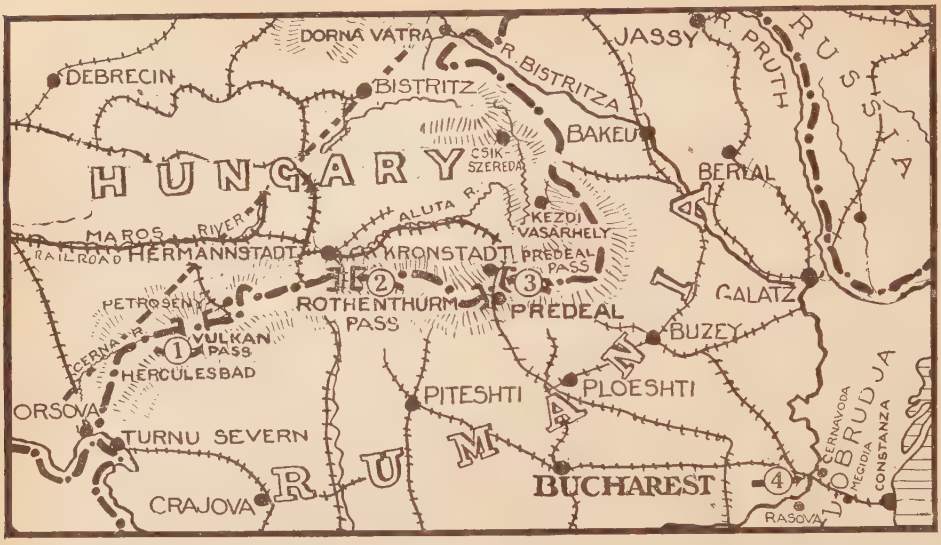
The "glorious chapter of the allied offensive on the west front" ended the moment that the Entente began to figure with the probabilities of the offensive's effect upon Verdun and the Rumanian campaign. These probabilities proved deceptive. Major Gen. Maurice puts a fitting "finis" to the chapter with his declaration that the Allies never intended to break through this year.

Yet we have it on allied authorities of equal note that the great objective of the Somme front was to force the Germans to take back their lines between Arras and Noyon so far as to prepare the complete evacuation of Northern France and Belgium. That this object could have been obtained by gaining the line Péronne-Bapaume certainly cannot have been the conviction of the men conducting the war for England and France. Even the word "excursion to Bapaume" was an empty phrase. The talk of "driving the Germans back over the Rhine" was merely intended to have an inspiring effect upon the masses.

The allied Somme offensive up to date (Nov. 15) has lasted fifteen days longer than the German campaign against Verdun.

The Offensive Against Rumania

The new phase of the war may be termed the "Rumanian phase," for the Teuton-Bulgar campaign against that Balkan kingdom is the one great offensive now being executed. The developments of this campaign have virtually turned the entire military situation upside down. The Rumanians needed help. On the west front the allied offensive was to have a "long-distance effect." Russia was called upon to render more substantial aid with men and material. The Rumanian campaign is today the decisive factor for the further development of the whole war. On this comparatively small battle area there are today accumulated and expressed all the causes and ambitions of the present world conflict.



THE WAR IN RUMANIA

Attempts to invade Rumania from the north are being made through every pass on the Transylvania frontier, but are only meeting with a measure of success in the west, (Wallachia,) where the Austro-German armies under General von Falkenhayn have penetrated for a considerable distance from the Vulkan, (1,) Rothenthurm or Red Tower, (2,) and Predeal (3) Passes. The invaders plan to seize the railroads to the Bulgarian border and link up with the Bulgar-Turko-German army operating in the Dobrudja Province of Rumania —on the Black Sea coast—under the command of Field Marshal von Mackensen who, having pushed north for about thirty miles above the Constanza railroad, (4,) which at Cernavoda crossed the Danube over the only bridge spanning that stream in that region, has been driven back upon the railroad, and perhaps south of it on the Danube side.

In considering the "Rumanian phase" one must constantly bear in mind the motives that caused the intervention of the Danube kingdom on the side of the Allies. The element which finally brought it about was the pressure upon Russia by the western powers. Russia was urged to say the final "Yes" to all the Rumanian demands. These demands included Bessarabia, which Russia had kept, and the Banat, which Russia already had promised to Serbia. The Paris conference had decided that Constantinople was vital, indispensable, that the Dardanelles must be opened to the Russians, so as to allow that nation's surplus of cereals to have free passage to avert the ever-growing menace of a food famine in England, France, and Italy. The Russians, under the plan mapped out at the Paris council, were to sweep down upon the Turkish capital from the north, while the Allies in Macedonia were to push forward at last and fulfill the long-postponed mission of the Saloniki expedition: the severance of the Central Powers' communication with their eastern allies.

In these circumstances, and guided by the true objects of their enemies, the attention of the Central Powers necessarily had to be centred upon the Rumanian south front, the Dobrudja, the "gate" for an invasion of Bulgaria and the base of a campaign against Turkey. The Russians, on the other hand, claimed the Rumanian main forces for themselves, in the Carpathian campaign, which, after the collapse of their great offensive, had remained the only hope for success against Hungary. It is also quite possible that Russia, in consenting, under the pressure of her western allies, to acquiesce in the cession of Bessarabia and the Banat, stipulated the concession that the Carpathian campaign must first be pushed to its conclusion—with Rumanian aid.

At any rate, the Rumanian forces immediately after Rumania's intervention

were put at Russia's disposal for the crossing of the Transylvanian Alps and the invasion of the wooded Carpathians and Siebenbuergen.

The events up to date in the Rumanian campaign may be summarized as follows:

1. The idea of the Entente to sweep down upon Constantinople, with Rumania as a starting point, and with the Rumanian Army as aid, has been buried by the victories of Mackensen's army in the Dobrudja. The Rumanian campaign was also expected by the Allies to cut the communication between the Central Empires and Turkey. But the Macedonian campaign, too, which was aimed at co-operating to this end, has received quite a different direction. The road to the east, to Constantinople, being barricaded by Mackensen, the Entente army in Macedonia heads northward, with Monastir as the immediate goal.

2. Siebenbuergen has been cleared of the Rumanian invaders. By the loss of Constanza and the main railway Constanza - Cernavoda - Bucharest, Rumania has been cut from communication with Russia by way of the Black Sea. It is forced to content itself with the scarce supply facilities afforded by the Danube ports of Galatz and Braila and their second-rate communications with the interior of the kingdom. But the gravest menace to Rumania, to her capital, is still in abeyance. The principal thrust against Bucharest will come from the north. The military operations on the north and northwest front are today the most important.

3. The expectation of the Russians to reach, with Rumanian aid, their goal in the direction of Budapest failed to be fulfilled. The Russians are themselves threatened with a catastrophe; for the road to Odessa leads from Rumania through Bessarabia into the very heart of the whole Russian economic vital organism. In the face of the broadness of this perspective the happenings on the Somme and Verdun fronts wane into insignificance.

Events on the West Front

The principal event in the west, which came as a surprise, was the considerable success of the French in the region east of the Meuse, before Verdun, a success in itself remarkable. The French attacked with four divisions—80,000 men—on a front of seven kilometers, on Oct. 24, and reconquered in one day what it had taken their opponents considerable time and large exertions of strength to take; indeed, the French in one day retook what had been the net result of the whole second phase of the German Verdun campaign, from the end of March to the end of May. The village and fort of Douaumont, the Thiaumont field works, and the farm of the same name, the Haudromont quarries, and the road from Bras to Douaumont were retaken by the French. This is the area through which the German advance had come closest to the strong fort of Souville. In the night of Nov. 1 the Germans also evacuated Fort Vaux, which had become untenable, as it was exposed to the French fire both on its western flank and from the north.

At times even the grim features of the God of War are wrapped in the wrinkles of an amused smile. Such was the case when the French, having no inkling of the German evacuation of Fort Vaux, kept firing away against its ruins. On Nov. 5 the French occupied the village of Damloup, immediately to the east of Vaux. The first word of the abandonment of the latter fort was received by the French high command when a radio message from Berlin to Sayville was picked up.

This reverse, suffered by the Germans at Verdun, is one of the many surprises of this war. Whether and how it could have been averted can be told only by the future historian. This much, however, is clear even today—that the French success, remarkable as it was in itself, can be valued only as one of a local character; for the effect upon the military situation on the Somme front, which had been expected of it by the Allies, did not come to pass.

The unity of action in the Somme battle, which had been re-established in the period from August to October, has disappeared again, and the battle once more is divided into two parts. The German defensive strategy has made extensive

THE FIGHT TO RECOVER SERBIA: THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS THE APPROACH (NOV. 15) OF THE SERBIAN AND FRENCH FORCES TO MONASTIR, HELD BY GERMANS AND BULGARIANS.

use of the medium of attack. Thus, the Germans on Oct. 29 succeeded in regaining, to the west of Péronne, La Maisonnette Farm and the adjoining trenches as far as Biaches, an area where the French had approached closest to Péronne.

In the battles of Nov. 5 and 6 they wrested Warlencourt from the British, and at the same time pushed forward to the west of St. Pierre-Vaast Wood. The principal fighting took place east of the line Gueudecourt-Les Boeufs, in front of the northern part of the road Bapaume-Péronne, against Le Transloy; for the village of Sailly-Saillisel and the St. Pierre-Vaast Wood, east of Rancourt; near Ligny-Tilloy on the British front, southwest of Bapaume.

These battles were all for the possession of Bapaume. Before Péronne the fighting has quieted down. There is no longer any talk of a "drive" against Péronne. The expectation that the allied advance would receive a new impetus through the successes of the September-October battles failed of fulfillment.

Nor have the Allies succeeded so far in gaining the Bapaume-Péronne line, which has been the main objective since the occupation of Combles. They now aim at an extension of the British front to the north and of the French front to the south. This the French meant to achieve in their attacks around Chaulnes at the beginning of November. The British on their part succeeded in their aim by the powerful thrusts astride the

Ancre Brook. The British offensive in this area took the following course up to the time of writing:

On the northernmost end of the British front, north and south of the Ancre, large forces were thrown into battle on a front of five miles, after a powerful artillery preparation. The British took the village of St. Pierre Divion (north-northwest of Thiepval) and the village of Beaumont-Hamel, and advanced eastward as far as the village of Beaucourt-sur-Ancre. The battle spread northward to Hebuterne, and thence in a southeasterly direction beyond Serre as far as the region of Grandcourt. In this battle area the attackers were ejected from the positions they had gained by German counterattacks.

On Nov. 15 the British offensive on the Ancre came to a sudden standstill. On the same day the Germans attacked, north and south of the Somme, the French positions from Les Boeufs down to the region south of Bouchavesnes, as well as on the fronts of Ablaincourt and near the Chaulnes Wood. They succeeded in penetrating the French positions in the St. Pierre-Vaast Wood and on the Bapaume-Péronne road, and gained a foothold in the village of Pressoire, at the southernmost extremity of the French front.

The result of the battles on the Somme and Ancre can be summarized as follows:

The Allies failed to break through the German lines. They failed to destroy the German forces, which would mean the shaking of the German west front. The attackers did not even achieve the modest aim of arresting a sufficient number of Teuton troops on the western front to frustrate a great German campaign on another front. The proof of this is seen in the conquered Dobrudja and the liberated Siebenbuergen.

On Other Fronts

In Volhynia, west and northwest of Lutsk, Brusiloff's "grand offensive" is exhausting itself in equally costly and resultless attacks. On the East Galician front of Halicz-Brzezany General Count von Bothmer has opened a vigorous new offensive; German and Turkish troops have stormed Russian positions on the east bank of the Narayuvka River. Field Marshal von Hindenburg points out that the Russians are short of ammunition, and that soon their supply by way of Archangel and Vladivostok will be completely cut off by the Winter's ice.

The ninth day of November brought a surprise on the eastern front. The army group of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, operating in the region northeast of Baranovitchi, southwest of Minsk, in the very heart of the whole battle line extending from the Baltic to Galicia, executed a powerful blow on a front of two and a half miles, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Russians, and hammered a breach in the latter's defense lines. But this surprise, too, failed to bring about any further military effects of consequence.

The Saloniki campaign has taken a new direction and is aiming at a new goal. The offensive on the Struma front, originally planned as the main blow, because intended against Bulgaria and Turkey, with a view to cutting the Orient railway, has been discontinued. The operations against Monastir are aimed at the reconquest of Serbia. With the rate of speed thus far maintained by the Allies this goal still lies in the misty future, but it must be conceded that the French and Serbians, constituting the allied left wing, have made considerable progress, particularly of late. At this writing they are reported to have taken Monastir.

The ninth Italian offensive has collapsed. After the occupation of Gorizia the Italians attempted to extend their attacks to the Vinaccio Valley and to the Karst. The "grand offensive" came to a standstill at Constanjevica and Jamiane. In the meantime the Austro-Hungarians have launched a successful counteroffensive directly east of Gorizia, from the San Marco plateau. Italy once more is carrying on her own campaign. She was at no time a real link in the unity and simultaneousness of the "big push" so often proclaimed by the Entente. Today this unity of action is conspicuous by its absence on all theatres of war.

[American View]

The Month's Military Developments
From October 15 to November 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner
Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

As last month's review was being written, Rumania had just announced her decision to enter the war on the side of the Entente and had made her preliminary attempts to invade Hungary by way of Transylvania. But Rumanian ambition to occupy her irredenta ran away with Rumanian military prudence. It was another case where political considerations outweighed military considerations and produced a disastrous offspring. It is a fault which has been peculiar to the Entente. Germany alone controls the destinies of the Central Powers and dictates their policies. She does not permit any political considerations to cloud the main issue of the war. Her errors on this side, however, are just as culpable and just as far-reaching in their effects as are those of the Entente, erring in the other extreme.

The situation of Rumania at the outset was closely akin to that of the Italians when they began their campaign. And the Italians showed the greatest generalship. The Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps, which form the northern and the western boundary of Rumania, are like the Alps in Trentino in their relation to the military situation of the countries affected. The valley of the Isonzo lies in the same relative situation as the open Dobrudja.

Campaign in Dobrudja

The logical move for Rumania to have made was to neutralize the Transylvania country by closing up all the gaps in the mountains by which an invasion of Rumania was possible, (just as the Italians closed all the gaps leading from Trentino into Italy,) and then, being safe from an attack in the rear, to have directed all of their energies to an invasion of Bulgaria through the open gateway of Dobrudja. The border between Bulgaria and Dobrudja is absolutely void of any natural defense. It is low, flat open country, difficult to defend and relatively easy to attack. There is no such barrier as the Italians had to contend with on the Isonzo.

But the Rumanians had other things to do. They held what seems to be a relatively small force in Dobrudja, and extended all their early efforts to drive their way deep into Transylvania, apparently with the object of drawing their line along the Maros Valley from the southwestern tip of Bukowina to the Iron Gates near Orsava.

The Germans waited until they were thoroughly committed to this move, and then, with Mackensen in command, struck hard against the line which had been charged with the duty of defending the Dobrudja border. At first Mackensen's progress was rapid, but suddenly it slowed up. The presumption was that the Russians had been slow in reinforcing the Rumanian Army, and then, having come up in force, had immediately checked Mackensen's operations. Mackensen delayed for some time, creating reserves of artillery ammunition, and bringing up heavy guns. When ready he again struck, and this time was not halted until he had gained his object.

There is only one thing in all Dobrudja of military value. This is the railroad from Constanza to Cernavoda, which crossed the Danube over the great bridge at the latter point. This was the only bridge across the Danube east of Belgrade, and was absolutely necessary to the Rumanian plan of invasion of Bulgaria. At every other point on her southern and eastern border Rumania is held back by the almost uncrossable Danube. It was evident, therefore, that the entire German campaign had for its

CENTRE OF THE ONCE BEAUTIFUL VILLAGE OF COMBLES

The Whole Town Had to be Ruined Thus by British and French Artillery Before the German Troops Could Be Driven Out.

(© *Underwood & Underwood.*)

THE SPIRIT OF DAUNTLESS FRANCE: A NATION IN ARMS

French Soldiers in Review Near the Oise, Preparatory to Returning Into the Battle Inferno on the Somme.
(Photo by Paul Thompson.)

MAP OF ANGLO-FRENCH OFFENSIVE IN PICARDY. THE BLACK LINE SHOWS ALLIES' POSITION JULY 1. THE DOTTED LINE SHOWS THEIR EXTREME FRONT NOV. 15, AFTER FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS OF BATTLE.

initial object the Cernavoda bridge with the railroad which crossed it.

In this second attack Mackensen met with a remarkable degree of success. In almost incredible time he had pushed up along the Black Sea-coast to Constanza, occupied the town, and then, pivoting his army here, had swung his entire line northward across the railroad and beyond Cernavoda. There was nothing for the Rumanians to do but to fall still further back and destroy the bridge as they retreated.

This they did, a small portion of them crossing to the west bank of the river, the remainder retreating north toward the Russian frontier. This retreat was forced for about forty miles until the

hill country in the north of Dobrudja was reached.

Mackensen Held in Check

What happened after this is doubtful. Mackensen was quiet, the Rumanians for several weeks made no attempt to strike back. Finally, however, they massed against Mackensen's left flank close to the river and began their counteroffensive. It was just as successful as the German offensive. The Germans were driven back beyond Hirsova, retreating as quickly as they had advanced. What had evidently happened was that the Russians had sent powerful reinforcements to the defeated Rumanians, possibly the veteran troops which had been fighting in the Caucasus, and these proved sufficient to turn the tide.

Mackensen's victory is negative at present, even though he does hold the bridge at Cernavoda and the railroad between that point and the sea. He cannot cross the Danube, he cannot get out by the Black Sea route. He is indeed out of the war unless von Falkenhayn, who is struggling in the Transylvanian mountains with varying success, can cut across Rumania and link up with the forces on the east bank of the Danube.

On the Transylvanian and Carpathian fronts in Rumania the Germans have been able to make but little headway. Von Falkenhayn is making his great effort south of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, where the frontier is closely paralleled by the railroad from Central Hungary. He has penetrated into Rumanian territory somewhat, but not sufficiently to create any alarm in the allied camps. At practically all other points on these fronts he has had rather the worst of the fighting. The entire matter is indecisive, and with the rapid approach of Winter it is highly improbable that the Germans will be able to accomplish anything until Spring.

Deadlock on Russian Front

On the Russian front the month has shown but little change in the respective locations of the battle lines. There has been considerable fighting of the most severe character, particularly on the section immediately east of Lemberg, between Brzezany and Halicz. The Russian efforts have been directed toward sending as much aid as possible to the Rumanians, while at the same time keeping the Germans as busy as possible so as to prevent them from reinforcing von Falkenhayn in Transylvania.

The result of all this fighting as far as change of territory is concerned is nil, neither side having gained the slightest appreciable advantage.

Serbian Success in Balkans

On the Saloniki front the fighting of the month has been concentrated in the Monastir plain, and among the hills with which it is buttressed. Here the Serbians, assisted by the French, have made a series of brilliant attacks with results that may yet prove to be far reaching. They have advanced well to the north of their position in the plains, and from the surrounding hills have all but flanked the Bulgarians' entire position. They are on the eastern hills almost as far north as Monastir itself, while the Bulgarian line in the plains stretches out some distance to the south. When their present hill positions are consolidated and made secure and the attack opens on the forces in the plain, it is certain that the Bulgarians will have to retire almost if not quite to Monastir itself.

Italian Offensive in the Carso

The Italian field is noteworthy this month as the scene of a short but powerful offensive by General Cadorna's troops in the Carso Plateau. The Italians plowed their way forward over the entire width of the Carso for several miles. But, like so many of the Italian offensives, it was short lived, lasting only about four days. The great trouble with Italy is that she has no source of supply of iron. No iron is mined in all of Italy, and any that she needs must come from outside sources. Before the war this came from Germany. Since the war England has been the source of her supply. Therefore, the Italians are forced to halt their forward movements on account of shortage of shell. It is doubtful if we shall ever see the Italians in a sustained operation. A steady flow of shell is the

primary requisite in modern war as it has developed during the last two years. On no other section of the front is this more true than in the Carso, where the calcareous nature of the ground and the many underground protections afforded by nature demand the most shattering explosives.

French Success at Verdun

The western front, however, has afforded the greatest fighting of the month. Probably the crowning feature of the western fighting was the French attack at Verdun late in October, delivered after the heaviest artillery fire. It was directed particularly at Douaumont, Fort Douaumont, Vaux, and Fort Vaux. These are the positions which the Germans regarded as the most important on the east bank of the Meuse, and rightly so. They are, in the true sense of the word, dominating positions, rising as they do above all the surrounding country. How many men the Germans sacrificed in order to take these positions no one can say, and if any one were to attempt an approximate estimate, it would be so large as to appear an exaggeration.

The French, whom Germany pictured as bleeding to death on the hills of the Meuse and the Somme, still had sufficient reserve force to strike here and strike hard. The result was most disastrous to the Germans. Douaumont and the fort of the same name fell almost without resistance, with over 5,000 prisoners. Fort Vaux met the same fate, and within a few days the village of Vaux also passed from the Germans together with the Damloup battery. Fort Vaux, which had cost the Germans so much, was evacuated in the night, without the French having to expend a life to take it.

This French success places Verdun out of all danger for the progress of the war. The Germans will never make another great effort here.

Progress on the Somme

Two other French attacks made during the month are also noteworthy. One was made against the villages of Sailly and Saillisel. Both of these places have fallen into French hands, and while they are unimportant in themselves they have an important bearing on future French movements. Their principal value lies in their relation to Péronne. Péronne is guarded solely by Mount St. Quentin, which in turn is guarded by the woods of St. Pierre Vaast, which is itself guarded by the latter of these villages. Once Saillisel is in French hands the German positions in St. Pierre Vaast Woods are turned, and its capture by the French is almost inevitable.

Again, while the fighting in this section was at its height, the exhausted French struck at still another part of the German lines, this time against the Chaulnes sector. The towns of Ablaincourt and Pressoir were occupied and the way opened for a direct attack on Chaulnes. Here the Germans have counterattacked with the greatest severity, but up to the present writing have not made the slightest indentation in the new French positions. Chaulnes is in imminent danger, is, in fact, almost surrounded. Any day may see the circle complete.

The British section of the Somme line has had a hard time making progress. The weather has been extremely bad for military operations, preventing a major attack for some weeks. In spite of this, however, the fighting was severe, particularly about Le Sars. While this was at its height the British suddenly struck on what was considered an impregnable part of the German front, that part of the original German line which still remained in their possession north of the Ancre Brook. The line south of the river was also taken, and the Germans holding it were pinched in between the river and the British advance and captured. The towns of Beaumont, Hamel, Beaucourt, and Divion fell into English hands, together with five or six thousand men.

On the whole the month has been disastrous for the German cause. The Germans have not once, except in Dobrudja, where they were soon checked, been permitted to take the initiative, and they have been losing important ground steadily. All indications are that the turning point in the war has been reached.

[Fourth Installment]

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

M. ARDOUIN-DUMAZET IN L'ILLUSTRATION

[Translated for Current History Magazine. See Map on Page 427]

DURING the first fortnight of September, the Entente Allies delivered three important attacks north and south of the Somme, and made considerable gains. Between Sept. 3 and 13 they took a total of 10,550 prisoners.

The army of General Fayolle, which holds the French front from the Somme northward to Combles, repulsed, on the evening of Wednesday, Sept. 6, a powerful German attempt to retake the Hôpital Farm, at the entrance of the Cauet Wood. The Teutons, mowed down by French machine guns, were dispersed, and their attack was not renewed.

During six days there was no infantry action on this sector. Atmospheric conditions were in part the cause. But, after an intense artillery preparation, on Tuesday, Sept. 12, about noon, General Fayolle again attacked on a front of about four miles. With admirable dash his assaulting battalions—in which colonials were fighting beside line regiments—carried, in less than a half hour, the whole system of German trenches, and then 145-Meter Hill, (475 feet above sea level, or 318 feet above the level of the Somme;) this was followed by the capture of the Marrières Wood and the group of enemy positions as far as the national road from Béthune to Péronne. On the left wing, coming out from the Anderlu Wood, our infantry succeeded in reaching the edge of the village of Rancourt. On the right wing they got as far as 76-Meter Hill, (249 feet, or 92 feet above the Somme,) to the west of Feuillancourt. This ridge, which dominates the north bank of the Somme, faces Mont Saint-Quentin, a veritable lair of German heavy artillery posted to guard Péronne.

In the evening the village of Bouchavesnes, attacked in its turn, was taken. On Wednesday, Sept. 13, we captured by assault the Labé Wood Farm, 600 yards to the east of the Béthune Road, to the southeast of Bouchavesnes. In the afternoon we repulsed violent counterattacks. We were thus masters of the culminating points of the right bank, which the enemy defended desperately, our positions extending well beyond Mont Saint-Quentin and Péronne on the north.

In this affair more than 2,300 prisoners fell into our hands within a few hours, as well as ten cannon, some of which were heavy, and forty machine guns.

British Fight for Ginchy

On their side, the British troops, joining hands with us on the west of Combles, beyond the narrow-gauge railroad from Combles to Cléry, fought hard for several days for the possession of Ginchy.

This village is at the meeting place of six roads, and formed, with Guillemont, one of the advance defenses of Combles. Twice already our allies had entered it, without being able to hold their position beyond the road from Longueval to Morval, which cuts the village into two unequal parts. The Germans had concentrated their resistance in the north of the village. From Sept. 6 to 9, the struggle among the ruined houses continued fiercely. On Sept. 9, in the early afternoon, an attack was directed from Delville Wood as far as Leuze Wood, by Irish troops from Connaught, Leinster, and Munster, who had already taken Guillemont. By evening all Ginchy was in their hands. On three occasions, between Sept. 10 and 11, the Germans tried to recapture the village, but without success.

The taking of Ginchy happily completed the series of operations which, beginning with Sept. 3, allowed the British troops to take possession of Guille-

mont, the Falsemont Farm, and Leuze Wood and to realize in seven days, on a front of three and three-quarter miles, an advance to a depth varying from 300 to 3,000 yards.

In the region to the south of the Ancre and in the region of Thiepval the bombardment on both sides had been fairly lively, and 600 yards of trenches were conquered by our allies to the northeast of Pozières.

French Victory Near Chilly

To the south of the Somme, in the afternoon of Sept. 6, the army of General Micheler—which joins hands with the army of General Fayolle between Biaches and Barleux—resumed the offensive from Belloy-en-Santerre as far as Chilly, that is, on a front of some fifteen kilometers, (about ten miles,) forming an obtuse angle with its apex on the western edge of Vermandovillers.

This attack was completely successful. We carried several German trenches to the southwest of Belloy-en-Santerre, took almost the whole of Berny-en-Santerre and captured the northern part of Vermandovillers as far as the road which joins that village to Estrées. It was at this point that the struggle was fiercest, for Vermandovillers had been organized into a powerful defensive position. Further to the south we pushed our first line forward as far as the approaches of Chaulnes and even reached the railroad from Chaulnes to Roye.

The following days were filled by counterattacks, repeated sometimes five or six times, with accompaniments of flaming liquids. All came to nothing under our gun and machine-gun fire.

The eleventh week of the Anglo-French offensive on the Somme, which was also the 111th week of the war, brought the following gains to the Allies:

Five villages taken by assault—Courcelette, Martinpuich, Flers, Varmandovillers, and Deniécourt, without speaking of important positions like the Bouleaux Wood, the Fourneaux Wood, and Le Priez Farm; 7,059 additional prisoners officially registered; a general advance, varying from 1,600 to 3,200 yards, on different sectors of the Somme front, which has a linear extent of fourteen kilometers, (8¾ miles.)

The Fight for Martinpuich

On Friday, Sept. 15, at 6:20 in the morning, the British troops attacked between Leuze Wood, to the west of Combles, and Pozières.

The German position, which they were approaching on a front of six miles, comprised three lines of trenches joined by connecting trenches and protected by strongly organized works. There was a fourth line about four miles to the rear, along the road from Bapaume to Transloy. A large number of machine guns and 1,000 cannon of all calibres completed these defenses. Within a few hours the infantry, whose road was opened by the accurate and effective fire of the artillery, had seized the whole of the first line, with the exception of two resisting islets, namely, the heights which separate Ginchy from the Leuze Wood, and the Fourneaux Wood. But these two centres of resistance, which could not be carried, were enveloped. At 10 o'clock Flers was reached, then passed. At 11 the Germans, almost surrounded in the Fourneaux Wood, began to surrender. In the afternoon Courcelette and Martinpuich were taken. Our allies also held the series of heights (156, 155, and 140 meters) which stretch from the national road connecting Albert and Bapaume, to Combles, with the exception of a hill, 154 meters high, between the Leuze Wood and Ginchy.

First Appearance of "Tanks"

Valuable aid was rendered to them in the course of these operations by novel war engines, tried for the first time—colossal armored automobiles, veritable land dreadnoughts, monsters on caterpillar tractors, which could, almost with impunity, smash down obstacles, tear up barbed wire entanglements, pour machine-gun fire into the enemy, cannonade them, and even sprinkle them with flaming liquids.

In vain the Germans brought up reinforcements from every point along their front. Their counterattacks developing on Sept. 16 and 17 in no wise

hindered the British troops from gaining one-third of a mile beyond the Fourneaux Wood and, toward the east, in the direction of Les Boeufs.

At the same time the trench called the Danube trench, which flanked the south of Thiepval for a mile, was carried by assault, as well as a work at the Mouquet Farm.

The honor of this success, the hardest blow dealt by the British troops against their enemy, as an official bulletin calls it, belongs to the Northumberland and London territorials, to the English and Scotch divisions of the new army, to the Irish, to the Canadians, New Zealanders, and the Guard.

The German front which, a few days before, was marked by the villages of Thiepval, Courcelette, Martinpuich, Flers, and Combles, retained only its ends. Its centre had been driven back, forced to a defensive line on Le Sars, Eaucourt, Gueudecourt, Les Boeufs, and Morval. Even then, Combles and Thiepval were partly enveloped, their communications with the rear being gravely menaced.

It was exactly in this envelopment of Combles that the French collaborated. Their successes of the previous week had carried them, toward the east, beyond Bouchavesnes.

Closing in Upon Combles

During this week their effort was concentrated between Rancourt and Combles. Owing to its situation at the bottom of a veritable basin Combles is partly protected from gunfire. The heights which surround it form an additional natural defense. On Thursday, Sept. 14, we seized Le Priez Farm, to the northeast of the Anderlu Wood. Organized by the Germans into a fortified redoubt, it was one of the principal works protecting Combles on the east. On Sept. 15 we further carried trenches to a depth of one-third of a mile to the north of Le Priez Farm, thus practically completing the investment of the town. Finally, on Monday, Sept. 18, we took a line of trenches only 200 yards from the south side of Combles.

On Wednesday, Sept. 20, a powerful effort of the enemy, from Le Priez Farm as far as the south of the Labé Wood Farm failed completely, after a bloody struggle begun at 9 in the morning and continued until midnight.

Four villages which offered the enemy strong points of support had hitherto checked our advance on the south of the Somme: Barleux, Berny-en-Santerre, Deniécourt, and Vermandovillers. We undertook the reduction of three of them. We succeeded.

On Friday, Sept. 15, at 10 in the morning, we released a double attack against Berny-en-Santerre and Vermandovillers. It immediately won considerable advantages for us. On Sept. 16 the enemy in vain tried to react. On Sept. 17, at 2:30 in the afternoon, our offensive was resumed. After a brilliant assault, Vermandovillers and Berny, which were already partially in our hands, were completely carried. We made ourselves masters of the trenches organized between Vermandovillers and Deniécourt, as well as between Deniécourt and Berny.

The struggle became furious about Deniécourt, where three times the enemy counterattacked with great violence. We drove him back and inflicted heavy losses on him. On the evening of Monday, Sept. 18, Berny was surrounded by us. On this same day, Deniécourt and its famous park, whose machine guns had recently tried us so severely, fell into our hands. We even pushed a thousand yards further south in the direction of Ablaincourt; we seized to the southeast of Deniécourt the three groves of Bovent, Le Tremble, and Vasset, and carried a trench between Berny and Horgny.

Events of Two Great Days

After five days of slackened activity, at least so far as infantry operations were concerned, events hurried forward on the north bank of the Somme on Monday and Tuesday, Sept. 25 and 26. The Franco-British offensive was resumed with violence. Successively, Morval, Les Boeufs, Rancourt, Frégicourt, Combles, Gueudecourt, Thiepval, fell into the hands of the Allies, as well as a number of prisoners, which cannot be less than 5,000. We must be sparing of the word victory. That of success sufficiently

characterizes the considerable advance which was realized in forty-eight hours.

The battles fought from Sept. 15 to Sept. 20 had fixed the front between the Ancre and the Somme about as follows: Immediate outskirts of Thiepval, where since Sept. 17 the British troops had held the Danube trench; counterslope of 136-Meter Hill, dominated by the Mouquet Farm; northern edge of Courcelette; 132-Meter Hill to the northeast of Martinpuich; then, after a bend toward the south, the northern verge of Flers, 154-Meter Hill between Ginchy and Les Boeufs, the eastern edge of the Bouleaux Wood, and the Leuze Wood. At the line of the railroad from Combles to Cléry began the French sector. General Fayolle's army occupied the southwest outskirts of the Douage Wood, had passed the Le Priez Farm to the north, and reached the outskirts of Rancourt on the road from Béthune to Péronne. From this point our front descended toward the southwest, enveloped Bouchavesnes and the Bois-Labé Farm, and rejoined the Somme at 76-Meter Hill, between Cléry, which was in the hands of the French, and Feuillaucourt, which was in the hands of the Germans.

On Sept. 21 heavy rain hindered operations. Nevertheless, the Germans counterattacked, without success, on the south of the Ancre and in the region of Flers. They renewed their attempts, as uselessly, on Sept. 22, between the Le Priez Farm and Rancourt, on the night of Sept. 22-23, on the west of the Mouquet Farm, and, on Sept. 23, in three successive efforts, to the west of Les Boeufs. At the same time our British allies, on the night of Sept. 21-22, carried two lines of trenches to a depth of 1,600 yards between Flers and Martinpuich, thus straightening their front between these two villages. During the night of Sept. 22-23 they advanced to a depth of 800 meters, to the east of Courcelette. On Sept. 23, to the south of the Ancre, they established advanced posts in the enemy front lines.

The artillery preparation was then at its height. The Germans themselves recognized that it attained an "unheard of" degree of violence. Finally, on Sept. 25, toward noon, the combined offensive of the two armies acting together was launched.

Success of Sept. 25

At the first blow the British troops succeeded in penetrating the enemy positions to a depth of 1,600 yards on a front of nearly six miles, between Martinpuich and Combles. In front of Flers they climbed the slopes which led to Gueudecourt; on the left of Les Boeufs they carried a series of trenches, then, toward 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the village itself. In front of Ginchy they made themselves masters of the height named from the Old Semaphore, reaching, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the outskirts of Morval, occupying the western part of the village at 4 o'clock, and the whole of it in the evening. Now, Morval, by its situation on the height which commands Combles on the north, and because of the considerable works which the Germans had constructed there, was a position of great importance. During the night of Sept. 25-26 progress continued. A strong redoubt which resisted between Les Boeufs and Gueudecourt was taken. During the forenoon of Sept. 26 the first British elements gained a foothold in the western part of Combles.

The French attack developed along parallel lines. The objectives assigned to his troops by General Fayolle were, for the first day, the village of Rancourt, which lies two kilometers to the north of Bouchavesnes, on the road from Péronne to Bapaume, the hamlet of Frégicourt, 1,100 meters to the north of Le Priez Farm, on the road from Combles to Saillisel, and the group of defenses accumulated by the enemy between Rancourt and the Somme. Almost all were reached at the first dash.

To the east of the Béthune Road we broadened our positions by two-thirds of a mile, from the Combles Road as far as Bouchavesnes; we carried by assault the height to the northeast of this village and 130-Meter Hill to the southwest, without speaking of other minor advantages, as far as the Somme. To the northeast of Combles we carried our lines to the southern outskirts of

Frégicourt and occupied all the strongly organized ground between this hamlet and 148-Meter Hill. Rancourt was carried by assault. In the night of Sept. 25-26, it was Frégicourt's turn. Reconnoissances got as far as the first houses of Combles, on its southern outskirts, and a detachment installed itself in the cemetery to the northeast of the town.

Events of Sept. 26

We have reached noon, on Sept. 26. The Germans, to connect Combles to their lines, hold only the ravine which winds to the northeast toward Sailly-Saillisel. The loss of Morval and of Frégicourt has deprived them of the other roads. And even this ravine is completely dominated by the crossfire of the allied troops, and four of our gun-bearing aeroplanes have just gone to drop eighty-two shells on the convoys in formation at Sailly-Saillisel. On the west, on the south, and on the northeast the Franco-British penetration of Combles has begun. It becomes more accentuated. The French carry by assault, in the afternoon, the whole section of the town which lies to the east and the south of the railroad. They join hands with the British forces who are cleaning up the northwestern section of the town. Combles is taken * * * in spite of the accumulation of every means of defense and of its dugouts developed into inaccessible lairs. Combles is the first canton capital reconquered by our army since October, 1914. Heaps of German corpses cover the ground torn up by shells. The wounded, left behind, are taken prisoner. The last unwounded defenders surrender or flee in disorder. An immense prey in munitions, arms, provisions of all sorts repays our efforts.

But this is not all. Between Combles and the Ancre the rest of the British army has been equally active. A counter-attack starting from Transloy, between Morval and Les Boeufs, was severely repulsed. In the centre Gueudecourt, another fortified village, was taken. Finally, on the extreme left, Thiepval, which had resisted obstinately since July 3, in its turn succumbed. Our allies even seized the Zollern redoubt, which dominated the village on the east.

Of the formidable line of enemy defenses whose extremities had rested on the two impregnable bastions, Thiepval and Combles, nothing remained.

During the week from Sept. 28 to Oct. 4 the allied offensive in Picardy showed a slackening, to be imputed at once to the necessities of a new preparation and to the persistent rain. In modern war, in which artillery plays the essential rôle, bad weather very considerably hinders operations. Not only does it make impossible the moving of batteries over soaking soil, but, even more, it keeps the airmen from making their sighting operations, and artillery deprived of aerial reconnoissances is blind and impotent.

Joffre's Order of the Day

This respite in the development of the great battle is marked by the Order of the Day which General Joffre addressed, on Sept. 29, to the armies of the north. Here is the text of it:

> The Commander in Chief addresses the expression of his profound satisfaction to the troops who have been fighting on the Somme for almost three months without ceasing.
>
> By their valor and their perseverance they have dealt the enemy blows from which he has difficulty in recovering. Verdun relieved, twenty-five villages won back, more than 35,000 prisoners, 150 guns taken, successive enemy lines driven back to a depth of ten kilometers, are the results already obtained.
>
> Continuing the struggle with the same tenacious will, redoubling their ardor, in union with our valorous allies, the valiant armies of the Somme will make sure for themselves a glorious part in the decisive victory. JOFFRE.

An earlier official French announcement—dated Sept. 22—had reckoned at 55,800 the number of prisoners taken, from July 1 to Sept. 18, by the Franco-British troops, 34,050 of whom were to be credited to the French troops alone. On the other hand, a British announcement of Sept. 27 counted 10,000 new prisoners taken in the course of the preceding fortnight. Therefore the general total had exceeded 60,000. When coming to confer the Order of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, or the Collar of

Commander, on the glorious leaders of the victorious armies—the French Generals, Fayolle and Micheler, the English General Gough, who took Thiepval, and General Buttler, assistant Chief of the General Staff—the President of the Republic paid them a well-earned homage.

The British Sector

The battles of Sept. 25 and 26 had carried the British front on an almost horizontal line from Thiepval to Gueudecourt, past Courcelette, leaving beyond it the village of Sars and the Eaucourt-l'Abbaye agglomeration. On leaving Gueudecourt, the line bent toward the southeast, enveloping Les Boeufs, Morval, Combles, and joining the French front on the north of Frégicourt. From Gueudecourt to Frégicourt nothing happened, except a slight advance on a front of 500 meters to the east of Les Boeufs during Sept. 29. On the other hand, the struggle was fierce to the north of Thiepval, in the region of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye.

To the north of Thiepval: Sunk in a kind of basin, the village of Thiepval is dominated on the north and northeast by a spur which commands the valley of the Ancre in the direction of Grandcourt. On this ridge the Germans had established two formidable works especially defended—the Schwaben redoubt, 500 yards to the north of Thiepval, and the Stuff redoubt, a mile and a quarter to the northeast. Between them ran the Hesse trench. On Sept. 27 the British troops carried the Stuff redoubt by assault. On the following day they occupied a part of the Schwaben redoubt. During the night of Sept. 28-29 there was grenade fighting of furious intensity for possession of the Hesse trench, which was successively taken, lost, retaken. During the whole of Sept. 30 the Germans counterattacked violently. Finally, on Oct. 1, they were definitively thrown back from the ground which they still held near the Stuff redoubt and from nearly the whole of the Schwaben redoubt.

In the region of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye: Eaucourt-l'Abbaye is a hamlet of the Commune of Warlencourt-Eaucourt, (Pas-de-Calais,) Arras Arrondissement, Canton of Bapaume, a mile and a quarter southeast of Warlencourt, which is still occupied by the Germans. Beginning with Sept. 27, our British allies carried, to the north of Flers, more than a mile of trenches and reached the outskirts of Eaucourt on the left. During the night of Sept. 27-28 they established different posts at less than 800 yards to the west and southwest of the hamlet. On Sept. 28 they advanced to the north and northwest of Courcelette. During the morning of Sept. 29 they captured Destrémont Farm, on the national road from Albert to Bapaume, 500 yards to the southwest of Le Sars. On Sept. 30 they realized a new advance to the south of Eaucourt, and during the night of Sept. 30-Oct. 1, between Flers and Le Sars. Finally, on Oct. 1, during the afternoon, an assault was delivered on a front of two miles between Eaucourt and the northeast of the Destrémont Farm. Eaucourt fell into the hands of the British troops. It is true that, on the following day, a counterattack allowed the enemy to regain a footing among the houses in ruins. But, as a result of renewed fighting, Eaucourt was entirely reconquered during the evening of Oct. 3.

In addition to these sectors, it is right to mention frequent blows struck by our allies along parts of the front not yet affected by the great offensive. During a single day, Oct. 1, there were not less than sixteen of these raids between Ypres and Neuve-Chapelle. These were soundings, intended to feel out the enemy, with a view to taking advantage of favorable circumstances.

The French Sector

On the French sector, astride of the Somme, our bulletins only announce secondary engagements—slight progress between Frégicourt and Morval, on Sept. 29; on Sept. 30, to the north of Rancourt; on the following night, to the southeast of Morval, and, along the Somme, to the southeast of Cléry; on Oct. 1, to the north of Rancourt and the southeast of Morval; on Oct. 2, to the east of Bouchavesnes; on Oct. 3, to the north of Rancourt; on Oct. 4, between Morval and the wood of Saint-

Pierre-Vaast. On Oct. 2 we stopped on the south of the Somme an enemy attack in massed formation below Vermandovillers.

On Oct. 3 the Germans tried to come out, to the north of the river, from the wood of Saint-Pierre-Vaast, one of the last important positions occupied by them. Our gun fire completely repulsed them.

Since Sept. 27 they had not even outlined an action against General Fayolle's army.

[In the intervening weeks the Anglo-French offensive has continued to make gradual progress, with the advance of the British along the Ancre northeast of Thiepval, capturing Beaumont, Beaucourt, and other villages on the way to Miraumont, the present objective on that sector. The French have consolidated their gains at Saillisel.]

Activities of German Submarines

SUBMARINE warfare was resumed on an extensive scale by the Germans in October and November, and their operations included the sinking of several passenger ships with Americans on board. The reports of survivors seemed to indicate that Germany's pledges to the United States were being violated, in that ships carrying passengers were sunk without warning. That question is still undetermined. At this writing the whole submarine issue has arisen anew and is the subject of serious consideration in the Chancelleries of neutral and belligerent nations.

Secretary Zimmermann's Statement

On Nov. 15 the German Under Secretary of State, Herr Zimmermann, made the following statement:

The German naval forces are not sinking neutral merchant ships per se. They are sinking as a defensive measure ammunition transports and other contraband shipments to our enemies that are calculated to lengthen the war. It is not strictly correct, therefore, to speak of "submarine warfare" in this connection. We are conducting cruiser warfare, waged by means of submarines, acting in punctilious compliance with the rules of international law applying to cruiser warfare. Our position, therefore, both military and from the viewpoint of international law, is irreproachable, and the propagandistic accusation and charge in connection with ships sunk, as agitated by the English press, are interesting and important only as indicating how hard England is being hit by our defensive submarine measures against England's hunger war and England's economic strangle hold on the neutral nations in question.

Our cruiser warfare with submarines is being conducted in strict compliance with the German prize regulations, which correspond to the international rules laid down and agreed to in the Declaration of London, and this despite the fact that England has refused to be bound by the London Declaration. Germany, accordingly, will continue to exercise her perfect good right to take these defensive measures. If neutrals have to lament the loss of ships and cargoes, it should be remembered that the real blame lies on England.

As the armament of several British ships has been used for attack contrary to the English declaration, and it has, therefore, endangered the lives of crew and passengers, of course armed ships cannot be considered as peaceful trade boats. It is England which has from the very first consistently violated neutral commerce and reduced it to a state of bondage, making the freedom of the seas an empty phrase in violation of international law, extending the contraband list by all means in its power, including economic pressure, and seeking to encourage and in some cases to compel the carrying of contraband to our enemies, and then crying out when its own illegal measures react like a boomerang and strike home at a vulnerable and vital spot.

England has not only blockaded neutral countries, but by means of blacklists, by the compulsory chartering of neutral tonnage, by the extension of the contraband list, by the confiscation of neutral fishing fleets and other high-handed, illegal methods, it has more and more succeeded in compelling neutral trade and commerce to comply with its will. In contradistinction to England, Germany does not seek to throttle legitimate commerce. We are merely seeking to put an end to contraband shipments to our enemies in self-defense, and I am glad to be in a position to say that our submarines are able to keep up the war and prevent contraband shipments from reaching our enemies, and to do so in a manner irreproachable in the sight of international law. It is perhaps a work of supererogation to point

out that neutrals have an effective remedy against further loss of ships in their own hands by simply resisting England's illegal economic pressure and discontinuing the carrying of contraband.

The British Admiralty charges that between May 5 and Nov. 8 thirty-three vessels were sunk without warning by submarines, and that 140 lives were lost. Of this total 26 were British ships, on which 135 lives were lost. The chief vessels and life losses were as follows: Golconda, 19; Euphorbia, 11; Franconia, 12; Marina, 18. The remainder of the losses were among the Allies and neutrals, the French losing two ships with two lives, the Norwegians three ships with one life.

Agitation for Ruthless War

During late September a violent agitation arose in Germany for resumption of ruthless submarine operations, led by Dr. Ernst Bassermann, leader of the National Liberals, who was supported by Admiral von Tirpitz. German political circles were stirred to the centre over the controversy, the Chancellor representing the opposition. A definite statement sustaining the Chancellor was attributed to Field Marshal von Hindenburg, and this had a profound influence. Finally the question was submitted to a coalition committee of the Reichstag, and it was decided to postpone action, which was construed as being equivalent to a victory for the Chancellor. There the matter rests, so far as official Germany is concerned, but it is now charged that this was a mere pretext to conceal the intention of the Berlin authorities to resume ruthless submarine warfare in disregard of their pledges.

The visit of the U-53 to Newport on Oct. 7, followed immediately by the sinking of five vessels off Nantucket, some of them in the presence of United States warships, which stood by and rescued the passengers and crews, was caustically criticised at the time by English newspapers and in Parliament, but no official protest was lodged by the Allies with our Government, and no protest against the submarine activities off our shore was made by the United States. As late as Nov. 15 this matter came up again in the British Parliament.

A definite declaration is expected from the United States Government to the effect that it will not tolerate Germany's claim of the right to sink contraband-carrying ships without warning, even though the ships carry defensive arms. The United States has held heretofore that a vessel chartered by a Government is not a transport, and is as immune from attack without warning as any other merchant vessel unless her officers and crew are under orders of an Admiralty to resist when attacked.

The Marina and Others

The cases which this Government is now seriously concerned over occurred as follows: On Oct. 30, 1916, the British steamships Marina and Rowanmore were torpedoed and sunk off the Irish coast by German submarines. The Marina, owned by the Donaldson Line, was a horse transport with a mixed crew of Americans and British. The Rowanmore was a Furness freighter bound from Baltimore for Liverpool with a mixed cargo. Six Americans were killed in the sinking of the Marina.

On Oct. 28 the steamship Lanao, bound from Manila to Havre with a cargo of rice, under Philippine registry, was sunk by a German submarine. The crew was saved.

On Nov. 7 the Peninsular and Oriental liner Arabia, 7,933 gross tonnage, with 450 passengers, was torpedoed in the Mediterranean. All the passengers were saved. It is asserted by the passengers that there was no warning.

On Nov. 8 the American Hawaiian steamship Columbian, 8,579 tons gross, from Boston to Genoa with a cargo of steel, was torpedoed in the Bay of Biscay. It is stated that the Columbian encountered the submarine during a violent tempest Nov. 6. The submarine compelled the steamship to stop, and held it under surveillance until the storm subsided two days later. The crew was then compelled to abandon the vessel in open boats, the Captain being taken aboard the submarine. The vessel was then torpedoed and sunk.

The Germans assert that warning was given except in cases where the vessel

was armed or made a hostile move against the submarine. The Arabia and Marina were both armed. The passengers assert that in neither instance was any warning whatsoever given, nor did either vessel make any hostile move.

In the case of the Columbian an interesting question has arisen as to the right of a submarine to imprison an American officer of a torpedoed boat. Captain Curtis of the Columbian states that when his vessel was torpedoed he was held a prisoner on the U-49 for six days thereafter. The Columbian had a cargo of 9,000 tons and a crew of 109 men, all of whom were saved.

The following statement was made by Captain Curtis:

Submarine U-49 fired at once two torpedoes at the Columbian, which immediately sank. The crew was left in lifeboats, while I was taken on board the submarine, which plunged immediately after I was taken into the Quartermaster's small cabin, where I found the Captains of the Seatonia and the Balto. After me came Captain Yelugsen of the Fordalen. The cabin was very small. It contained a little folding table, a folding chair, and three bunks. Everything was permeated with the odor of benzine. There was no communication with the exterior and the cabin was absolutely dark, night and day. We were fed in the morning with a few morsels of black bread, a cup of coffee, and a small portion of bad butter; at noon with a stew of canned meat and soup, and at supper, at 10 o'clock, with coffee or tea and black bread, with butter or marmalade. The hours spent in this narrow prison were very long and disagreeable.

Captain Curtis said that between the operations of the submarine he was allowed to go on deck to smoke. He was watched by members of the crew, armed with revolvers, but when he went below the crew put aside their weapons.

The submarine signaled to the Swedish steamer Varing thirteen miles off the Spanish port of Camarinas toward noon of Nov. 9. The steamer stopped and was ordered to take aboard the Captains and land them. She was also ordered to take aboard the crews of the Columbian and Norwegian steamers. All were welcomed aboard the Varing.

The submarine watched the operation, and then ordered the Varing to make for the coast, six miles from Camarinas. The Varing was directed to set out lifeboats and embark the shipwrecked men in them. This was a long and difficult operation, and an American from the Columbian fell into the sea and narrowly escaped drowning. He was slightly injured during his rescue.

The First Gas Attack at Ypres, April 22, 1915

A British soldier-author who writes under the name of "Sapper" gives this description of the first use of asphyxiating gas by the Germans in his new book, "Men, Women, and Guns":

Utterly unprepared for what was to come, the [French] divisions gazed for a short while spellbound at the strange phenomenon they saw coming slowly toward them. Like some liquid the heavy-colored vapor poured relentlessly into the trenches, filled them, and passed on. For a few seconds nothing happened; the sweet-smelling stuff merely tickled their nostrils; they failed to realize the danger. Then, with inconceivable rapidity, the gas worked, and blind panic spread. Hundreds, after a dreadful fight for air, became unconscious and died where they lay—a death of hideous torture, with the frothing bubbles gurgling in their throats and the foul liquid welling up in their lungs. With blackened faces and twisted limbs one by one they drowned—only that which drowned them came from inside and not from out. Others, staggering, falling, lurching on, and of their ignorance keeping pace with the gas, went back. A hail of rifle fire and shrapnel mowed them down, and the line was broken. There was nothing on the British left—their flank was up in the air. The northeast corner of the salient around Ypres had been pierced. From in front of St. Julian away up north toward Boesinghe there was no one in front of the Germans.

New War Methods and Victory

By Winston Spencer Churchill

Former First Lord of the British Admiralty

[Copyright, 1916, by The New York Times Company]

THE supreme events of this war stand out just as vividly as the old one-day battles which used to decide the history of nations. But the size of the picture is so enormous and the style of the painting so crude that it can only be judged from a certain distance. One day of struggle is so like another. Looking back, even from no great distance, the true features of the stupendous panorama stare you in the face. We see them now stretching back like a range of mountain peaks to those far-off lands of August and September, Anno Domini 1914.

The German invasion and its victories; the salvation of Paris; the struggle for the seaward flank; Tannenberg; the Serbian morale; Przemysl; Warsaw; Suvla; Champagne; Ferdinand of Bulgaria; Verdun; Brusiloff; and, nearest of all, towering and beetling above our heads, shrouded in darkness and storm, the giant battle in Picardy which history calls—the Somme.

But although we are still so close to this stupendous episode that it is in its general mass under what has been called "a false angle of vision," there are some features which can already be discerned and appreciated. The sombre difficulty of the task and the brilliant achievements of the troops leap out to us in vivid juxtaposition. Let us measure the achievement by the difficulties.

In the old wars of Marlborough and Frederick and Napoleon the differences between the offensive and the defensive were small. Each had its advantages and its drawbacks. But, broadly speaking, an army of sixty or seventy thousand men had no hesitation in attacking an army of fifty or sixty thousand; and there are many instances where successful attacks upon troops of equal quality have been made by skilled Generals with a smaller army. Then came the improvement in firearms; and already, in the American civil war, at Fredericksburg, at Gettysburg, at Cold Harbor, and elsewhere we begin to see the arrest of the offensive by fire. Thus, in 1870, frontal attacks were hardly ever the means of victory, and the German method of gaining battles was seen to consist mainly in the strength of large turning or enveloping movements by very strong forces. It was on this that we were all brought up.

All the theory of modern war, as taught in the nineties, dwelt on the holding of an enemy closely in front till superior forces had overlapped and threatened to surround him; and in the Boer war it was held a crime to make a frontal attack, on account of the severity of the fire and the losses inevitably incurred. These ideas received their largest and latest application in the war between Russia and Japan. All the great battles of that war were simple adaptations of the German method of 1870 upon a much greater scale; and we see the main Japanese army advancing along the railroad with Kuroki always far out on the right flank, or, as in the culminating battle of

Mukden, with Nogi and his Port Arthur army far out on the left flank. Never do we see any success attained by reason of an unsupported battle on the main front. These are broad generalizations. But they show, what is undoubtedly true, that up to the outbreak of the present war the frontal attack on good troops in intrenched positions which cannot be turned was generally regarded by soldiers of every nation as impossible.

What has happened to alter this slowly matured, profoundly studied, universally held opinion, or the hard facts upon which it rested? Certainly it is not any diminution of the power of firearms. On the contrary, their power has increased by leaps and bounds. Improvements in weapons of all kinds, improvements in their use, the magazine rifle, the automatic rifle, the machine gun in all its forms and in undreamed of numbers, barbed wire, intrenchments of marvelous cunning, have multiplied several times the power of the defense by firearms.

The fire which arrested decisively the Japanese frontal attack at Liao Yang and blasted away their furious assaults on Port Arthur, was child's play to the fire through which the British assaults on the Somme have been pushed forward. What, then, are the new facts? There appear to be three. First, the extraordinary development of massed artillery, particularly heavy artillery, with unimagined quantities of shell; secondly, the indifference to loss of life exhibited by all the nations engulfed in Armageddon; and, thirdly, the devotion and superhuman courage of the troops.

How far have these facts affected the conclusions about modern defensive fire which had been so generally accepted before the war? I have called attention recently to some of the conditions and limitations of the latest form of the artillery attack—how overwhelming it was upon the troops and areas subjected to it; but how ponderous and slow moving in application and how local in action; and how considerably it could be mitigated by an elasticity of defense which allowed for a certain limited cession of ground. I have shown also that it reaches its maximum intensity in cases where the defenders, as at Verdun, are resolved not to yield an inch, but where, by continual counterattacks and the pouring in of new troops, they strive with the utmost desperation to hold and regain their fixed positions. No one must underrate the terrific power of the artillery development as a new means of offense; but neither must they forget its limitations. For the rest, there is only the heroism of the soldiers and the ruthless character of the war.

In these conditions, it is clear that only the absence of other possibilities have thrown the armies in the west back upon frontal attacks. If flank attacks were possible they would, of course, be resorted to by the commanders on both sides. But with armies so large and well equipped that the whole front from the Alps to the sea is on both sides perfectly maintained and thoroughly defended, nothing in this theatre but the frontal attack remains. And thus by the force of circumstances we have been driven to attempt tasks many times harder than those which, before the war, all military experience had held to be impossible. That any measure of success should attend such efforts is marvelous. It seems to lift the soldiers of our generation above the level of the warriors of every former age, and place the civilized and educated citizen of a modern democracy upon the supreme pedestal of martial glory.

It is usually assumed that the Germans will be able to relieve themselves of pressure in the west and reduce the strain by what is called "shortening the line." At a certain moment it is thought there will be a general retirement to a new and straighter line, saving, perhaps, a hundred miles of front and releasing 500,000 men. But this view ought not to be too readily accepted. It is by no means evident that any substantial relief will accrue to the Germans from such a retirement and contraction, while the injury to their prestige and the surrender of conquered territory will be a most serious disadvantage. Broadly

speaking, the struggle in the west is between 2,500,000 Germans and 3,500,000 French and British. These immense armies are locked in conflict with each other. They can bring their maximum power to bear upon each other equally well on a 350-mile front as on a 450 or 500 mile front. If the Germans, by "shortening their line," save 500,000 men, the same process will liberate at the same moment about 700,000 French and British troops who are now opposite them. These 700,000 men would be pressed into the attack on one of the existing battle fronts, or alternatively a new battle front will be opened, and the 500,000 Germans who had been "saved" will be required to meet their old antagonists in somewhat different circumstances.

Always remember this is a war of armies, of armies representing the life energies of nations, and it will be decided only by the killing and cowing of men. It is not a war of positions. There are no vital and decisive keys. There are no strategic points, which, even occupied, paralyze the resistance of large forces of the enemy. There are no railway junctions around which deviations cannot be made in a short time. There are no heights which dominate large areas of country. Trench warfare has robbed even the topography of the actual battlefield of much, if not all, its old tactical significance. Almost any positions can be defended by intrenchments and held at a certain increased rental, in spite of being outflanked or overlooked. In fact, one has only to look along the western lines to see examples of every kind of "untenable" position, according to old ideas, being held month after month, almost year after year, by both sides.

Also, this is a war of machinery. Generalship in this war consists largely in the application of machinery to men. The way to win the war is to beat men by machinery. The way to lose the war is to try to beat machinery by men. Wherever your enemy is forced to oppose flesh and blood to steel and fire, you are gaining. Wherever you have to rely on flesh and blood to resist steel and fire, you are losing. This is the shrewdest test by which to try all operations on the western front, whether offensive or defensive, by us or by the enemy. The man-fund is large, but it is limited. It cannot be replenished. "Il faut ménager les hommes."

Here are the sharp prongs of thought: Either an effective method whereby three men can advance continually against two, or a war of sheer extermination. Every year 600,000 German youths reach the military age. Until this annual increase has been consumed—and every life costs at least a life—no progress has been made toward the final exhaustion of the capital. It is only the excess loss above the annual increment which constitutes definite progress toward the end. It is necessary, therefore, if the extermination plan is followed that the pace of the struggle should be urged to the extreme in order that the period be shortened.

For instance, if the war so languished that not more than 600,000 Germans were destroyed or disabled in any one year there would be no reason why their supply of men should ever run short. The pace of the struggle has already forced them to add largely to the number of their divisions. The German armies in response to the strains of 1916 have been greatly augmented, and it is probable that their field establishment comprises nearly 220 divisions, as compared with perhaps 180 at the beginning of the year.

The Verdun blunder, the victories of Brusiloff, the entry of Rumania, the tremendous pressures of the Somme offensive have extorted these new intense exertions and increased expenditure from the enemy. And it should not be supposed even if the Allies can find no better way of winning than by the crude processes of exhaustion and extermination, that they are not able and not ready to tread that terrible road. But the obligation to seek better methods is imperative on the chiefs of the Allies. Is generalship content only with ordering cannon to fire and infantry to charge? Is science bankrupt when she has made shells? Let search be made, let wits be used, let risks be dared by those who have the power to find the shortest way.

The Profit Side of War

By Charles Johnston

I.—Losses and Gains

LET us consider first the losses—the men killed and mutilated, the vast treasure destroyed. There would seem to be an enormous element of illusion in both. Man born is fated to die, whether in battle or the "cow's death," as the old Vikings called it, fated to die and to be mourned, or to die unmourned, which is a greater tragedy. Let us not delude ourselves about the fundamental facts of life and death.

But even when we consider actual losses in war, there is extreme exaggeration. Take a recent instance, the British "losses" on the Somme, in a battle that may establish the power of Britain for a century. We read that each month some 100,000 Britons have been "lost"; but four-fifths of them will be "found" again; only one-fifth are killed outright, and many of the remaining four-fifths are only slightly wounded. But even if we make the extreme allowance for "losses," this does not mean that the vitality of the nation is really impaired. These men die; but their younger sons will live. The birth rate in all western countries has been steadily falling; in France it has even reached the minimum. Nothing is needed but a slight increase in the birth rate—something within the power of the nations themselves—to adjust, within a very few years, the utmost possible losses within a generation or two. The truth is that among all living things the power of increase is always very much greater than the available space; so that the greatest possible diminution will be made up with astonishing swiftness.

The pacifists tell us that, as a result of war, the feeble survive and raise feeble families, but what are the facts? Take the veterans of our own civil war, both long and destructive among modern wars; were the survivors among the combatants really the feebler? Did they, in fact, raise feeble and degenerate families? As Dr. Johnson used to say, we should clear our minds of cant.

Then as to the loss of "treasure." The author of "The Great Illusion," following in the tracks of the able Russian, Bloch, told us that a modern war would end in swift bankruptcy, because its cost is so enormous. But the fact has smashed the theory. Each of the great belligerent nations has shown a recuperative and creative power that has made short work of the theorists. Indeed, we can see no valid reason why, so far as the element of cost is concerned, the war should not continue indefinitely.

The theorists seem to have lost sight of the fact, underlined by John Stuart Mill a half century back, that practically the whole wealth of the world, and of a nation, is created anew each year. Take the case of Germany, the simplest, because Germany is so nearly isolated. What does Germany need, in material, in order to continue the war? Food, guns, munitions; nothing more. She has demonstrated that she can produce enough food at least to keep her soldiers in fighting shape; that her mines and workshops can produce enough guns and shells. Each year creates the supply for each year; and this may continue indefinitely, so long as the German fields and mines hold out.

II.—The Huge War Debts

But, the pacifists allege, the European nations will be crushed to the earth by the tremendous pressure of war debt, which will be like millstones tied about their necks.

Here, again, there would seem to be an enormous element of illusion. Take once more, for the sake of illustration, Germany. It would seem that the process has been something like this—the German Government, in order to pay the war bills, has borrowed money from the German people, from the rich and from the poor. What becomes of the money thus raised? It is spent mainly in two ways—in buying food from farmers, in

A GLIMPSE OF THE POETRY OF WAR IN PICARDY

A French "Poilu's" Snapshot of His Company Resting in a Grove Just Out of Reach of the German Shells.

(© *Central News Photo Service.*)

A TYPICAL VILLAGE IN FRANCE NEAR THE WAR FRONT

The Once Quiet Streets Now Resound Night and Day to the Tramp of Armed Men and the Rumble of Countless Munition Lorries.

(© *American Press Association.*)

order to feed the army; in buying guns and munitions from the factories, which pay enormous numbers of workmen and women. What do the farmers and the workmen do with the money they thus receive? A large part of it they lend to the German Government, which immediately pays it back to them in wages or food payments. Quite evidently, this process might go on forever.

True, but how about the interest? Well, if we look at that deeply, it would seem to be a part of the illusion. A man needs no special inducement, when you are paying him money. He will take it readily enough. But if you want him to give you the money, you must bait the hook with something alluring. The interest is the bait. What will, in fact, happen as regards the German loan? Even Helfferich has long ago ceased to promise that the Allies will have to pay it in indemnities. Who will pay it? The German people in taxes. Yes, but who will receive it? The same German people.

In order to work the thing out ideally all that will be needed will be this—to look up the lists of subscribers to the war loans, with the amount of yearly interest due to each; then to impose taxation in such a way that each man in Germany will pay in taxes exactly what he is to receive in interest on the war loans. What injustice, what hardship, would be worked by this? And will not something substantially like this actually occur in every belligerent nation? It is all a matter of bookkeeping, and can go on in an endless circle.

III.—The Gains: England

What would one, who loved her, have said of England in the first six months of 1914?

There was, first, the question of votes for women. This was not being quietly and considerately debated. It had been infused with an element of violence; of what one need not hesitate to call indecency, which left the men perplexed and exasperated, and brought the "militant" women into positions which no decent man or decent woman would ever desire to see them in. Recall the now almost mythical and archaic "forcible feeding." Is it not exceedingly difficult, viewing the splendid achievement of England today, to think one's self back to those grotesque, harrowing scenes in Pentonville Prison?

What has rendered all that obsolete? The war. What do we see instead? These same women, working long hours in munition factories, under the device: "The shell made by the wife may save the husband's life!" How does the suffrage stand in England today, in the minds and hearts of both men and women? Somewhat thus, perhaps—the steady conviction would seem to have been reached that there are two classes of "citizens," separated by a fundamental difference—first, the class fitted by God and nature to kill and be killed on the fighting line; and, second, the class not so fitted. No distribution of bits of paper will alter that. And, it should be noted, no class in England is more determined to win the war—more ready to make the grievous sacrifices by which alone the war can be won—than the women of England; they see, with intuitive keenness, what it would mean to them, the women, if the men of their nation were too philosophical to fight.

England was torn in two, next, by the perpetual, and perpetually unsolved, Irish question. Here, while no formal solution has been reached, there is no question at all that a warmer, more generous, better understanding has been created between the two nations; most of all, between the men of the two nations, who have fought side by side upon the battlefields of France. And, we may be quite confident, the air of France—that luminous, benign air—will do much for both. The Irish question may not be solved by the men now in Ireland or in England; all these are more or less in the ruts of past abortive solutions; but the Irish question may very well be solved by the Englishmen and Irishmen—whether from Ulster or the south and west, who are now fighting together in Picardy. These men will bring new light home with them, to shed on that ancient, vexed question. And those will

bring most light who have fought most valiantly.

But there were other dangers that, just before the war, cut very deep into the life and heart of England. Perhaps it would not be unfair to say that Lloyd George, in his personal history and development, is the finest, most eloquent commentary on this side of the question. If it takes an effort of historic imagination to think one's self back to the days of forcible feeding in gloomy Pentonville, so that the name sounds almost as archaic as Bedlum, does it not take an even greater effort to think one's self back from the imperial statesman who is Kitchener's successor to the orator of the famous Limehouse speech? What was the essence of that speech and the agitation it made articulate? Social unrest, founded on the sense of social injustice. Lloyd George was telling his auditors, a characteristic gathering of "the people," that they were exploited, tyrannized over, robbed, that they should rise and take their rights by force, giving him the power to act for them. It was practically the doctrine of the French Revolution.

But what is the mood of England today as regards the whole of what is called the "social question"? That it must be solved, that it will be solved, by generous co-operation, by a union of hearts forged in the melting heat of war, in the "furnace of affliction," to use the poignant phrase of Isaiah.

In the first months of the war, the first months of voluntary enlistment, it was noticeable that the upper classes, the better-educated classes, responded more readily and more generously to the call of their nation's need. Why? Because they understood more clearly the finality of that need, the imperative call of honor, to meet it. Not a noble house in England that is not wearing black today.

Only slowly, by degrees, under some pressure, did the masses of the people of England wake up to the fact of their deadly peril; wake up to see that an enormous force was organized, and armed with incalculable resources of destruction, with the deliberate intention of wreaking that destruction upon England, of practically annulling her thousand years of history and wiping her name out from among the nations. The better born and better taught had seen that instantly, and, having the higher privileges to sacrifice, sacrificed them more speedily and generously. So much was this so that it was called in the beginning a "gentleman's war"—because it was being fought for the principles of honor and humanity that make a gentleman. Now they think of it as a war for humanity; for all that ennobles human life. We may expect to see, after the war, great changes in England—a century's advance within a few years; changes brought about, in the main, not by the men who have remained in England, but by the men who come back from France. It has been well said that England's naval power represents what England is doing for England, but that England's army — incomparably the greatest in her long history—represents what England is doing for France. An act so large hearted must bring golden fruit.

IV.—The British Empire

One of the calculations of the Teutonic war psychologists (whose metallurgy, as a witty Frenchman has said, is so much better than their psychology) was that, under stress of war, the colonies and dependencies of England, the "dominions beyond the sea," would seize the opportunity to cast loose, to break the ties that bound them to England, ties which, in the view of these psychological theorists, were nothing but fetters. That was one among many bad prophecies, to the vitiating principle of which we shall presently come.

Let us see how the matter worked out. Let us begin with India, one of the great historic regions of the world. How did India react? There were small conspiracies, here and there, but, curiously enough, investigation in the courts showed that they were hatched, for the most part, on our own Pacific Coast, not in India at all. They were the work of needy adventurers, one group of whom, recruited from California and British

Columbia, had the astounding plan of financing their "revolution" by burglary.

But these sunspots only made clearer the brightness of the sun. The facts are that almost the entire army of occupation (which never amounted to more than about 75,000 British soldiers, in a population of 300,000,000) was withdrawn; not only did India hold steadfastly to England, but her Princes gave their treasure, her people gave their lives, to fight for the British Empire on battlefields in lands that were mythical to them; for every Indian soldier who crossed the "black water" to fight for England was a volunteer, as much as were the Canadians or the New Zealanders. Can we doubt that the spiritual reaction on these ancient races will be immense and decisive?

Let us take next, South Africa. I suppose every one regrets, and deeply regrets, that a man of high military gifts and indomitable pluck like Christian De Wet, should have been inveigled into treason; but here, as in India, the treachery of De Wet and his associates only makes brighter the loyalty and devotion of Botha, Smuts, and their associates.

The truth is, that the Union of South Africa, created so soon after the Boer war, has shown itself to be not only generous, but, politically, most wise. Founded on the everlasting principle of justice, it has been so recognized by the Boers who fought against Britain; and they now see that it is their advantage in every way to be an integral part of the empire. Documents seized when Botha's troops conquered German Southwest Africa made it absolutely clear to the whole Boer population of South Africa that Kaiser Wilhelm had counted confidently on adding their territory to that of Germany as a result of the war. They enjoy, at present, free representative government and impartial justice; they have good reason to believe that, were they a part of the German Empire, they would in practice be submitted to military despotism, as is the Fatherland, in spite of constitutional forms. Further, there is a strong element among the Afrikanders which comes of French stock; Botha is an example; Joubert was another. These men have no prejudices in favor of Germany. The war, therefore, is likely to see the Union of South Africa increased in area from about 475,000 to about 1,175,000 square miles, and drawn by much more cordial bonds to the rest of the empire; fighting on the same battle line will do much to bring this greater cordiality about.

Of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, one need say little, though very much might well be said. Each of its own motion, these great self-governing dominions have elected to play a splendid part in world history; to lend their weight to the decision of the greatest question that has ever faced mankind. They will gain in return—to a large degree they have already gained—what a gifted Canadian aptly called "cosmic consciousness"—the power to think in terms of the whole human race; the power to act on the whole of human destiny. We may believe that their whole future history will be colored by this decision.

V.—The Russian Empire

"With the war and without vodka, Russia is richer than with vodka and without the war"—those words, in a few hours, went round the world, and announced a new epoch of Russian history, an epoch of greater self-reliance, greater sacrifice.

From time to time, if we wish to keep our judgments just, we should remind ourselves that Russia is by far the youngest of the greater nations, the expression of the youngest of human races. The United States began life with a millennium of English jurisprudence, of English political life—which has been the foundation of all modern political life—behind them; they have built on this firm foundation. Russia, within the memory of men still living, was divided into two parts, one of which, less than a million, "owned" the remaining forty millions and often lost a few dozen or a few hundred "souls" over a game of cards. And today, within two generations, Russia is making steady, stalwart progress in constitutional government;

is steadily developing a sound, self-reliant productive system, uncovering natural resources equaled nowhere in the world. And this, in the nation's childhood. What astonishing things will not her maturity show?

The Japanese war did much for Russia, much for her Government and more for her army. But the Japanese war was remote, not sensibly felt by the great mass of the people. With this war, it is altogether different; it has cut Russia to the quick—and has roused her sons to make mighty efforts. The results, in many ways, have been immense.

There has been an enormous enhancement of the national consciousness. The great invasion of 1812 entered deep into the Russian heart, and will never be forgotten. This war, with its invasion also, has entered deeper, and has brought a far profounder reaction. It is, hour by hour, laying the fabric of a finer patriotism. There is, throughout much of the Russian literature of the past, throughout much of Russan music, a plaintive note, a note of weeping, heard first in the days of the terrible Tartar conquest. After this war, we may confidently believe, there will be a more virile note, a note of victory.

There will be more tangible and material gains. The needs of the war have aroused the Local Governments — the Zemstvos—to tremendous efforts, closely correlated for the whole nation; effort, as always, has brought power; and these local bodies, while they have furnished the army with food and shoes and underwear with marked efficiency, have supplied themselves with unselfish power and wide political experience. Further, industrial Russia will greatly gain. Her mines and ore fields, under the pressure of the munition famine, have expanded swiftly, gaining more in these two years than they would, without the war, have gained in two generations.

But the greatest gain of all is the strengthening of the fibre of Russian character; precisely such a strengthening as marks the change from boyhood to manhood; there is greater steadiness, greater force, greater self-knowledge, greater self-reliance. Russia has gained a lifetime's growth within a few months, and has already shown marvelous powers.

VI.—The Splendor of France

What shall be said of the gains of France? First, perhaps, this: That no nation in all history, in any episode of its life, has received in so large a measure the love and admiration of mankind, as France has received since the war began. And, second, this: No nation has ever borne itself with finer dignity, greater simplicity, clearer loyalty, in the face of universal homage.

Germany began this war to exalt Germany. She has succeeded, in a degree previously unimaginable, in exalting France. She sought for herself the hegemony of Europe. She has won for France the spiritual hegemony of the world.

In Germany, before the war, they looked down on France, and despised her. There is an ugly story, very well authenticated, of the German Crown Prince declaring, six or eight months before the war, to an English guest that he "wanted to get a smack at the French swine." Well, he has had it, and a million German families are in mourning, through his personal efforts. It is said that in all Central Europe there is but one family containing six sons of military age which has not lost a son on the battlefield.

The German Emperor told his soldiers that, as the war of 1870 was ended under the walls of Paris, so the present war would be ended at Verdun. Has he yet begun to see that he may have spoken prophetically, though, like Balaam, in an opposite sense? Under Verdun France has won the admiration of the world and the certainty of victory; under Verdun Germany has tasted the first bitterness of defeat. France has shown herself to be, once more, the greatest military nation—greatest in strategy, greatest in valor. One need not say that she will win—one may already say that she has won—a sovereign place among the nations. Her ancient sceptre is once more in her hands.

And the greatest testimonial to the spirit of France is, that the whole world

feels happier for it; not a man in England, or in Russia, or in Italy, or, we may add, among the better elements of neutral nations, but feels an exultant pride in France's fine achievement. Had Germany won, all generous hearts would have felt the numbing touch of chill misgiving. France's victory brings only warmth and gladness. Can there be better evidence than that of the real place of France?

And the reaction upon France herself, not so much of her great victories at the Marne, and at Verdun, and now on the Somme, but of the heroic self-sacrifice that created these victories, has been striking. First, on her Government. No nation at this hour has a stronger Government, which so perfectly expresses the will of the whole nation. She has all the virtue of a monarchy—high ideals expressed by a unified will—and is yet intensely national. The Frenchman is the freest man on earth today, because he has freed himself by splendid sacrifice.

Next, France has gained self-knowledge and self-confidence. The grievous defeat of 1870, made possible by the dishonesties of the Second Empire, filled her with shame and self-distrust. But, even in that distrust of herself she built up an army that was able at the Marne, a month after the war opened, to smash the greatest war machine on earth. That was no extemporized victory. It had been carefully, painfully prepared; its foundations laid by years of deliberate self-sacrifice. It is because Joffre prepared that victory as well as gained it that he is sovereign in French hearts today. France was great and strong when the Marne battle began. When the battle ended she knew her greatness and her strength. We have used the phrase, "the greatest war machine"; the French soldier is not part of a machine; he is a living soul, and hence his victory.

Then, again, French literature has gained a new and vital note. In one way France, essentially pure-hearted, gravely misrepresented herself in her literature, especially in the part of it oftenest read abroad. It was full of dramas of passion, of corrupting allurement. But this may be said for it—it was always the allurement of beauty and charm, never the sordid bribe of greed, of successful money getting; and French prose, even in novels otherwise bad, was full of beauty, of light, of poetry. The superb style carried its message of the French spirit over the head of the faulty subject matter. And even in the midst of grossness there was exquisite sensibility. Take Paul Bourget, some of whose plots are bad; does any writer know women better? Is any writer better acclaimed as their interpreter by women themselves? In Maupassant, too, there are stories of heartbreaking tenderness; there is surpassing beauty. But the new French literature, born just before and during the war, has added to these high gifts devotion and a superb purity. It is attaining heights we as yet hardly realize.

This renewal of literature is only the symptom of a renewal of life. In the years before the war there were, in France, elements of despondency, of depression, of disbelief, which brought dangerous fruit. Three years before the war the Government of France surrendered to Germany territory in Africa equal to half the area of France, under circumstances hardly distinguishable from betrayal. Political strife had flowered in assassination; Jaurès, the great orator of socialism, was slain. There was the ugly scandal of the assassination of Le Figaro's editor. The industrial world was convulsed; sabotage was rife and menacing; the very word is the creation of this period. The army was becoming unpopular—falling into disrepute, a target for hostile politicians. The whole question of the Church and of religion was exacerbated by the bitter policy of Combes and his successors. And today the Government of France is among the strongest in the world, and the most perfectly united, while France is aflame with magnificent patriotism. In England there have been strifes, the menace of strikes, public quarrels; in France, not a shadow of these; only splendid unanimity and heroism.

This brings us naturally to the new birth of religion in France, something so great that even the first rays of its dawn are splendid. France has had an unbroken series of great spiritual teachers and religious mystics, but never hitherto have they given expression to what was the dominant, universal spirit of the nation. But today the most genuine religious spirit, and the purest, is at the same time the most representative of France as a whole. Divine Destiny, it would seem, has in store for France gifts that will make the common kinds of success cheap and tawdry and contemptible. France is striking a new note of nobility, setting new standards for human life; we shall all have to heed them, on pain of finding ourselves among the degenerates. For men must go forward or backward; there is no halting on the path of life.

VII.—Other Entente Nations

That Italy has gained immensely in the world's esteem because of the war no one will deny; and she seems certain to gain also in territory and in wealth; to round out her national life by adding her exiled provinces; even to gain something of the extent of the older Italy, by winning a secure foothold in Africa and Asia. But there are the smaller nations. Rumania seems able, with Russia's aid, to hold her own. The first shock of attack against her is already broken, and the attack is likely to lose, rather than to gain, momentum. Had Belgium been able to hold out as long, Belgium might have escaped invasion.

But Belgium would thereby have forfeited a priceless spiritual victory. She made the supreme sacrifice, and by that sacrifice she settled forever the moral values of this war—for all who can perceive moral values. Belgium's anguish has gained her a place in history that no triumph could have given her.

What is true of Belgium is true of Serbia. She has set a new standard of heroic sacrifice and valor. She has shown herself made of rough but splendid stuff. She is likely to travel far.

VIII.—The Central Empires

Among the powers arrayed on the other side, the Turks have probably come out best in the world's esteem; and the Hungarians next. Russians, Englishmen, who have fought against the Turks, admire them; Frenchmen, like Pierre Loti, never tire of praising them; "they fight like gentlemen," is the testimony of all their foes. And, while this war is likely to end their domination over other nations—whom they have never handled well—it may very probably confirm the strength of a genuinely Turkish state in Asia Minor, where the Turk is really at home, and where he may do magnificently.

Of the future of Bulgaria or of Austria it is yet difficult to speak; too much still remains in the balance. For Hungary, one might well wish the same destiny as for Turkey—that she may be removed from the danger—which has been a grave one for her—of finding other races in her power; so that her manly, forceful race may work out its destiny free from this pitfall.

There remains Germany. Let us concieve of some one with a love for Germany, untainted by vanity or arrogance. What gift would such a one wish that Germany might gain through the war?

This, perhaps, first: A realization of the blasphemy she has been guilty of in calling her own dark ambitions "God." And, with this, the sense that genuine religion consists, not in seeking that God shall do our will, but in sincerely seeking to do God's will.

Next, this: A deep insight into the insult she has offered to all mankind by her dogma that Germany alone is right; that other nations are Germany's natural prey; that they have no rights except what Germany is willing to give them; the tolerated liberties of slaves. When Belgium's tongue is once more untied, we shall have candid judgments on German "liberty."

Thirdly, that a worldwide organization of treachery and deceit, of bullying and falsifying, is as futile and foolish as it is evil; that the God of Truth is still King over the earth.

These would be priceless lessons; invaluable gains of war.

Britain's Daughters at Dangerous Tasks

By Hall Caine

WE have always been proudly conscious of what the sons of Britain have been doing at the front. Is it not time we realized what the daughters of Britain are doing at home?

Though the vast arsenal of Woolwich is at our own doors, few of us who sleep in London have any real sense of its colossal presence, its immense significance, the tremendous force it stands for. Its origin dates back to other wars, but when the present war began, its workers were only 14,000 in all, without a woman of their number. Now there are 17,000 women and 50,000 men.

HALL CAINE
Photo, Brown Bros.

That is not all. Notwithstanding its fierce reality Woolwich is a symbol rather than a geographical expression. To that centre on the Thames, three and a half miles by two and a half, with its numberless workshops, its endless avenues, and its 120 miles of internal railway, there radiate the activities of scores of associate factories round about, so that 30,000 workers more, chiefly women, (97,000 in all,) are feeding this almost fathomless reservoir. Woolwich is a great mechanical octopus with arms that reach over, across, and around London and the country about it.

Before going into the women's workshops you are taken to the forges of the men, for it is impossible to come to Woolwich without seeing the awful basilicas of bridled force in which the mammoth guns are created. Here is one of them, a vast place, as big as Albert Hall. A colossal Nasmyth hammer, with a blow of forty tons, is pounding on a thick block of white-hot steel. First a gentle tap to make sure of position and then a thunderous thud that makes the earth quake beneath your feet.

A few moments later you are in another vast forge, but here there is nearly no noise and hardly any motion. A gigantic press of 4,000 tons' power is drilling a hole through another enormous block of white-hot metal. The great thing seems almost as large as the façade of St. Mark's at Venice, and not unlike it in form, although stark and black. Under its open arch, without a sound or the appearance of a hand to guide them, and with a motion that is almost ghost-like, the great anvils with their burning freight glide into position. A score of stalwart men, stripped to the waist, stand round with long iron rods and pinchers. They push a thick black ring of apparently cold metal on to the top of the white-hot block. One man stands under a huge clock with his hand on a lever. No one speaks. There is scarcely a sound. Presently there comes slowly down, as from the keystone of the monster machine, a shining column of steel. It reaches the black ring, presses down on it, descends without a pause to the white-hot block, rests on top of it for a moment, there is a thud as of something falling into a pit beneath, and then the column rises, the arch is reopened, and the ring has disappeared, having passed through the metal and dropped to the ground below. The sense of silent, irresistible, oceanic,

almost motionless power has left you breathless.

But perhaps the most awesome of all sights in Woolwich is that of the big furnace house for manufacturing the steel. I think I have witnessed in various parts of the world many scenes of nature in her wrath—scenes of earthquake, eruption, tidal wave, geyser, and boiling river—but I doubt if I have ever been more awed, more moved, and in a sense more terrified, than by the spectacle here presented of the physical forces of nature chained and harnessed to the work of men.

The Big Furnace House

A huge clay-colored oven, shaped like a wart, thirty to forty feet high, topped with an open mouth like the crater of a small volcano, belching out a thick column of hungry flame, which comes with a blast and roar as from the bowels of the earth, driven up by some frantic subterranean tempest, and scattering showers of blue stars in a ring about it. The light is so fierce that you put colored glasses before your eyes to protect them; the noise is so deafening that it drowns all human speech. And around the furnace stand the half-stark furnacemen, fifteen to twenty feet away, but within the radius of its sweltering heat, silhouetted even in the glistening light of the vast chamber against the white glare of the roaring oven.

Surely this, and such as this, is a scene proper for man's work only—for man's muscle, man's naked and blackened body, man's brain and man's nerve alone. Every instinct of our nature revolts against the thought that woman, with the infinitely delicate organization which provides for her maternal functions, should, under any circumstances whatever, take part in the operations such scenes require, and just as we feel that our men only may do work like this, so we must see at the swiftest glance that to any question of which of our men should do it there can be one answer only—the skilled and brawny man who can do it best.

But Woolwich has a world of operations that are entirely suitable for women, and in a few minutes more we are in the midst of them. There is a new shop worked entirely by women, having been built for them since the beginning of the war. The vast place covers an area which is apparently as great as that of Trafalgar Square. Two thousand women are here, and there is room for three thousand in all.

There is at first something so incongruous in the spectacle of women working masses of powerful machinery (or, indeed, any machinery more formidable than a sewing machine) that for a moment, as you stand at the entrance, the sight is scarcely believable. But you go in and move round, and after a while the astonishing fact seems perfectly natural. Although most of the machines in this shop are small, some are large, and a few alarming. Here is a slip of a girl working one of the latter kind, a huge thing that has two large wheels like mill-wheels revolving at either side of her, and though she looks like a child in the jaws of some great black monster she does not seem to be the least afraid. Here is another young girl who is feeding a round disk with bits of metal that look like discolored farthings, and as her own particular Caliban eats them up it utters from its interior a hoarse grunt that hits you like a blow on the brain, yet she does not seem to hear.

But most of the work done by the women looks simple enough, and seems perfectly natural to their sex, although it has always hitherto been done by men. One woman is turning base plates for shells on a turret lathe. Another is cutting copper bands for shells from tubes. Another is pressing the copper bands into their places. Yet another is riveting brass plugs on to high explosive shell bodies. Some are drilling the holes through the six-inch shells. Others are rough-turning the shell surfaces; and yet others are gauging and paring-off the bodies of the huge eight-inch high explosives. Many are making shell fuses, a task in which women have become amazingly proficient, and many more are at work at the inspection board, where, being trained to the use of one gauge only, they have developed an efficiency to which men have never attained.

All the women wear the same uniform, a khaki-colored overall girdled at the waist, and a cap of the shape of a bathing cap.

Hard Work and Good Pay

Their hard work does not seem to be doing much harm to their health, for their eyes are bright, their cheeks are fresh, and there is hardly any evidence of fatigue among them. The clamorous and deafening noise of the machinery, its jar and whir and clank, which make your temples throb, sings (after their first days in the factory) like music in their ears, and they would miss it if it stopped. They work day and night, in two shifts of twelve hours each, with a break of an hour for dinner and half an hour for tea. Their pay, which is usually by the piece, is generally large, the minimum being, I think, a pound a week, and the maximum five or seven pounds.

But you realize that the lure of money is not the sole or yet the chief magnet that draws women to work for the war when you leave this immense workshop for the sinister-looking sheds in which the finished shells are filled. Everybody knows that a shell is not merely a lump of dead steel, but a living reservoir of compounds which have been brought up from the bowels of the earth and transformed into terrible explosives. Everybody knows, too, that the shell has to be loaded with its deadly charge. Therefore there ought not to be any question of exciting public alarm (there is no reasonable cause for it) or any fear of betraying a secret to the enemy (it is no secret) if—as evidence of the moral and physical courage of the daughters of Britain, and as an example of the bravest single thing woman does for the war, risking her life at home even as man risks his life in the field—I describe the scene of what is known as the danger zone at Woolwich.

This section of the arsenal is at some distance from the factories, and we drive to it in a motor car.

Entering the Danger Zone

At a low footboard, which is the boundary line of the safety and danger zones, we put rubber shoes over our boots lest the grit of the streets should strike fire from something within. We then pass into an impressive and tremendous scene.

It is a broad encampment of small one-story wooden houses or huts, separated from each other by a liberal space, and having wide streets between, with raised causeways on either side. Down the middle of the street are lines of hooded and darkened lamps at long and unequal intervals. But the streets here are not for traffic. Within this zone there is hardly a sound or sign of motion. The moon is now shining, and in the distance, under its slow-growing light, we see the shadowy figures of women workers in their khaki gowns and caps moving noiselessly about like nuns. We could almost imagine that out of the noise and tumult, the thud and roar of the forges behind us, with their tall chimneys showing black against the steel-gray sky, we have passed into the calm rest and silent atmosphere of some open-air convent.

We walk along our causeway until we come to one of the detached wooden huts. The door is open (for fresh air is wanted) and electric light is streaming out of it. A dozen women are sitting within at two oblong tables, weighing and measuring out in little brass scales, like a chemist's, with all the care of apothecaries, small quantities of black, green, yellow, and bluish powder, and then pouring them into the open mouths of half-empty shells that stand upright by their sides.

They talk very little—indeed, hardly at all. Perhaps their work requires all their attention; perhaps their spirits are under the spell of the deadly things they are dealing with. Some of them are wearing over their mouths and nostrils light green veils that are like the veils of Arab women inverted; others, in their indifference to danger, have tucked their respirators into their waistbands, and are working with nostrils and mouths exposed.

It is not for long we can bear to look on a scene like this, so fearfully charged with spiritual as well as physical tragedy, and when we step back to the causeway outside we breathe more freely.

On the Battlefields of Picardy

By Count Ferri-Pisani

Count Ferri-Pisani, a prominent French journalist, is now in America. This vivid story of what he saw at the front was written by him in French for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WITH the passing of time the cities in the rear of the Somme front, where the British have concentrated their men, animals, and war paraphernalia, have insensibly become true English cities in the heart of France. Amiens is one of these. At the street corners are "Keep to the Right" signs for the allied drivers. In the suburbs adjoining the military bases the inns desirous of attracting the new clientele have transformed themselves into tea houses. Last year's signboards of "On Loge à Pied et à Cheval" have given place to "Breakfast and Five o'Clock Tea," suggestive of British home life.

In the roadhouses along the canal, at the hour when the dockers leave work, you may hear young Flemish girls answering the salutation of Tommy as he enters. After the coming of peace, when the soldiers of Sir Douglas Haig shall have returned to their island, they will leave behind them many souvenirs, words, customs implanted in the soil. Some of the men in khaki, indeed, will remain in Amiens, establishing their fireside on the ground that they have defended. For marriages between Tommies and French girls are not at all rare in these cities of the north, where betrothals are plighted to the sound of cannonading. * * *

On the Road to Albert

Arras is a corpse. Its very soul seems to have been scattered with its inhabitants. Ruins of people and things! On the other hand, Amiens, its neighbor, has known nothing of the storm save this vivifying current of war migrations.

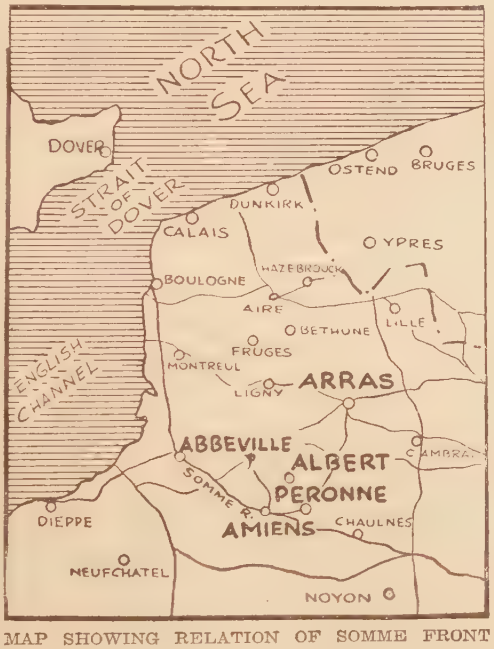
Scarcely sixteen miles separate Amiens from Albert, the gate to the battle. But in this brief distance we pass through at least thirty posts where I have to show the special pass which I hold through the kindness of the British Chief of Staff. The first examination of my papers takes place in a landscape animated by the passage of tugboats towing long lines of pinnaces. Dredging the estuaries of the streams running into the English Channel, borrowing forgotten canals, English sailors now ascend into the interior of the Flemish provinces. An incredible activity has sprung up between the large English seaports and small villages of France that yesterday were rural hamlets and today are river ports. Motor boats flying the allied colors have even been seen to emerge suddenly from behind the banks of narrow creeks, take aim, fire, and disappear, leaving to the astonished soldiers of the Crown Prince a wave of death and a terrifying vision of a naval combat on a sea of gray earth.

At Amiens one could, if need be, ignore the war; but after leaving the suburbs the route to the front is staked out all the way with precise images of battle. Here, in the Valley of the Somme, along the railway, is an evacuation camp. The tents, the barbed-wire inclosure, the cooking sheds, the drinking water, the infirmary, even the fumigating room for disinfecting doubtful clothes—everything had been prepared by the English before the offensive began. As fast as German prisoners are captured they are sent to this camp, where they are counted, sorted, and sent on to England.

On other fronts, in Poland, in Serbia, I have seen Hindenburg's or Mackensen's soldiers brought into the allied lines. At that time even the most gravely wounded prisoners still looked defiance with eyes that sought a weapon to strike. They had an inner certitude of final victory. But on the Somme, among the 300 captives of Contalmaison, there certainly was no more bravado. Instead there was stupor—the physical stupor of the formidable bombardment that had isolated them for three days on a little island that was fighting a sea of steel and fire;

moral stupor caused by the assault of that British infantry which up to that time the Emperor and his famous guard thought contemptible.

At least a third of the captives that I saw belonged to the élite Prussian corps. Well equipped, mostly young, they were among the enemy's best troops of attack. They showed none of the rage of knowing themselves conquered—only stupor. To have believed the French worn out with the battle of Verdun, and then to find them more redoubtable than ever on the Somme! To discover, in place of a handful of English mercenaries, whole army corps of volunteers, sure of themselves, solidly organized, brave even to madness! What deception!



MAP SHOWING RELATION OF SOMME FRONT TO ENGLISH CHANNEL

The Birdmen of Battle

A ray of sun has pierced the fog that veiled the rolling plain of Picardy. Like a gigantic curtain the mist divides, disclosing villages, bell towers, water courses, green meadows, blonde fields that stretch now to the four horizons. A magnificent setting for a spectacle still more magnificent! Toward the high heavens, all blue, a famous air squadron is going to fly. The camp is on the edge of a forest glade. It is a camp of ultra-modern, scientific Bohemians. The aeroplane is a bird of luxury that demands for its service a whole group of specialists and an imposing outfit—motor tractors, a park of artillery, automobile workshops, a wireless station, a photo-electric van. To the person of the aeroplane are attached mechanicians, photographers, carpenters, telegraphers, electricians, armorers.

Here are the birds in a row before their tents of green canvas. On the ground, in repose, they look like inoffensive yellow penguins. But wait till, roused by the song of the motor, they scale the clouds with outstretched wings! They will be bold falcons then. Their pilots, with legs gaitered in fawn-colored leather and body enveloped in furs, for the moment are pacing the esplanade in couples. They are waiting.

Already the helpers are busy over the machines, testing for a last time the soundness of the stays, verifying the cleanness of the magnetos. The motors utter their staccato volleys, the fans whirl, luminous, driving the air over the shuddering grass.

When they are silent one hears the rumble of the cannon yonder on the Somme. * * *

In the chief's headquarters a bell has sounded. A marine officer, map in hand, advances. Over the map, fly specked with red and blue dots, the pilots lean. The last orders are given by numbers. In the past the objects of battles were cities with resounding names—victories were called Austerlitz, Wagram. Those were the days when one could plant a flag on the walls of a conquered redoubt. You could see your triumph. Today you receive the order on leaving: "Drop six bombs on 325. * * * Photograph 2113 at a height of 500 yards." How often is the man who obeys an order ignorant of the result of his act! It is the reign of abstract figures.

But the incendiary arrows are ready, in the carlings the bombs are in their place; the young men in furs approach

their birds. Some one pointed out to me an aviator who before the war led all the noted cotillions in Paris. Another in times of peace had been only a humble workman. Here is a poet; he is the observer on board a machine piloted by a celebrated boxer. Each social class has contributed its quota to the personnel of the fliers.

At Albert, Gate to Chaos

My auto now glides along the road of the offensive, which today bears an English name, for our allies rebaptize as fast as they advance. * * * On the Somme there is none of the fever that marked the road to Verdun. The motor trucks run on first speed. Who would have suspected that so much calmness led, a few miles further on, to the formidable offensive? Up to the gates of Albert women and old men are working in the fields.

Enveloped in a shroud of impalpable dust, Albert, the bombarded city, rises before us. I look in vain for the spectacle of atrocious desolation that awaits me further on with the annihilation of Fricourt, the less than nothing of Mametz and Curlu. Albert has appeared to me always since that day as a flourishing city with streets, roofs, walls, half a church. Out of a shattered window leans the resigned head of an old woman. A cat mews under a crumbled porte-cochère. A little girl crosses a dangerous zone, running. It is life again beginning to overflow these reconquered towns, which within the hour are to present to me a vision of the world before its creation.

On the route to the offensive, Albert is the last thing to which one can give a name. As soon as one has traversed what remains of the city, one advances in the midst of a monstrous leprosy that has eaten into everything, leaving nothing standing, from one place to another, but the mangled trunk of a branchless tree. Pick and shovel, shells, mines and countermines, smudges, torpedoes of all shapes and calibres, gas, the feet of men, the hoofs of beasts, the wheels of motor trucks—all have for two years done their worst against the soil. Even with the map of the General Staff in one's hand, one risked going astray. No more horizon, no more lines, no more water, no more anything. What wandering tribe, however miserable, would consent to live in such a place?

Yet millions of men do more than live here: they die here.

Today the villages, the meadows, the roads, the groves, present to the eye only a sea of gray earth, with no other guidepoint than miserable wrecks. It is a gigantic bric-à-brac that floats on waves of clay and chalk. As in a junk dealer's shop, so here one finds the débris of vehicles, old iron, rags of uniforms, black wadding, formless boots, old ammunition cases. Empty benzine cans cover whole fields. All the Bohemians in the world seem to have camped here, and yet it is here that a victorious army has passed.

The Factory of Death

One must be forewarned, for the factory of death before us is a factory all invisible, in caves. Its roads creep under the earth, its rails stretch along the bottoms of ravines. Its observatories neighbor with its catacombs. When the factory talks with the heavens, the conversation is carried on from subterranean depths, in whose obscurity shine only the eyes of the radio telegraphers leaning over their copper commutators. All is new here, and terrible, even to the unknown language which these cave dwellers employ when they throw mysterious figures to distant batteries.

Yes, it is indeed a dying factory; a factory in the proper sense of the word, both by reason of the innumerable materials which modern battle exacts, and by reason of the strict division of labor which is imposed on each of the workers. Yonder in the factory at the rear 500 different hands have labored in the making of a single shell. One gives only a stroke of the file, another only a stroke of the brush. Here, in the factory of the front, there are destinies of the humblest. I have known many men who, if asked after a day of decisive action, "What did you do during the terrible battle?" could only reply, "I displaced one stone," or "I dug a hole," or even, "I waited." And yet all these anony-

mous tasks go to make the perfect achievement.

The factory of death advances. Sometimes it seems to stop. It is getting its breath to clear a few more yards, from one funnel to another funnel, from one ravine to the next.

Devastation at Fricourt

The place where Fricourt stood is marked by a few strands of rusted wire, vestiges of conquered enemy trenches. Albert, which was under the German guns for twenty months, is still a city. Fricourt, which was under the British guns a little more than twenty hours, is not even a souvenir of a village. The fire has devoured the last joist. The bombardment has reduced the stones to dust. Of cities overwhelmed by Vesuvius one still finds ruins after twenty centuries. Here of the barns, of the cemetery, of the church, there remains not one slate, not one beam, not one brick. Only things made of iron have resisted. Over the sea of earth the tools of the farming village rise, charred, but recognizable. At nightfall they take on strange proportions—the souls of the peasants who handled them in other days seem to animate them. Ghosts full of menace, they take part in the war, and one might believe them new infernal machines invented to accelerate the work of death.

We follow the direction of the moving death factory. * * * In the direction of Guillemont the machine guns are stuttering. One-half of the effective English troops are counterattacking in order to permit the other half to lengthen the factory a few hundred paces.

"Strategic truths are eternal," remarked my guide. "If the Roman legions were so long invincible, it is because the legionaries were magnificent removers of earth. Every evening, even for a rest of one night, Caesar's soldiers erected their camp, and fortified it as if they were going to live there and defend themselves for ten years. That work with the shovel was one of the secrets of Rome's power. Certainly today victory is reserved for the army that possesses the most intrepid aviators, the heaviest guns, and the bravest infantry; but victory already belongs to the army that shall have shoveled the most earth."

In Presence of the Guns

The manoeuvre of the earth workers had led us insensibly into the kingdom where Lizzie, Woolly Bear, and Grandmother roared. But any one who expected to "see" a modern battle upon arriving even at the extreme limit of the firing line would be cruelly disillusioned. In order to understand an action, it is necessary to keep at a distance, in some army quarters, often out of the range of cannon. The clear vision of a combat is gained only at the rear, however paradoxical that may seem. In proportion as the spectator approaches the holes where the killing is going on the deeds around him take on the aspect of separate acts and the horizon contracts until it is limited by the embrasure of a battlement.

On that day the eight-inch guns into whose den I had penetrated were bombarding Combles. An important business, certainly, but for a mortar pointer the bombardment of Combles or of Strasbourg is all the same thing; for the heavy artilleryman recognizes neither meadow, nor woodland, nor citadel. It is a matter of figures, distances, ready reckoners.

It was terribly hot, and the dust that rose from the battlefield had changed the radiant morning into a dull gray afternoon. Under my eyes three "eight-inchers" were turning on elevated carriages that were themselves mounted on small wheels. Seen in silhouette, there was nothing beautiful about them. The rural "75" has an elegance of its own. But war is an affair of force, not of beauty. The mortars held their muzzles in the air, as if to see what was going on in front of them.

The men who served these guns, long intent upon the monotony of the invisible battle, were laboring bareheaded, in their shirtsleeves. Their motions were like those of bakers before an oven. At each discharge the gun advanced two yards, as if it meant to follow the shell. In its movement it carried along the men. Before the carriage had resumed its normal

position the empty shell was already removed and the new projectile had taken its place. A lightning flash, a roar, a slap in the face, a noise of wings in the sky! These are asphyxiating shells, the latest model, which come at $500 apiece. It is hard to count by lightning flashes, for one must be able to look in all directions at the same time. To calculate by roars would be still more impracticable, for the roar is continuous. It is indeed the "drum fire" of which the Germans speak. The most precise method is to count the slaps; at each discharge the displacement of the air administers a formidable buffet to the face of the gunner.

Road Marked by Graves

To reach Hardecourt our auto had only to follow the graves that marked the stages of the British advance on the right bank of the Somme. Little crosses of wood, a name, a date, and the traditional "Killed in Action." From all corners of the world they have come to die here, the children of old England. In this bloody martyrdom all the provinces of the great island are represented. The distant dominions have offered in sacrifice the most beautiful of their sons. Irish fusiliers, whose death agony is soothed by Catholic priests; brawny Highlanders, critical Welshmen, Scottish rifles whose eyes, the pupils widened by death, still preserve their eternal dream of lake and mountain; impossible Hindus, Canadians full of French enthusiasm, New Zealanders, city street gamins, elegants from Piccadilly, cockneys from Whitehall—all the races, all religions, all the social classes.

Before one of the new graves a platoon of Australian cavalry had halted. While the horses, with loose bridle, were sniffing with astonishment at this soil where not a blade of grass grows, the men were reverently bordering the humble mound with white pebbles. Elsewhere the cherished dead rest beneath armfuls of flowers or leaves.

"The man who lies here is one of our own," said the cavalry chief; "he was a colonist, like myself, in distant Queensland." And the Sergeant told us in a few words the story of that ridiculous little mortar at Hardecourt.

On the eighth day of the allied offensive five infantrymen under the orders of an officer—the same whose grave the Australians are decorating—arrived during a grenade charge at the very heart of the village of Hardecourt. Scarcely had the British installed themselves in their new position when a counterattack was launched against them by the enemy. The Huns are a thousand. Our allies are six men, cut off from the main body of their forces. As their sole means of defense they have one little mortar, half way between a catapult and a crapouillaud in size, and poorly supplied with ammunition. Impassively the five soldiers under their officer set themselves to working the little mortar with the precision and pride of artillerymen serving a siege piece. The orders come with the same fullness as in a heavy eight-inch battery. A magnificent spectacle this of six men opposing the march of a whole battalion. The Germans are only 300 yards away. Suddenly the little mortar is silent.

"First pointer!" cries the impromptu artillery officer from his post of command.

"Killed, Sir," answers a voice.

The body of the first pointer, struck by a shrapnel full in the forehead, lies across the little mortar.

"Second pointer!" orders the Lieutenant. The Huns are 200 yards away. The second pointer has drawn aside the body of his comrade, and again the little cannon thunders. Not long, for in his turn the second pointer drops at his post.

"Second pointer!"

"Killed, Sir."

"Third pointer!"

Three more times the scene is renewed. The fourth time it is the Lieutenant himself who, all his men being dead, loads, aims, and fires the ridiculous little mortar, which, crammed with small bullets, carries terror into the enemy's ranks. The resistance of the six Britishers has been such that at the very moment when the Germans thought themselves masters of the position Australian reinforcements dashed upon the scene, occupying forever the village won by the heroic folly of the old colonist from Queensland. But the

latter had paid with his life for the magnificent exploit. While he was being carried in his agony to the first-aid post the dying man could still murmur:

"You understand? The ridiculous little mortar—we defended it to the end. It would have been shocking to abandon our battery."

After telling me this story the Sergeant added: "We shall soon be three millions of Britishers ready to do that same thing." All the indomitable tenacity of an army fighting, first as a business, then for honor, and now for the salvation of the race itself, was revealed in the words of that simple Sergeant.

In First-Line Trenches

On a punt we crossed the Somme, with its clayey banks. When we were in the middle of the current the cannonade stopped for a space of thirty seconds, during which an agonizing silence suspended all life.

Then suddenly we found ourselves in the trenches of the first line. The piled-up defenses, the posts beyond posts, each section preparing a new section, all seemed to withdraw into infinity for us the moment that our guide could at last say, as we adventured our gaze between two bags of earth: "There, in front, Péronne!" A ridge of chalky earth ran, a thousand yards away, parallel to the French works. On the right, a wood. Further to the north, in a shaded depression, the imprisoned city. It lay spread out in the elbow of the Somme, where we could see its pointed roofs, its brick fortification, its marshy environs, its roads bordered with turf pits.

A new and strange emotion thrilled us. It is true, I had already looked upon cities of France across the enemy's lines, but the houses of those villages were dead things, empty of all inhabitants. Here in Péronne, whose streets and squares we can distinguish; in Péronne, which lies within reach of the voice, almost near enough to touch it, perhaps here there is French flesh and blood. Among the blue helmets who stormed Biaches day before yesterday there are some whose dear ones—their wives, their children—are in the imprisoned city. They have been waiting and hoping there now for two years. They hope because they know. The allotment of enemy troops that traverses Péronne, the increasing number of German wounded, the din of battle approaching—all are magnificent promises and hopes. Already our batteries have lowered their curtain of fire over the road from Bussu. When will our troops enter the first reconquered French city?

But the enemy's guns are already trained upon the roofs, the streets are mined; the Crown Prince of Bavaria is preparing to defend Péronne as he defended Carnoy, Maricourt, Curlu, Herbecourt, Fay. This time again we shall deliver only stones, and to reconquer even these we shall perhaps have to destroy them ourselves. * * *

A Night Attack

It is night; and not the voices of our 75s, not the roar of our more distant heavy pieces, nothing can drown the monotonous and terrible noise from the enemy's line. * * * An attack has been ordered. The wave is about to go forth. Already nothing separates these French soldiers from annihilation—nothing but a sack of earth and fate. * * * It is the moment when he who is going to die feels death coming.

Along the trench the Captain passes. He repeats before each man: "Come, old fellow, we must go into the thick of it." He says it without a tremor in his voice, but also without inflecting the first syllable more than the last. It is as monotonous and as terrible as the tac-tac of the German machine guns on the border of the wood. "Come, old man, we must go into it." A whistle sounds, and a physical thrill runs through the troop. Once outside the magic wall, all these men have again become fierce savages of the killing factory. The wave melts into the chaotic landscape. The last soldier to come out of the trench repeats, mechanically, "Come, old man, we must go into it." Those words epitomize the whole battle, the great, implacable war, which for two years has kept ten million men oscillating between the beast and divinity.

A Night Battle and a Close Call

By Harry C. Collins

A Soldier in the French Army

The writer of this vivid battle narrative is the son of J. Henry Collins, President of the New England Electrical Supply Corporation. He is 26 years old, a Harvard graduate, and was living in Paris when the war broke out. He joined the French Army and has been on the firing line since Oct. 19, 1914, fighting in Belgium, France, and the Balkans. He is now "somewhere in France."

OUR line of trenches had been broken through by the enemy, a few rods to our right. There was a deep depression in the line a short distance to our left, which left the trenches occupied by our battalion almost entirely cut off from the rest of the regiment, and threatened from both sides as well as the front, by the enemy.

HARRY C. COLLINS

Though the deep depression in our lines to the left was far from being a reassuring sight, it was nothing compared with the chaos that existed to our right. Here, as I said before, the enemy had succeeded in capturing a length of our trenches, and had even pushed a little beyond them, hastily digging new ones, in which they faced our troops, who had fallen back some hundred yards.

The result of this was that our communication with our troops to the right was interrupted, except by some "boyaux," (trenches of communication,) far in the rear. Consequently, in case of attack, we would be subjected to a galling flank fire to which it would be extremely difficult to reply, as our bullets would not only strike the foe, but would to a great extent fly past them and over into our own ranks.

It was midnight. The darkness was so intense that it seemed to press down on us like a great, suffocating weight. As I stretched out on the damp ground, which exhaled a sickening, heavy odor—dismal souvenir of past conflicts—I was obsessed with the presentiment that the night was going to be marked by events of a violent nature. So, pulling my rifle alongside of me, within easy reach of my hand, so as to be ready for any proposition that might present itself, I drifted off into the "land of Nod," where the greater part of my comrades had preceded me.

"Aux armes! Aux armes! Stand by to the left there, boys! Here they come! Remember, boys, aim at their bellies—at their bellies! Remember, keep cool and take your time! Now, all together—one, two, three, fire! Crack-ck-k! Boom! S-s-s Spat! Look out! They're sneaking up on the right there. Now! Crack! Crack! Tic-tic-tic! Boom! S-s-s Spat!"

As my sleep numbed brain grasped the situation I sprang to my feet, rushing over to where I heard my Sergeant's voice snapping out order after order in his quick, sharp, incisive manner, which resembled to a striking degree the sharp, dry snap of a lash.

As I reached his side the enemy sent a long, rolling volley of riflefire in our direction, and its rumbling "crack-ck-ck" indicated that he was attacking, as was his custom, in great, closely packed masses. The sinister whistling "S-s-s-s!" of the flying bullets and the ugly sound-

ITALIAN ALPINI CHARGING UNDER DIFFICULTIES

An Austrian Position Just Beyond the Jagged Rocks Has Been Blown Up by a Mine, and the Agile Italian Soldiers Are Pressing Forward to Capture It.

(Pach Photo News.)

closer together in hand-to-hand fighting. After the rifles, the bayonet; then the rifle butt, and finally our fists and feet. The sudden bursting of a war rocket overhead revealed the fact that some sixty of us were almost entirely cut off from the main body; so, as one man, we hurled ourselves forward in a frantic attempt to keep in touch with the others. Too late! Our enemy saw our precarious situation at the same moment as we, and, quickly taking advantage of it, forced their way into the final "boyau" that connected us with our comrades, thus leaving us no means of retreat excepting a narrow strip of high, exposed ground, flanked on both sides by trenches held by the enemy.

To have attempted to escape by this passage would have been sheer suicide; so settling back in the short line of trenches left to us, we gazed desperately right and left, hoping to discover some line of retreat overlooked in the frenzied excitement of battle. Vain hope. All routes of retreat, except the one I previously mentioned, were closed to us. The bitter fact of our complete isolation was forced on us.

Isolated! With what horror we grasped the full significance of our position! Across our memories flashed, like the shifting scenes of a cinematograph, scenes of similar nature where the victims, after a long, brave, and painful fight against starvation and thirst, had at last succumbed under the slow but implacable action of those inexorable foes.

"Come, boys, let's throw this wreckage out of here, so we'll have room to move around while waiting for the counterattack that will set us free," cried the Sergeant, in a cheerful, matter-of-fact tone, as if no possible doubt existed as to a quick delivery from our uncomfortable position. He spoke and acted in this manner to distract our minds from the grim reality, for nothing renders a man more helpless and impotent than a feeling of discouragement or fear.

His ruse succeeded. In a few minutes every one had forgotten the existence of the grim spectre that hung over us, in the absorbing interest of cleaning out the trench, which was littered from one end to the other with a heterogeneous collection of dead bodies, broken timber, rifles, swords, brush, and so forth.

As we were working I noticed that there seemed to be a great lull in the battle, as if the enemy had reached the extreme limit of his forward push and was endeavoring to settle himself solidly in the trenches he had already captured, so as to be able to repulse the counterattack which our men would certainly launch against him.

The counterattack! Would it be successful or not? This was the question.

The silence. The waiting. Occasionally, a scattering volley of rifle fire broke out. Then, the cold shafts of searchlights would flash out, painting the mounds of dead bodies white; a bursting shell would paint them scarlet, or a soaring war-rocket would paint them a ghastly green. The moment was weird, horrible.

One instinctively felt that both sides were hastily and frantically preparing for another great struggle. No sign of life or movement was visible; for the most important factor in the game of modern warfare is concealment. Minutes that seemed like hours, hours that seemed days, dragged painfully by. The eastern horizon assumed a faint grayish hue that foreboded the coming of the all-revealing daylight, which would expose our trench to a hurricane of fire and steel from three directions at the same time, and as yet our side had made no move to regain the territory it had lost.

A strained anxiety was visible in each man's face, showing plainly that all were fully conscious of the gravity of our plight. Suddenly, there seemed to be some activity manifested by our heavy artillery, which gradually increased. Each man asked himself hopefully: "Is our side preparing for an attack?"

The question was hardly formulated in our minds when it was answered in the affirmative by the increased intensity of our cannons' roar, and the feverish activity manifested by the foe as he frantically hastened his work of reconstructing his captured trenches so as to be able to repulse the impending assault. Needless to say, the guns of the enemy were not idle all this time, but were booming

out their messages of defiance and death, with clocklike regularity.

As the moment for action drew nearer, the nervous tension on both sides increased proportionately, and soon the entire sky glowed luridly with the glare of soaring war rockets and flames of bursting shells.

As we were too near their own men to be bombarded by the Germans and naturally spared by our own artillery, we were able to enjoy this magnificent scene of savage beauty without great danger.

The spectacle was of short duration, however, for the bombardment ceased even more abruptly than it had commenced, and, in the comparative silence that followed, we could plainly hear the falling back to earth of parts of trenches, men, and rifles, which our shells had blown high in the air, and, what was more important, the shouted orders of our officers as they led their men forward to the charge. At the same time, to our right and left scores of guttural German voices repeated the orders that were passing down their lines.

"The dance is on!" ejaculated the Sergeant, as he snapped open and closed a couple of times the magazine of his rifle, to make sure it was in good working order. "Here's where the fun begins."

His remarks were abruptly terminated by a shower of hand bombs thrown by the enemy, who had evidently received orders to wipe us out of existence without delay, as our presence in their lines was a constant source of danger to them.

Following their usual motto, "Victory at any cost," they hurled themselves directly into the withering blast of our rifle fire, which cut them down as the farmer's scythe mows down the stalks of wheat.

Onward they came, from right and left in closely pressed masses that continued their unfaltering march over the bodies of their comrades, and we saw that, in spite of our most desperate defense, we would be sooner or later crushed and annihilated under this avalanche of humanity, unless our own comrades, who had already quit their trenches and were running toward us, cheering, could reach us in time to save us from the final rush of the foe. From firing, our rifle barrels became red hot, burning and blistering our fingers most cruelly; but at this moment of life or death we never noticed the pain, but continued charging and firing automatically into the great surging mass before us that never seemed to diminish in spite of all our efforts.

The smoke of burned powder was strangling us, but we did not cough. We were too busy; at times we were rendered completely blind from the same cause, but that was not important; we could charge and fire our rifles blindfolded.

Finally, our groping fingers searched in vain for more cartridges, and we suddenly realized that on our defense with the bayonet depended our lives. "A few minutes more and all will be over," was the dispirited thought that flashed through our minds as we rapidly and mechanically shifted our positions so as to form with our bayonets a glittering, menacing barrier of steel.

A moment's pause. Then over the parapet of our trench appeared the leering face of the enemy, who, realizing our helpless condition, was already tasting the unholy joy of vengeance and was fully determined to exterminate us.

But at this moment the sharp, shrill bugle call "En avant!" ("Forward!") sounded out clearly and triumphantly on the night air, followed instantly by such a great commotion that the savage horde, which had been on the point of hurling itself on us, hesitated and turned to face the new danger that thus suddenly loomed up behind them.

What they saw caused them to rush in the direction from which they had come.

This was our signal to leap out of our trench, and, with Sergeant Chapuis at our head, crying, "En avant, mes garçons! C'est pour la France! Vive la France!" we charged forward at the point of the bayonet.

We had not gone a dozen rods before we caught up with the foe, who was struggling desperately, man to man, with our comrades.

Without a moment's hesitation we drove our long, slender bayonets home

to the hilt in the struggling, writhing backs before us, and then threw the weight of our number into the swirling group of combatants.

At first our side seemed to be in the minority, but reinforcement after reinforcement surged up from the rear, and finally the advantage of numbers was on our side.

The enemy fought bravely and stubbornly, but nothing could have resisted the impetuous forward sweep of the French troops; and gradually the slow, methodical retreat of the enemy changed into a panic-stricken flight.

Still fairly burning with the lust of battle, we wished to rush after them and continue the primitive hand-to-hand combat; but our officers restrained us, and a moment later we saw the wisdom of their action, for when the foe was about twenty yards away and beating a wild, disorderly retreat in full view, scores of our machine guns, which had been silent up to this time, suddenly opened up on them a perfect hail of fire and steel that cut them down like flies.

The enemy continued his desperate retreat, leaving behind him the trenches he had conquered a few hours before. Finally arriving, much diminished in numbers, at the trenches from which he had commenced his attack, he stopped, evidently decided to make face to our attack from his strongly fortified position. He had barely thrown himself into these trenches, however, before our heavy artillery began to thunder with triple and quadruple force, obliging the Germans to lie flat on the ground in order to escape the flying fragments of shells and bombs, while we, profiting by this impenetrable wall of fire and steel before us, continued to advance rapidly across the corpse-strewn ground with but little danger to ourselves.

Finally, however, the rolling thunder of heavy artillery behind us suddenly ceased, and we realized we must be very near the enemy's trenches. Several volleys of rifle fire from before us confirmed this opinion. The enemy had risen from the bottom of his trenches, where he had lain hidden during the bombardment, and was already firing on our advancing columns.

"En avant à la baïonnette!" ("Forward with the bayonet!") shouted the Captain in a voice that seemed to thrill the heart of every man present with its patriotism, for hardly had the command been given before the men were coming swiftly forward into the very teeth of the enemy's fire, singing the "Marseillaise" and crying "Vive la France!"

Our comrades dropped to our right and to our left, and we could plainly hear the shrill whistling "s-s-s" of passing bullets or the ugly "spat!" of those that had attained their human target; but our surroundings, horrible as they were, impressed us but feebly, for we were carried away, intoxicated by the feverish lust and excitement of battle.

On we went, on, on, on, right to the edge of the trench, where our enemies, huddled together like so many sheep, glared up at us with eyes expressing hate and fury. This exchange of glances was only momentary, for the surging mass behind us lifted us from our feet and threw us bodily on the enemy. In a few moments the trench was in our hands and we were firing at the enemy, who was beating a hasty retreat to his next line of trenches.

Very soon, however, our firing became unnecessary, for our heavy artillery began to roar again, and placed between them and their trench a wall of fire and steel through which they could not pass, while our favorite light cannon, the "75s," opened on them a continuous fire that was merciless in its intensity and accuracy.

The trapped Teutons rushed madly back and forth like mice in a trap, not knowing where to flee. To rush forward into the wall of fire created by our heavy artillery was almost certain death; to remain still under the fire of our "75s" and machine guns, which were systematically sweeping the ground, meant annihilation; and to have attempted to return against us, who were now strongly established in our trench, would have been suicide; so, after rushing madly from side to side for a few moments in a fruitless attempt to escape the ever-pur-

suing, withering fire we directed on them, they finally realized that they must choose between surrender and death. Naturally, they chose the former, and a white shirt waved frantically in the air informed us of the fact.

Their white "flag" of surrender barely made its appearance before the order came drifting down the line, "Cessez le feu!" ("Cease firing!") Instantly the rifles, machine guns, and 75s were silent, but the heavy artillery maintained a barrier of fire between the prisoners and their trenches, for we knew well by long experience the character of our foe.

They came toward us in great numbers, their hands high in the air, and a humble, conciliating smile on their lips, muttering in a timid voice: "Kamerad! Pas kapout! Kamerad!"

They were ordered to come forward in small groups, and, as they reached our trench, they were hustled behind the line, placed under guard, and sent back immediately toward the interior, where, after having undergone a period of questioning by the Colonel and his staff, they were sent to the various prison camps scattered through France and her African colonies.

As the last detachment of them passed into our line and was conducted to the rear under guard, our heavy artillery ceased its firing, and, as its smoke slowly drifted away on the wings of the gentle breeze of the new-born day, a scene of terrible desolation was enrolled before us.

Turning my eyes from this distressing scene, I encountered the quizzical gaze of the Sergeant, who had evidently been reading my thoughts:

"Well, boy, what do you think of all this?" he demanded, smiling. "What do you think of war?"

"You know what Sherman, the American General, said, don't you?"

"Yes," laughed he; "and you share his opinion?"

"I certainly do!" replied I, emphatically, as my eye alighted on a group of Red Cross men carrying away the torn and lifeless body of one of my best "pals" in the regiment.

The Voyage of the Deutschland

CAPTAIN PAUL KOENIG IN HIS NEW BOOK

The second voyage of the German merchant submarine Deutschland has added to her fame. She landed at New London, Conn., on Nov. 1, took on a cargo of rubber, nickel, and other valuable commodities, and attempted to get away to sea during the night of Nov. 16-17, with the aid of three tugs, which were to convoy her through the tidal currents at the mouth of Long Island Sound. Suddenly an eddy flung the tug T. A. Scott, Jr., in her way, causing a collision, with the almost instant sinking of the tug and the drowning of five of the six men on board. The Deutschland's bow was injured, so that Captain Koenig had to return to New London for repairs, delaying his departure a week or more. The article here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is from a book in which Captain Koenig has told the story of his first voyage—from Bremerhaven to Baltimore. It is from the chapter entitled "The Snare Spread for the Submarine," and the scene is the North Sea.

THE further we get away from land the heavier the seas become, and the boat is already tossed about in the usual fashion. I feel the motion as I lie in my cabin. About 2 o'clock in the morning I am waked by a "Hello!" hurled at me by the speaking tube that hangs on the wall near my head. Second Officer Cyring, who is on watch, warns me that a white light is approaching rapidly on the starboard side. I jump out and turn carefully, keeping my balance, in the central compartment, and by the ladder I mount through the turret hatchway to the bridge.

Cyring shows me a white light at no great distance. It appears to be approaching. We do not wish to let it come any nearer; we give the alarm and dive.

Then, for the first time I experience the singular impression of surprising security which the power of swift immer-

sion gives you. And it seems quite natural. One is sailing in these world-war times upon an unarmed transport on a dark night; a light approaches—it may be an enemy, probably is one; in a couple of minutes a couple of cannon shots may ring out, and shells shatter your turret, letting the water rush in in a solid mass, and soon the North Sea closes over you. But now nothing of that sort happens. A brief order to the central compartment, a few manoeuvres on valves and wheels, and we go on our way without danger.

We travel more easily submerged in safety, and remain under water until daybreak. About 4 o'clock we emerge. The sky is already bright; unfortunately, the sea is extremely uncomfortable. In the distance we see a couple of fishing boats devoting themselves laboriously to their work. At first we watch them attentively, but their inoffensive nature is soon clearly apparent, and we continue on our course. This, however, is no longer a pleasure. The movements of the boat soon become so violent that the confinement in close quarters, with no air except from the ventilators, makes its effects felt upon the heads and stomachs of the men; a part of the crew gives up eating. Besides, it is impossible to remain on the deck, which is swept continually by the seas. Thus we go on all day. * * *

CAPTAIN PAUL KOENIG
© *International Film Service.*

The weather cleared up toward evening and the sea grew calmer. The sun had just set among the clouds, which it colored magnificently. All the members of the crew who were not on watch had gone on deck to get a breath of fresh air and take a quick pull at a cigarette or cigar. Below it is strictly forbidden to smoke. The men crowded into the sheltered spots, jammed closely against each other, flattened against the wall of the turret. They looked like a hive of bees, a cluster of men in rough, heavy sea garb. Little etiquette is observed at such a moment; I let the men take their ease; they have not much comfort below, and when a head happens to emerge from the hatch to get a few puffs at a pipe, I willingly grant the indulgence. Involuntarily all eyes search the horizon. There is good in that. The more sailors there are looking, the more one sees, and many of our men have the eyes of a hawk.

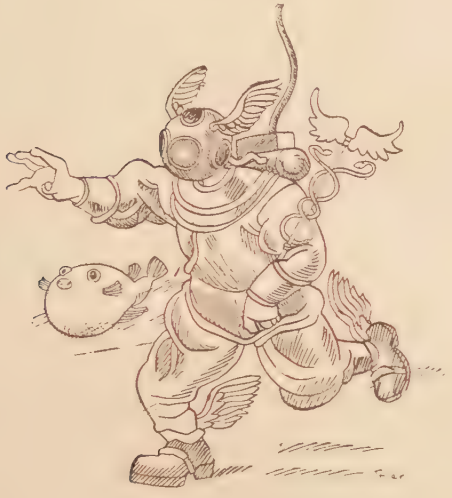
Thus it is that in the limpid twilight of a June evening, at a great distance, two masts appear, soon followed by a smokestack, after which the hull of a steamer looms above the horizon. With the aid of good glasses we watch it attentively. We wish to ascertain its route in order to get out of its way. We take our bearings quickly, and I pick up the chart; I look, compare, observe again, make calculations, look at the map again, and remain confused. Judging from its direction, the steamer is not going toward any port. Is this possible? On that course it is running straight toward shore, no matter where, upon the rocks.

I call Krapohl and show him my calculations. We look again through the glasses, examine the charts. That is fine! The fellow is sailing away into emptiness, without aim or object. Meanwhile we had come near enough to distinguish the vessel's lines perfectly. The pure, clear twilight of June allowed us to observe it clearly. It was a beautiful steamer of medium tonnage, flying a large flag of a neutral country, and upon its hull, strangely enough, were painted the colors of the same neutral country. The middle of the hull bore in large let-

ters a double name, but this we could not read. All at once Krapohl cried:

"Good heavens! How comes it that fellow, so long after sunset, has not yet taken down his flag? Is it mere chance? And what means that strange display of paint in this time of submarine peace?

THE NEW MERCURY



HUMOROUS GERMAN VIEW OF SUBMARINE TRADE WITH AMERICA

(Zur Zeit des U-Boot Friedens.) The chap is open to suspicion!"

I shared his opinion. What surprised me most was the senseless direction. Boats do not go for a pleasure stroll on the North Sea at night during a world war.

We consider what should be done. The steamer has not yet seen us; it continues on its mysterious way and seems to pay no attention to us. I decide therefore not to dive, as our ways will soon part. Suddenly the steamer tacks and heads straight for us. Now we can see that the brave neutral is manoeuvring the tow lines of her small boats, the better, of course, to prove her character as an inoffensive merchant vessel that has stopped and is ready to conform itself immediately to the orders of a warship.

This grand display of innocence was enough for us. I sent all my men below and gave the alarm. We cleared away for the dive, and turned toward the steamer to take a crosswise position, which makes the submersion easier. Then, to our great surprise, this is what happened: Scarcely had the neutral seen our movement and our submersion when it turned about at full speed; as we went under we saw it, amid clouds of smoke, scuttle away in a series of characteristic zigzags. This confession of a bad conscience was simply a triumph for us. We had never laughed as much as we did at that flight of an honest man who had no known destination. The Artful Dodger believed himself unmasked, and was afraid of getting a torpedo between his ribs. And in what a rage he must have been! It would have been so beautiful to come close, as a neutral, to the "pirate," and then, at a sure distance, drop at once his false ports and his pure intentions—and shoot. The snare was so well spread for the U-boat; the German "pirate" had only to come a little closer. Instead of that, we made a hole in the water and remained below for two hours.

On returning to the surface I first inspect the horizon through the periscope, and then, still half submerged, open the turret hatch to take a look through the glasses. The air is clear; to the south the moon has risen and renders the soft clarity of the Summer night more transparent. But as long as I look the sea is deserted; no steamer is in view. The Deutschland can go on her way without disquietude. Besides the unmixed joy that we derive from the deceptions of the wily layer of traps, I am convinced henceforth that we shall see other vessels before they can see us. And that is already so much to the good.

Italy and the Pinch of War

By Dr. Bruno Roselli

Professor of Italian Language and Literature, Adelphi College, New York, now serving in the Italian Army

TWO months ago I crossed the Franco-Italian frontier at Ventimiglia. I had not been in Paris; but I had visited such great cities as Bordeaux and Marseilles, such world-renowned resorts as Nice and Monte Carlo, such quaint little towns as Arles and Carcasonne; and the heroic behavior of France had manifested itself to me in the cheerfully met but all too apparent contrast between an undaunted resolve to win and a daily life on whose every phase war had left its unmistakable stamp. Briefly, France feels the pinch of war, although she smiles in proud defiance.

French Vintimille confirmed this; Italian Ventimiglia had a surprise in store for me. The clutch of war was not there. At first I thought it a local accident. But as I proceeded toward the heart of the Peninsula, along the two Rivieras dotted with picturesque villages and with the palatial villas of the Genoese who have made fortunes in Argentina, I realized that the indescribable atmosphere of war, which had been so all-pervasive in France, was totally absent in Italy. Yet during those very days thousands of military trains and tens of thousands of autocars were pouring into the threatened valley of the Adige that vast improvised army which stopped the Austrian drive at Arsiero and Asiago, and began the counteroffensive which has not yet slackened. This, as I said, was two months ago; and during this time I have not only revisited many Italian cities, and talked over the situation with scores of Italian acquaintances, (it is a pity that all American writers of war impressions do not have a similar opportunity,) but I have also spoken with many a contadino, charcoal burner, shepherd, village priest, and hill-town Postmaster or druggist, and I am now able to state unequivocally that Italy, except for her loss in men, does not feel the war.

A careful observer will discover that the reason for the financial ease in Italy during the war lies in the fact that she is a country different from all others in economic organization, and that her leaders knew the peculiarities of her position so well that they were able to turn this war into a source of financial stability. If war be a disease, then Italy's doctors must be given great credit for having understood that their patient was a "special" case, that the usual cures would not do, but that by a novel treatment affecting the entire organism the patient might be brought to a better state of health than before the disease appeared. I acknowledge that such a statement needs corroboration. Let me now attempt to give it.

War's Effect on Wages

Every educated American knows that Italy is still a country where wealth is very unevenly divided. For centuries she has been a land of few very rich and many very poor people; the middle class dating only from the days of the unification of Italy some fifty years ago, and only now beginning to assert itself in a generous crop of professional men. In ante-bellum days the rich people spent much less than the corresponding class in other lands. They hoarded their savings, being suspicious of all industrial and speculative investments, and, though large landowners, neglected to make any improvements, preferring an immediate although insignificant yield at no expense to a costly succession of betterments with generous but distant returns. The poor people lived as they could, exporting every year to the two Americas the surplus of their population.

Now war has changed all this. War requires money; the rich had to pay. Let

it be said to their credit that they paid rather willingly, since the war against the hereditary enemy of the country has been most popular in all quarters, and has provided a badly needed link of connection between rich and poor, Venetian and Sicilian, Republican and Conservative. It may seem strange to Americans, but most old Italian families did not know in the least how much they were worth; money had been coming in, whenever needed, from a distant agent; and property accounts had been irregularly sent, and regularly consigned to the scrap basket when they did come. War has taught many a noble family just where it stood financially. It usually stood lower than it had supposed. What little ready money it had was given to the cause, and the family, stripped of its younger offspring, set itself to the hated but unavoidable task of making the property yield what it ought to yield. Incidentally, this will mean an increased need of manual labor after the war, and a consequent decrease in the stream of Italian emigration after the first outrush of the long-dammed waters; a view of the problem which I have often expressed in public in America, before invariably incredulous audiences.

But these post-bellum questions look strangely remote here, in the midst of war-ridden Europe. Little do we care what the poor people will do then. What are they doing now? Are they starving?

Do not waste your sympathy: the proverbial wolf was much nearer to the Italian door twenty years ago than now. Of course, there are a few trades which languish, and the never-failing adaptability of the Latin must occasionally be brought into play. Take the fishermen of the Adriatic, for instance. The abundance of Austrian floating mines in that sea and the recklessness of Austrian submarines, (note this, signers of The Hague convention!) not to speak of other reasons which I shall omit in order to save the censor the trouble of doing so himself, have persuaded the Italian Government of the wisdom of forbidding all fishing in the Adriatic. Naturally, some compensation is being given to the fishermen, but they were losing money; so they have taken up other occupations. And lest you, kind-hearted reader, should sympathize too deeply, let me remind you that almost every Italian who comes to your shores in peace times and of his own accord does exactly the same thing.

Of course, America has some kind of work for nearly every one; but so has Italy now. There never was such a cry for manual labor. I understand that the dock hands in the harbor of Genoa (which impresses me now as dwarfing those of both Bordeaux and Marseilles) are paid some 25 lire a day, a sum which, considering all things, I reckon to be equivalent in local buying power to ten American dollars. Generally speaking, the cost of unskilled labor has about doubled since May, 1915. It is not a rare occurrence to come across a woman who earns six or seven times more than she did before the war. The requirements of ammunition factories are mainly, but not exclusively, responsible for this state of affairs. Whatever positions the men have left the women have taken. Contrary to what I saw in France, here all factories are open, although numbers of them manufacture articles totally different from their previous output. France is relying mainly upon imports from abroad, pouring gold into America and men into Verdun; whereas Italy, whose stores of gold and men are differently proportioned, has chosen so far to leave her economic structure unchanged. Need I explain now why the city worker of either sex is so prosperous here?

Yet I am willing to admit that city conditions do not mean so much in a country like Italy. There are no really large cities in Italy. Her capital has a population of little over half a million people, while the capital of Spain has 700,000, and that of little Belgium had 800,000. Four-fifths of Italy's population is agricultural. Let us see, therefore, how war affects the country districts.

Prosperity for Farmers

Gentlemen farmers being a negligible quantity in Italy, there remain—roughly speaking—two systems of reward for the farmer. By the first he is paid by the day for his work; by the second he is

under contract of mezzadria, that is one-half of the product of the soil is his exclusive property, while the other half belongs to his landlord.

Of the former peasant I need only say that, manual labor being so scarce, he has recently seen his wages (which had been as low as 75 centesimi a day—15 cents—before so many laborers began to emigrate to America) rise from one lira and a half to three lire a day, (60 cents.) This applies to some northern districts, but mainly to the southern half of Italy, and to Sicily, and may have a noticeable effect on immigration to the United States, where so many of these day laborers go.

The Central Italian peasant, on the contrary, has had since time immemorial the mezzadria system, under which he has become prosperous and happy. For him this war is, economically, a godsend. Please remember how the family of the Central Italian contadino lives—the capoccia or head of the family, his children, the old people, and the women all working almost equally hard, thanks to habit, healthy life, and endurance. The man is perhaps at the front now; but his wife knows how to feed the oxen and to drive the plow. They all work a little harder than before, and they wait for the fifty centesimi a day which the man gets and which he sends home intact, since he is fed far better in the trenches than he ever was at home, and he cannot spend any money there. The wife gets seventy centesimi a day from the Government, the father another seventy, and each child an average of thirty-five. This means wealth to them. It is the first cash they ever saw, for the peasant never handled cash; and it has an enormous buying power. Until war came they used to live exclusively upon their portion of the product of the farm. Even this product has now become much more valuable.

The Central Italian peasant grows wheat and wine. The Government needs both now, in enormous quantities, for no Russian or Rumanian wheat can come through the closed Dardanelles; and Latin soldiers drink merrily. Nor is there any fear that the crop will remain unsold. The Government is pledged to buy it all, and will pay for it generously. As a result, the price of the Tuscan fiasco of weak Chianti which is the daily beverage of the Central Italian family has gone up from a little over one lira to two and a half lire as a minimum. The mezzadria peasant never was so comfortable, with the result that the war relief committees formed in all villages can also afford to send, by way of Switzerland, weekly shipments of wholesome food to their villagers who were made prisoners and are now in some Austrian dungeon, where they would otherwise slowly starve to death. I have heard from several men from Trieste that even their dogs refused to eat the kind of bread which they themselves ate before fleeing to the motherland across that wicked border.

Learning Efficiency

One more word about the farmer. While money is so plentiful in the country districts that many farmers' savings banks are actually refusing deposits lest they should have to lower appreciably their rate of interest, and consequently their prestige, yet wherever extra help must be gotten the farmer's prosperity sinks appeciably, since wages are now so high. But this is very seldom the case. In the first place, the Government sends home on "harvest furloughs" and "seeding furloughs" all farmer-soldiers who are not absolutely needed. Secondly, each peasant family now helps its neighbors constantly, instead of only doing so at harvest and vintage time, as is the usual custom. There are no idle hands on any farm, from dawn till sunset.

Everybody works harder than before; this being made possible by the opportunity, enjoyed by few in the past, of purchasing food both wholesome and plentiful. There undoubtedly was considerable underfeeding in Italy before the war, even among the lower middle class; people ate as little as they dared, instead of following the good American rule of eating as much as one dares. And the food, all Government-supervised, is excellent. The "war bread"—you would call it graham bread, and probably prefer it to the other because it is more wholesome—costs only 39 to 42 centesimi per kilogram, (3 cents a pound

at the present rate of exchange.) There is no scarcity of anything except paper and sugar; everything else is plentiful, including good and tender meat, which I had surely not expected to find.

This regularity of supply means one of two things—either that Italy has taken from their usual occupations an insignificant number of men, or that those left among the many employed in a given trade are working so hard, so efficiently, and so systematically as to bridge the gaps. Since the censor will not permit me to say even approximately how many Italians have joined the colors, I must limit myself to emphatically denying the first possibility, and refer any skeptical reader to the map, which shows pretty conclusively that very many men are needed to confront the Austrians on the winding front from Mount Stelvio on the Swiss border to Monfalcone on the Adriatic; and I will add that, without any appreciable help from colonial troops, Italy keeps a strong military hold upon Central Albania, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, the Island of Rhodes, the "Dodecannese," (or group of twelve islands in the Eastern Aegean,) Erithraea, and Italian Somaliland. One must therefore conclude that the few people left to their accustomed trades and occupations are doing wonders. A day of thirteen hours is a regular occurrence, and Italy, so often and not unjustly accused of being unsystematic, is redeeming herself now during her fourth war of independence, which is no mean chapter in the world tragedy of today.

If salaries are high, young men almost all in field gray, and women wage earners none too plentiful, how do the shops manage to get their sales people? They usually do not get them; and this is a boon for Italian manhood and womanhood. The owner of a shop, who had never stooped to work, when he saw most of his clerks abandon the shop for the barracks, pulled his hair in Salvinilike despair for a couple of days; then he set himself to work. Bookkeeping does not soil one's hands; he usually began with that. Gradually the few remaining clerks taught him many things which he ought to have known before. But more and more classes were called to the colors, and then, horrified, he saw that the only alternative to business failure was to impose commercial activity upon his bejeweled wife, and his quiverful of young daughters, who had heretofore considered only one occupation worthy of them—the acquisition of lawful husbands. There must have been gloom at first, but now things have put on an air of happy permanency; and whenever those women consider that their only alternative would have been the hard life of a Red Cross nurse, (since no woman of the Italian middle class is left idle nowadays,) they find ample consolation. War has taught them the great American lesson so far overlooked, that work ennobles life.

On the day when peace is signed, (if such a day ever comes!) father and mother will certainly leave the shop for good; but I am not so sure about the daughters.

Why Italians Marry Late

This utilization of the young womanhood of the middle class may turn out to be temporary; but, if it becomes permanent, it will strengthen the one weak spot in the entire organization of the Italian middle class family; an organization otherwise ideal from an economic standpoint, since it provides the maximum of results with the minimum of expenditure.

To begin with, the number of members in each family is usually exactly what it ought to be. Italy stands now, in this respect, just halfway between the patriarchal system of the ancestral home housing all the married children with their own offspring, and the Anglo-Saxon system, in which each child takes his or her flight, more or less permanent, just as soon as his or her wings are strong enough. You young American, who at 20 years of age began married life on getting your first "raise," and took your bride to a small room in a lodging house, listen to the life story of the average middle-class Italian.

He usually marries when a little above 30 years old, bringing to his ménage several thousand lire of savings with which to start life decently, and a steady position which is beginning to pay a fair sal-

ary. The bride brings her dowry, which is to be drawn upon only in case of extraordinary or unexpected expenses—a sort of accident insurance policy. An "even match" means one in which the groom's salary stands to the bride's dowry as lawful rate of interest stands to principal. If the man's salary is $700 a year, with an ultimate prospect of $1,400, let him cast longing eyes upon a maid with a $20,000 dot! I can visualize the shocked expression of many American men; but I have seen worse systems, and even in the United States some pessimists claim that the girl with a rich father has a better chance to find a husband than her rival with impecunious relatives.

The coming of several children in rapid succession (Italy knows of few exceptions to this rule) usually requires some inroad on the wife's contribution to the financial partnership. But just as soon as it is at all possible, the money is put back again, the strictest economy being practiced in everything, especially if among the children there are girls who will some day need their own dowries. It is difficult to overestimate the influence of this consideration upon the minute economy practiced by the middle-class Italian family. "There may at any time come a little girl who would need the money"—this idea keeps the pursestrings drawn even in a family having only boys.

Economy in Education

In the American middle-class budget the education of the young plays no small part. The children are seldom sent to the public schools, for fear of too close a contact with boys and girls different in moral ideas or radical stock; and then college looms up in the background as a distant Eden of costly sports whither father would be glad to send his boy or girl, were he not scared by that minimum of $1,000 a year.

In Italy every child goes to public school, the race and the mentality of the country being all one; college sports do not exist, college towns are unknown, college fees are nominal. The boys (and also, though rarely, the girls) complete their education in one of the sixteen home colleges situated in the largest cities and supported by the Government. Then the girls, having no literary clubs to grace by their presence, no immigrants' tenements to inspect, no college chums to whom they are allowed to pay frequent visits, suddenly disappear into the depths of their ancestral homes and set themselves to the wearisome task of waiting for possible husbands. A dull occupation, but one infinitely less expensive than any of the other beneficent or pleasurable pursuits mentioned above.

And the boy? The boy enters some kind of a Government or municipal or banking career in his home town—almost without exception. His salary is small, but he spends almost none of it, because he invariably eats and sleeps at home. He likes to live in that way; but even if he did not like it, he would not dare to do otherwise, since an unmarried man living in the same town as his parents, and in another house, on mere grounds of "independence," as is so often done in America, would shock everybody and cause the entire family to be ostracized. Then, when years and savings have reached the right measure, he takes a wife and the round begins again.

Ideal System for War

Is this family system perfect? Far from it. But it can and does stand the hard knocks of war infinitely better than any other with which I am acquainted. In the first place, there always is cash, for the Italian says, "No cash, no family." Then there always is a job—at least one job in every family; and though these jobs pay little, you are so riveted to them and protected by statutes and by-laws and pension laws and accident regulations that you cannot lose your job any more than your job can lose you, no matter how hard you may try. Even if soon in the game you become an invalid or an idiot or any other kind of a servant who cannot serve, your employer's money will continue to reach you until you have both feet in the grave. And while, as I said, there is always at least one such job in every family, sometimes there are three or four, because every unmarried son above the age of twenty is a

source of revenue, after having been a source of very limited expenditure earlier in life. The blows of war can strike such a family without finding any weak spot in its economic armor.

As to the young men, the outbreak of war sent them, of course, to their regiments; but the late marrying age, joined to the fact that the call has been general only for men between 19 and 32, and that it has not included any man above 39, reduced the number of heads of middle-class families under the colors to an infinitesimal proportion. Even those few have availed themselves of the privilege which every college graduate has of becoming a territorial officer, thus in many cases continuing to attend to his ordinary occupations. Many a young lawyer or architect adds a Lieutenant's salary to his usual professional returns.

Can Hold Out Indefinitely

But how long can such rosy conditions last?

Prophecies are rather risky in this war; however, I confidently believe—the present military and psychological situation in Europe being also considered—that they can last just as long as they need to last. Italian life behind the lines is so arranged and so organized by a process of simple adaptation infinitely more efficient than any German food cards that it can stand the war strain with little effort, just as Italy's peasant soldiers can stand the fearful fighting conditions of the Alpine front with much less suffering than could any of the other European armies, with the single exception of the Russian. And if physical resistance is a result of peculiar simplicity of habits, economic resistance is a result of an organization of family and of society whose cornerstone is thrift. Both are, emphatically, the reward—and not the only reward—of a style of living into which extravagance has never had a chance to enter. For fifteen centuries robbed by, or tributary to, barbarian or baron, foreign Emperor or absentee landlord, Italians have learned to look upon any kind of waste as sinful and wicked—witness the peasant who makes the sign of the cross upon seeing you throw away a crust of bread. Have you ever noticed how the Italian farmer in America reduces by one-half the width of the paths made in the farm by his American predecessor? Do you not know that there was a time when calves' brains and chicken giblets used to be thrown away in America, until the Italian chefs introduced them as delicacies to the American public? Here nobody throws away an old newspaper, an old bottle, an old pasteboard box, an old overshoe, an old piece of string. Yes, you may laugh, but I will tell you that a poor country wins wars only by such thrifty methods; and Italy will win this war. A poor country? Well, perhaps she is; but half a dozen Italians of college age have as much of a lark walking out into the woods to talk about spiritualism and the future of Ireland as the same number of New York young people who spend fifty dollars (candy not included) upon a Coney Island evening—motor ride, shore dinner, Luna Park stupefactions, and the joyful contortions of Steeplechase. Do not misunderstand me: America's youth indulges in pleasures and diversions often less reprehensible than those dear to Italy's youth; but I am speaking of economic resistance to war, and my object is to show you why the Italian family can live happily where the English family would live unhappily and the American family would, also most unhappily, die.

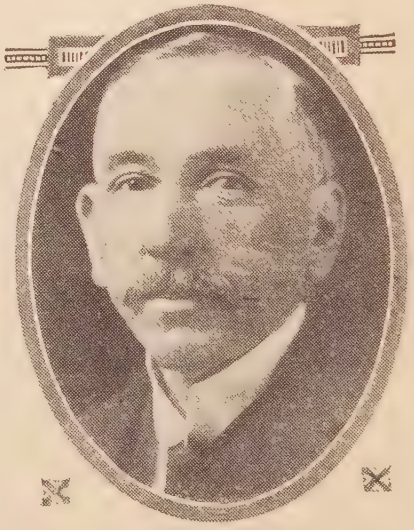
An obscure soldier of Italy, forgetting for a moment that all his thoughts and ambitions must now be for the country under whose colors he is serving, fervently and lovingly prays that the dear land which saw him a peaceful college professor may—if her day ever comes—find in her financial stability, personal courage, and lofty patriotism that power of economic resistance which Italy is deriving from thrift, simplicity of life, and a family organization peculiarly suited to wartime conditions, if not actually created to meet them.

And now that I have tried to explain the present lack of economic suffering in Italy, do not ask me, please, whether Italy's heart is also unaffected by the tragedy of war.

Australia's Defeat of Conscription

By Spencer Brodney
An Australian Journalist

THE part played by Australia in the war has already been remarkable for a country with barely 5,000,000 inhabitants. Yet, not satisfied with the 320,000 men that have volunteered for active service and the assistance rendered to the mother country by the Australian Navy, a large section of the Australian people desired that every able-bodied man should be compelled to fight. But the Australian Government which has been in power since the first few weeks after the outbreak of the war, being dependent upon the votes of the Labor Party, found it impossible to enact a conscription law against the wishes of its supporters. A way out of the difficulty was found in the proposal to hold a national referendum at which every man and woman in Australia and every Australian soldier serving abroad were asked to vote "Yes" or "No" in answer to the question:



WILLIAM M. HUGHES
Australia's Prime Minister

> Are you in favor of the Government being given in this great emergency the same compulsory powers over citizens in regard to requiring their military service for the term of this war outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?

The referendum was held on Oct. 28, and, according to a message dated Nov. 6, resulted in a majority of 73,000 votes against conscription out of a total of 2,087,000 votes counted.

Various reasons have been given for the defeat of conscription by the Australian people. Because women have full political rights it was said that their influence affected the result. But it appears that the percentage of women who voted "No" was only a shade higher than that of the men who voted the same way. Again, voters of Irish birth or descent are credited with having been an important factor. There is no doubt that some votes were influenced by the treatment of Ireland since the Dublin rising, but they contributed only to a very small extent to bring about the defeat of conscription. Perhaps slightly more importance should be attached to the farmers' votes. As in Canada, the farmers in Australia have found recruiting a serious menace to the raising and harvesting of their crops. But after an examination of all the elements in the situation there can remain no doubt that the defeat of conscription in Australia has been chiefly the work of the organized labor movement, particularly in New South Wales and Queensland.

When Labor Unions Rule

Australia, it must be remembered, is the land where the workingman is supreme in politics. After a generation of persistent effort the Labor Party, which represents the combined political and industrial organizations of the working class, is the dominant party. At the present time it is not only in control of the Government of the Commonwealth, but also of a majority of the State Governments.

When the war began, however, a Liberal Government, representing a fusion of all anti-Labor and anti-Socialist

forces, was temporarily in control of the Commonwealth; but with a majority of only one in the House of Representatives and a hopeless minority in the Senate, it was quite unable to carry on the business of the country. Before any one dreamed of war the Governor General had been advised to end the deadlock by dissolving both houses of Parliament and ordering a general election. The election campaign was already in full swing when war broke out in Europe. The Liberal Prime Minister, Joseph Cook, immediately placed the Australian Navy at the disposal of the British Admiralty, and steps were taken to enlist volunteers for service abroad. At the same time the Liberals, feeling certain that at the approaching election on Sept. 5, 1914, they would be swept into power on an overwhelming flood-tide of patriotism, refused to consider the political truce offered to them by the Labor Party. The election was accordingly fought with much bitterness.

Although the Labor Party contains a strong Socialist element which is opposed to militarism and denounces patriotic sentiment as a cloak of predatory business enterprise, the Labor leaders decided not to ruin their party's chances by giving their opponents an opportunity to brand them as "disloyal" or "pro-German." The election manifesto of the Labor Party was accordingly no less patriotic and militarist than that of the Liberals. It was claimed that the efficient development of the Citizen Defense Force and the Australian Navy had been the work of the previous Labor administration and that the people could surely trust a Labor Cabinet to carry out Australia's part in the war more thoroughly and honestly than the Liberals. The people adopted this view, and the result of the election was a landslide in favor of the Labor Party, which returned to office with large majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

As soon as the new Labor Cabinet assumed power in September, 1914, there began a fierce domestic controversy between the Government and the trusts, leading to the decision of the Government to hold a referendum in December, 1915, on the question of amending the Constitution so as to give the Commonwealth extensive powers to regulate trade and industry and nationalize monopolies. At the eleventh hour the referendum was deferred because of an understanding with the States whereby the Commonwealth was to be given all the powers it was seeking to obtain by constitutional amendment. This understanding, however, was not observed, and though the Commonwealth Government has used its powers under the War Precautions act in its attempts to curb the interests that are trying to profit by war conditions, the suspicions of the great majority of the working class have not been lulled, but have instead helped to intensify the feeling against conscription.

Movement for Conscription

The cry for conscription in England was soon followed by a similar agitation in Australia. At first the Labor Cabinet, well aware of the feeling among the workers, refused to depart from the voluntary system. But gradually the anti-Labor forces brought so much pressure to bear that Andrew Fisher, who was then Prime Minister, decided on a war census to ascertain how many men there were in Australia fit for military service. This was the first step that led to the split within the Labor Party which has since become more definite. On taking command of the new Labor Government Mr. Fisher had made the historic declaration in which he pledged Australia's help "to the last man and the last shilling," and backed up by the Attorney General, William Morris Hughes, the cleverest, most energetic, and most bellicose member of the Cabinet, he now meant to make good his words.

Among the supporters of the Government there was no doubt that the war census was intended as the preliminary to conscription, despite Mr. Fisher's disclaimers, and resistance against any attempt to force Australians unwillingly to fight abroad was resolved upon. At that time I was revisiting Australia, and I was astonished by the storminess of the discussion that took place at the Prime Minister's office when a deputation representing the labor organizations called

on Mr. Fisher and, after emphatically telling him that he was the people's servant, extracted a pledge that there should be no conscription scheme unless it had first been sanctioned by the people. A few weeks later Mr. Fisher retired from politics to become High Commissioner of the Commonwealth in London. Mr. Hughes succeeded him as Prime Minister and leader of the Labor Party.

In the early part of the present year Mr. Hughes was invited by the British Government to visit England. There is no need to do more than mention the thrill that Mr. Hughes sent through England with his pugnacious oratory, his appeals for thoroughness and remorselessness in the work of obliterating Germany from the map of the world. Mr. Hughes's performance was pleasing to British Tories and imperialists, but important sections of the Labor Party in Australia were becoming intensely irritated, and while he was still in England resolutions were already being adopted strongly disapproving of his attitude and declaring against conscription. There was no doubt that Mr. Hughes was preparing to place the whole of Australia's manhood at the disposal of Great Britain. On his return to Australia the issue was at once joined. Mr. Hughes wanted to enact a conscription law at once. But his party firmly refused. At last the difficulty was settled by an agreement to refer the question to the people.

Opposed by Labor Party

In New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland, the three largest States, the official policy of the Labor Party was opposition to conscription, and a campaign was launched to urge the people to vote "No." But Mr. Hughes, W. A. Holman, the Labor Premier of New South Wales, and some other Labor Cabinet Ministers and members of the Commonwealth and State Parliaments, joined the conscriptionists, thus flouting the principles laid down by the organizations to which they owed their positions.

A split was now inevitable, and it came. Mr. Hughes, who is a representative from New South Wales, was expelled by the Political Labor League of that State. Several other prominent labor politicians, including Mr. Holman, were also disowned. On the other hand, anti-conscriptionists resigned from Cabinets headed by conscriptionists, the most serious case of this kind being that of four of Mr. Hughes's colleagues in the Commonwealth Cabinet, including W. G. Higgs, the Treasurer, and Frank Tudor, the Minister of Trade and Customs. Nevertheless, Mr. Hughes should now find the best of all reasons for ceasing to flout the party he leads, since the result of the referendum shows that not only is the majority of his followers against him, but his policy is opposed by the majority of the people. According to The British Australasian, (published in London,) even the soldiers already abroad voted for the most part against compulsion being applied to their fellow-Australians.

Drafting Unmarried Men

A month before the referendum Mr. Hughes caused a great deal of resentment in Australia by using the latent power of the Government to call up every able-bodied citizen for home defense purposes. Believing it certain that the referendum would favor conscription, he decided to draft the single men between the ages of 21 and 35 years. Many refused to obey the summons, and the prosecutions threatened by Mr. Hughes seem to promise further trouble. At every point, indeed, he has been antagonizing the Australian democracy.

Now, what was Mr. Hughes's case for conscription? It was in the first place based upon the familiar arguments that Germany is a menace to democracy. Australia is the most democratic country in the world; therefore Australia has most to fear from German domination and, to carry the argument to its conclusion, Australia should strive hardest to help in crushing Germany.

The anti-conscriptionists relied on a variety of arguments, including the Socialist case against war in general, the theory that Great Britain and France are in some secret and sinister way bound to fight to aid Russia in her designs rather than to preserve democracy, and

that the war should be regarded from an exclusively Australian standpoint. This last reason springs from the idea of Australian independence. For a long time before the war very few Australians dreamed of breaking away from the British Empire, because Australia has been free to work out her own destinies and has enjoyed all the benefits of virtual independence without the responsibilities. But if everything which the Australian democracy has achieved is to be ruthlessly destroyed, then the idea of Australian independence may become a live issue. It was noticeable during the campaign that many Australians gave expression to the opinion that the time has come—and the result of the referendum is a significant hint of the new trend of feeling—when a halt must be called to the demands for sacrifices for the empire.

What Australia Has Done

Out of a population of 5,000,000 Australia has enlisted up to date 320,000 volunteers to help Great Britain. When the Australian Government called up the single men between the ages of 21 and 35 years of age the number affected was 130,000, of whom 60,000 were pronounced fit for military service—enough men to keep the Australian regiments in France up to their full strength for only three months. It was obvious, said the anti-conscriptionists, that Mr. Hughes would soon be drafting married men or men over 35 years of age and leaving Australia with perilously few men to carry on the work of producing food and raw materials, not to mention those required in the manufacturing industries.

In the last few years before the war the Australian Governments were spending large sums of money in an attempt to people a land with an area slightly larger than that of the United States and a population considerably smaller than that of New York City. The whole gain in manhood during several years of immigration effort has already been wiped out by the war.

This danger of denuding Australia of its manhood has been in the minds of all classes, but another circumstance has made a still more vivid impression on the workers. The exclusion of laborers under contract is strictly insisted upon. Nevertheless, just before the referendum a shipment of Maltese laborers arrived in Australia and more were to follow. The Labor Party at once suspected that the contract immigration law was being evaded by employers, and the cry was raised that a conspiracy was on foot to draft well-paid Australian workers into the army and fill their places with cheap, non-English-speaking, voteless, and easily oppressed alien wage slaves. The real enemy of Australian democracy, the anti-conscriptionists in the Labor Party declared, was not the Kaiser, but the big business interests in Australia itself. Any one who is intimately acquainted with Australian conditions knows how such an outcry would inevitably rouse a feeling of indignation so strong as to sweep aside all patriotic appeals.

Has Helped Most of All

Yet Australia has helped the mother country far more than any of the other "colonial nations" within the British Empire. She has sent more troops than Canada, which has a larger population, and her naval assistance has been particularly valuable. It was an Australian cruiser that finally put the Emden, the German commerce raider, out of action; it was the Australian Navy that convoyed Australian and New Zealand troops across the oceans to Europe; it was chiefly Australian naval and military expeditions that dispossessed Germany of her colonies in New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific. It was Australian and New Zealand troops—the "Anzacs"—that bore the brunt of the bloody fiasco of the Dardanelles.

Australia, too, has rendered great assistance with her Government-controlled shipping, her measures for the supply of foodstuffs, wool, metals, and other raw materials, by her ability to finance herself, and in numerous other ways. At the same time the most energetic element in her population has been diminishing through voluntary enlistment. In short, Australia has shown that along with a jealous regard for her own democracy she is capable of the greatest loyalty to that country which is affectionately called the motherland.

Human Losses in the First Two Years of the War

A VOLUNTARY organization known as the War Study Society has been formed at Copenhagen for the purpose of studying the social consequences of the world war. The first product of its labors is a valuable bulletin, issued Aug. 1, 1916, computing the human losses in each belligerent country during the first two years of the conflict. The computations are made by a Board of Administration, which consists of a Chairman and two scientific collaborators elected from the membership for six months. The Secretary is Sv. Trier of Copenhagen.

To procure the necessary data of casualties was a task of no little difficulty, as in nearly all the warring countries the number of men lost is carefully guarded. England published her losses in detail up to January, 1916, but other belligerent nations declined to give such information to the world. The results of a careful inquiry, based on the best sources of information at hand, are summarized by the society as follows:

I. Direct Losses of Human Life During Two Years of War

	Dead.	Wounded.	Dead and Wounded.	Invalids.
Austria-H'n'gry	718,000	1,777,000	2,495,000	533,000
Belgium.	50,000	110,000	160,000	33,000
Bulgaria.	25,000	60,000	85,000	18,000
England.	205,000	512,000	717,000	154,300
France...	885,000	2,115,000	3,000,000	634,000
Germany.	885,500	2,116,300	3,001,800	634,900
Italy.....	105,000	245,000	350,000	73,500
Russia .	1,498,000	3,820,000	5,318,000	1,146,000
Serbia....	110,000	140,000	250,000	42,000
Turkey...	150,000	350,000	500,000	105,000
Total..	4,631,500	11,245,300	15,876,800	3,373,700

II. Comparison with Earlier Wars

	Duration in days.	Number of dead.	Dead per day.	Prop't'n'l numbers.
1790-1815..	9,000	2,100,000	235	3.7
1854-1856..	730	785,000	1,075	17.0
1859.....	41	45,000	1,100	17.4
1864.....	135	3,500	26	0.4
1866.....	40	45,000	1,125	17.8
1870-1871..	210	184,000	875	13.9
1899-1902..	995	9,800	10	0.2
1904-1905..	548	160,000	292	4.6
1912-1913..	238	462,000	1,950	30.9
1914-1916..	731	4,631,500	6,336	100.0

The society takes up in detail each country as follows:

Austria-Hungary

The computations are based on general casualty losses made public at the beginning of the war. From Aug. 13 to Sept. 14, 1914, lists of casualties among officers were published; also during the period from Sept. 20, 1914, to Oct. 10, 1915, since which time no more lists have been issued. The total number of lists published was 244. The results were deduced by applying the averages from known statistics in other countries; for instance, in Germany for twenty-three months of war there were 28 dead soldiers for each dead officer, 40 wounded soldiers for one wounded officer, 40 dead for 100 wounded. Applying this ratio to Austria-Hungary, the losses of the Austro-Hungarian Army during the first year of the war would be:

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Dead	14,850	416,000	43,850
Wounded	26,000	1,040,000	1,066,000
Prisoners	....	.....	763,000

Regarding the second year of the war, the calculations are based on averages with the following results:

Austro-Hungarian Losses Second Year of War

(Aug. 1, 1915—Aug. 1, 1916.)

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
Dead	9,904	277,300	287,204
Wounded	17,340	693,600	710,940
Prisoners	....	.....	387,000
Total	27,244	970,900	1,385,144

Austro-Hungarian Losses During Two Years of War

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
Dead	24,754	693,300	718,054
Wounded	43,340	1,733,600	1,776,940
Prisoners	....	.....	1,150,000
Total	68,094	2,426,900	3,644,994

The estimates for the second year of the war do not include the missing, nor the sick, hence the figures above are considerably less than the figures heretofore given by the countries hostile to Austria-Hungary. Russian statements regarding Austria-Hungary up to the end of February, 1916, nineteen months of the war, computed 723,200 dead, 2,692,100 sick and wounded, and 809,000 prisoners, making for the two years of war 913,512 dead, 3,400,296 sick and wounded.

The society estimates that the losses of Austria-Hungary in the first two years of the war are, in round numbers: Minimum total dead, 718,000; maximum total dead, 913,512; sick and wounded, minimum, 533,000; maximum, 1,000,000.

Compared with wars waged by Austria-Hungary in the second half of the last century, the following shows the relative losses:

	Dead.	Wounded.	Total.
1859	5,400	26,000	31,400
1866	10,994	29,304	40,298
1914-1916	718,000	533,000	1,251,000

British Army Losses

Fourteen statements of losses of the British Army appeared to Jan. 27, 1916, when they ceased, and from these averages the following totals are arrived at:

(Aug. 4, 1914, to Aug. 21, 1915.—Statement in House of Commons.)

	Officers.	Non-com's'ed Officers and Men.
Killed and died of wounds	4,965	7,992
Wounded	9,973	241,086
Missing	1,501	53,466
Total	16,439	365,544
Grand total		381,983

The number of prisoners from the British Army, as reported up to June 1, 1916, were as follows: In Germany, 32,000; in Turkey, 17,827; in Bulgaria, 449. Lord Newton stated in the House of Commons on May 31, 1916, that 1,318 of the 25,621 prisoners of the army then in Germany had died—a death rate of 5.14 per cent. The ravages of disease among the soldiers in the Dardanelles is evident by the official report, showing that between April 25 and Dec. 11, 1915, 96,683 were taken to the hospital, while the dead and wounded amounted to 112,991. This large percentage of sickness was due to epidemics of typhus; there were 28,500 cases out of a total of 78,200 between April and October, 1915. The absolute losses, including the killed, missing, wounded, and sick, who will not return to the front, from the beginning of the war to Jan. 9, 1916, in the English Army is figured at 410,722, being 74 per cent. of the total losses as reported up to Jan. 9, 1916, which aggregated 549,467. Of the 410,722 total losses, 128,138 were killed or died of wounds.

British Navy Losses

The total of losses in the British Navy, as reported before the Jutland battle on May 31, 1916, was 12,160, of which 10,517 were killed or died of wounds. The losses in the Jutland battle were 6,617, which brings the total losses of the British Navy up to the middle of June, 1916, to 18,777, of whom 16,983 were killed and wounded.

From the preceding figures—the losses being based upon official reports and established averages—the total losses for the British Army and Navy in the two years are computed at 808,463, of which 34,360 were officers. The absolute losses were, in killed and permanently wounded during the two years, 359,725. This total compares with the Crimean and Boer wars, as follows:

	Total Army.	Killed and Died of Wounds.	Wounded.
Two years, present war	2,000,000	188,464	512,465
Crimean war	97,864	4,602	18,283
Boer war	250,000	5,774	22,829

Losses of France

Only approximate estimates of the French losses can be arrived at, as casualty lists are not published, and official statements regarding the number of killed and wounded are not given. Some reliable figures, however, are computed from statistics of certain organizations related to the army.

It is known that from Sept. 15 to Nov. 30, 1914, 490,000 wounded were treated at the different hospitals, of

which 54.5 per cent. returned to the front; only 2.48 per cent. died; 17 per cent. remained at the hospitals and are computed as permanently lost.

The French Relief Society officially stated that up to June, 1915, (ten months of the war,) the killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners of the French aggregated 1,400,000. From other information, and meagre reports, the War Study Society arrives at the following losses for the two years of the war:

French Losses in Two Years of the War

Killed	885,000
Wounded	2,115,000
Invalided	634,000

Comparison with Former Wars

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
1859	2,536	17,054	19,590
1870-1871	138,871	137,626	276,497
1914-1916	885,000	2,115,000	3,000,000

Germany's War Losses

The losses of Germany are computed from the casualty lists published by the Minister of War. Up to July 1, 1916, 1,032 such lists had been issued, containing 13,178 pages, averaging 262.3 casualties per page, but these included certain percentages of corrections and duplications, so the actual bases are figured at 225.8 per page, which would bring the total published losses from the beginning of the war to the first of July, 1916, (twenty-three months,) to 2,975,592. These lists, however, do not indicate the time at which the losses were sustained; but from the reports it is estimated that the casualty lists up to the twenty-third month of the war only covered the period to May 15, 1916. Maintaining the same average for the six weeks, the total up to the 15th of May, 1916, (twenty-one and a half months of the war,) would be 3,012,637; and, according to the above computations, of these the dead number 771,308, 26.3 per cent.; seriously wounded, 447,177, 15.2 per cent.; slightly wounded, 1,395,146, 47.4 per cent.; prisoners, 327,148, 11.1 per cent.

From all the data and averages the society estimates that the total German losses during the first two years of the war were as follows:

Dead	885,500
Slightly wounded	1,602,900
Severely wounded	513,400
Prisoners—about	400,000

As compared with the losses of the Franco-Prussian war:

Dead	280,000
Wounded	101,000

Losses of Italy

The Italian Government does not publish figures, and results can only be computed from partial reports and averages. The Austrian General Staff on Nov. 31, 1915, asserted that six months of the war had cost Italy a half million men. The German Kölnische Zeitung, in May, stated that the first twelve months of the war had cost Italy 3,000 dead officers. The Army and Navy Gazette, April 22, 1916, reported the total Italian losses at 25,000 a month. From these reports and others the Italian losses for the first fourteen months of the war are computed as follows:

Killed	105,000
Wounded	245,000
Prisoners	55,000

Losses of Russia

The losses of Russia are computed from estimates, with deductions, from fragmentary reports. No official figures are available. It is known from hospital reports that during the first six months of the war the sick and wounded amounted to 1,200,000, and unofficial figures show that during eighteen months of the war the sick and wounded reached 3,953,000, of whom 1,048,000 were sick. The Russian Government has issued 185 lists of killed, but these official lists were not always available. Based upon the most reliable data and reports, the following estimates are arrived at:

Russian Losses in First Two Years of the War

	Officers and Men.
Losses in fighting	7,235,000
Losses in sick	1,362,000
Total losses	8,597,000
Military losses	5,181,000
Killed	1,171,000
Died of wounds	244,000
Died of sickness	82,000
Wounded	3,820,000
Prisoners, estimated	2,000,000

Russian Losses in Previous Wars

	Killed and Died of Wounds.	Wounded.
Crimean war	72,000	.....
Russo-Turkish war....	36,000	118,000
Russo-Japanese war...	34,000	141,000

Balkan States and Belgium

No official information of the losses of the Balkan States and Turkey is procurable, but based upon the available data and reports the following results are arrived at by the society:

The War Losses of the Balkan States and Turkey Up to Aug. 1, 1916

	Dead.	W'nded.	Invalids, Approx.	Died from Illness.
Bulgaria ...	25,000	60,000	18,000	.....
Serbia	60,000	140,000	42,000	50,000
Turkey	150,000	350,000	105,000	.....
Together.	235,000	550,000	165,000	.....

No official information of the losses of Belgium is procurable, but from reports the total losses of the Belgians in the first two years of the war are put at 247,000, of whom 47,000 are killed, 160,000 wounded, and 40,000 prisoners.

The Appalling Totals

All the above figures cover, as stated, the first two years of the war. At this writing, (Nov. 15, 1916,) three and one-half months more have elapsed, or 14½ per cent., of additional time. These three and one-half months have been the bloodiest since the outbreak of the war, particularly among the French, Germans, Austrians, Italians, Russians, and British, while a new element has entered into the contest—Rumania. It is a conservative computation to add, in order to reach a grand total of losses up to Nov. 15, 1916, 16 2-3 per cent. to the above figures; indeed, in the cases of France, England, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy, from 20 to 25 per cent. might safely be added. The adding of 16 2-3 per cent. would bring the total dead on Nov. 15, 1916, into the neighborhood of 5,600,000, and would show the wounded to be in excess of 13,000,000.

The German War Map

[Italian Cartoon]

From L'Asino, Rome

GERMAN CROWN PRINCE: "Tell papa that I have Paris under my hand whenever I want it"

The War's Origin and Lasting Peace

Address by Viscount Grey

British Minister for Foreign Affairs

[Delivered before the Foreign Press Association, London, Oct. 23, 1916]

YOUR President said I was to make a historic speech. Will he and you forgive me if I say I doubt whether any historic speech can be made while the war is actually in progress? After the war very likely, but while the war is in progress the real historic work is being done in the offices of the General Staffs of the allied countries and on the battlefield where our soldiers are fighting. Words can be but little, but the work done by the General Staffs at headquarters, and by the armies in the field, and by the navies on the sea, that is really the work that is making history.

VISCOUNT GREY

We have had since the beginning of the war two or three notable speeches. First of all there was a great speech by M. Briand in the French Chamber. Next in time there was the interview given by Lloyd George to a press correspondent, and then in this country the speech by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons; and lately we have had the note struck just as firmly in Petrograd by an official communiqué, I think under the auspices of the Minister of the Interior. Those speeches have given to the world the note and tone and feeling of the Allies at this moment. I indorse all that they have said, but for a few moments I would like to talk not indeed about the actual conditions of peace, which can only be stated and formulated by the Allies together and not by any one of them separately, but about the general object which the Allies must secure in this war.

To do that I would ask you to recall a thing we must never forget—how the war came about. If we are to approach peace in the proper spirit it can only be by recalling and never forgetting what was the real cause of the war. Some people say we need not go back on that old ground now. Everybody knows it. Well, you cannot go back on it too often. It affects the conditions of peace. Germany talks of peace; her statesmen talk of peace today. What sort of peace do they talk of? They say Germany must have guarantees against being attacked again. If this war had been forced on Germany that would have been a logical statement. It is precisely because it was not forced upon Germany, but forced by Germany upon Europe, that it is the Allies who must have guarantees for future peace.

In July, 1914, no one thought of attacking Germany. It is said Russia was the first to mobilize. That, I understand, is what is alleged in Germany as the justification for the statement that the war was not an aggressive war on Germany's part, but was forced upon her. Russia never made the mobilization of which Germany complained until Germany had refused a conference, and never made it until after a report appeared in Germany that Germany had ordered mobilization, and that report was telegraphed to Petrograd. As a matter of fact it was the story of 1870 over again. The preparations for war, not merely the preparation of material, were prepara-

tory steps to an advance in Berlin to a stage beyond that of any other country. Then when the chosen moment came the manoeuvre was made to procure some other country to take a defensive step, and when that defensive step was taken, then to resent it with an ultimatum which made war inevitable.

The same thing with the invasion of Belgium. Strategic railways had been made in Germany; the whole plan of campaign of the German Staff was to attack through Belgium. Now the Germans are representing that they had to attack through Belgium because other people had planned to attack through Belgium. I would like nothing better than to see the statements that the Russian mobilization was an aggressive, and not a defensive, measure and that any other power than Germany had planned to attack through Belgium investigated before any independent and impartial tribunal.

Hiding the Truth

The German organization is very successful in some things, but in nothing more than in preventing the truth reaching their people, and in succeeding in presenting to them the point of view which is not that of the truth. As for the statement that war was forced on Germany: When England proposed a conference, when Russia, France, and Italy accepted a conference, when four powers offered a conference and one power refused it, is it the powers who offered the conference which were forcing war or the power which refused it? The Emperor of Russia offered The Hague Tribunal. When one sovereign offers The Hague Tribunal and another ignores it, is it the sovereign who offers a reference to The Hague who is forcing war?

On the very eve of war France gave her pledge to respect the neutrality of Belgium if Germany would not violate it. We asked for such a pledge. Was it the power which asked for the pledge and the power which gave the pledge which were responsible for the violation of the neutrality of Belgium or the power which refused? I say, and every Belgian knows it to be true, as well as every Frenchman and Englishman, that never at any time was there a suggestion that an English or French soldier should enter Belgium unless it were to defend Belgium from the violation of her neutrality, first undertaken by Germany. Why was it that all efforts to avoid war in July, 1914, failed? Because you cannot have peace without good-will, and because in Berlin there was the will to war and not the will to peace.

Crown Prince's Reflections

And just lately, I think to an American, the Crown Prince has deplored the loss of life which is caused by this war. Yes; it was because we knew what the sufferings of war must be, because we knew how terrible a thing war let loose in Europe would be, that we tried to avoid it in July, 1914. Then was the time to be penetrated with a sense of all that war would mean. It is precisely because we knew then what it must mean that we tried to avoid war.

It is because we have had this terrible experience now on the Continent of Europe—we and our allies—of what war does mean, that we are determined that the war shall not end till we can be sure that at any rate the generations which come after us and our nations in future shall not be subject to such a terrible trial again.

What was the plan—the German plan? I saw a statement in the press the other day that a German officer had recognized that Germany had failed this time, but in ten years she was going to succeed. The German plan was to be a short, successful war. The war was all thought out in Berlin on a plan, and there was a time table—so long to get to Paris, so long to defeat France, so long afterward to defeat Russia. And England! The plan was that England was to be kept out of the war, but if England should enter the war it was not thought that the expeditionary force which we had available would be enough to upset the enemy plan. People who are militarists, whose ideas and whose thoughts run solely on military considerations, people who are material, forget to estimate—indeed, they cannot estimate—the spirit

and the soul which exist in nations when they are attacking a foe for their lives. The plan was that Russia and France were to be defeated, and England was to be isolated and disgraced.

We must never forget, as we go through this war, that an offer was made to us to keep out of the war. We were asked by the German Government to engage to remain neutral on certain conditions. We were asked to condone the violation of the neutrality of Belgium—because that is what the offer came to—though we were obliged by treaty to uphold it. We were also asked to give Germany a free hand to take whatever she liked of French colonies. That is practically what the offer was. That is why I say that the plan was not only to isolate us, but to disgrace us. I would ask any neutral to put it to himself: What would have been the future of this country if the British Government had for a moment accepted such an offer? We might have had an army and a navy, but there would have been no morale, no spirit in the nation. We should have had the contempt of the whole world.

German Aims

Happily tactics so gross as those did not succeed, and I need not recall what the reply of the British Government was, nor what the spirit of the nation was at the opening of the war. We should not think merely of what Germany says today. It is worth while looking back at the exhibition of her Government and people when the war started. Then we saw something of their real mind, and there was a certain Professor Ostwald in Germany who unburdened himself, again I think to an American, in August, 1914. He called himself a pacifist, and this is how he described the German aims. It was a long interview, but in it occurred these two things: Germany was to dictate peace to the rest of Europe, and the principle of the absolute sovereignty of the individual nations must be given up. Do not let us forget that that was the spirit in which this war was begun. What is the spirit in which the war is being carried on by the Allies today? I take it from the words of the Prime Minister the other day:

> We shall fight until we have established the supremacy of right over force, free development under equal conditions, and each in accordance with its own genius, of all the States, great and small, which build up the family of civilized mankind.

Into this struggle we have put rightly and necessarily all our resources—all our wealth, all our material, all our labor—and now when we have had time, because it needed time, to equip and train a large army, we are putting all the best life-blood of the nation, shedding it on the Continent, side by side with our allies, in emulation with them, stimulated by the courage and self-sacrifice which they are showing in defense of their own countries, shedding it because we know that their cause and ours is one. To the end we stand or fall together. The separation of one from the other means the destruction of the one separated, and not its safety. For all of us unity is essential, not merely to victory, but to our future life and success.

Germany is trying, and has been throughout the war, to separate one from the other, in order to realize her aims. Not a week passes that does not confirm our resolve to go through with our allies to the end of the war, and after the war I trust the memory of the sufferings we have undergone together, the memory of the joint courage which is carrying us through—and all that we have been through—will be a perpetual bond of alliance and sympathy between our Governments and our peoples.

Opportunity for Neutrals

Now, I should like to say one word on another subject. Looking to the future after the war, what is it that neutrals can do? The other day I wrote this to a correspondent who sounded me on the subject:

> I believe the best work neutrals can do for the moment is to work up opinion for such an agreement between the nations as will prevent a war like this from happening again.
>
> If nations had been united in such an agreement and prompt and resolute to insist in July, 1914, that the dispute must be referred to a conference, or to The Hague, and that the Belgian Treaty must be observed, there would have been no war.

I would ask neutrals to observe that belligerent countries, fighting as we are

today for our very existence—fighting, it is true, for victory with a daily increasing prospect of seeing that victory brought nearer, but still knowing that if we stop short of victory we stop short of everything for which we are fighting—cannot be expected to spend much time in developing ideas of what can be done after victory is secured. But neutrals can do it, and it is interesting to observe that not only President Wilson but also Mr. Hughes, the candidate for the Presidency of the United States, are supporting a league which has already sprung into existence supported by various distinguished people with the object not of interfering between the belligerents in this war, but of getting ready for some international association after this war is over which shall do its part in making peace secure in future.

I would like to say that, though we may have little time to give to such ideas curselves while we are engaged in this struggle, I think that is a work in neutral countries upon which we should all look with favor and with hope.

Only bear this in mind, that if the nations of the world after this war are to do something more effective than they were ever able to do before this war, to combine themselves for the common object of preserving peace, they must be prepared not to undertake more than they are able to uphold by force, and to see when the time of crisis comes that it is upheld by force.

In other words, we would say to neutrals who are occupying themselves with this question, in a colloquial phrase, that we are in favor of it, but with the understanding that we shall ask them when the time comes for them to make any demand for such a thing, "Will you play up when the time comes?"

It is not merely the sign-manual of sovereigns or Presidents that is required, but it must also have behind it the force of national sentiment. The object of this league is, as I understand it, to insist upon treaties being kept and some other settlement than war being tried before recourse to war. In July, 1914, there was no such league in existence. Supposing a generation hence such a condition of things as in July, 1914, recurs, and there is such a league in existence. Everything will depend upon whether the national sentiment behind it is so penetrated by the lessons of this war as to feel that in the future each nation, although not immediately concerned in the dispute, is yet interested, and vitally interested, in doing something, even if it be by force, to keep the peace.

Methods of War

But there must be more than that. You must have some agreement after this war is over as to the methods under which war is to be conducted. Germany complains of our methods in this war. She complains of our blockade. From the very beginning Germany did her utmost to prevent food from reaching this country. In the early stages of the war she sank two neutral ships bringing food to this country. It does not lie with her to complain of our blockade. But what about other methods—the new methods which have been introduced—the sowing of mines indiscriminately upon the high seas, to the danger equally of neutrals and belligerents, the firing of shells into defenseless coast towns? Because you must remember that what is required, according to the German official communiqués, to convert an allied town on the coast into a fortress is not the provision of guns in it, not the presence of troops, but merely the fact that it has been fired upon by a German cruiser. Then the use of poisonous gas in war, which nobody would have believed possible if the Germans had not begun it, which nobody thought of using until the Germans began it. In the Gallipoli Peninsula, neither we nor the French used gas, because we would not be the first to introduce it anywhere. That has been brought into the war. Then there is the sinking of merchant vessels and the destruction of passengers and crews. There are also the acts committed in Belgium and other allied territory in German occupation, some of which have been the subject of investigation and report, and which to public knowledge are in breach of all the laws and conventions of war and of the most elementary dictates of humanity.

One thing more of which we hear very little, of which we do not know the full story. Since Turkey entered the war she has been the vassal of Germany. Probably neutral nations know more of the story than we do, but enough has leaked through to make it clear that there has gone on, and is still going on, in Turkey, on a scale unprecedented even in that country, and with horrors unequaled before, an attempt to exterminate the Christian population of Turkey—horrors which Germany could have prevented, and which could only have gone on with her toleration. Perhaps some day some neutral nation which knows the whole story will make it known to the world.

The Greatest Anarchist

All these things have been happening during this war. What a prospect it opens for the future! Are all the researches of science to continue to be devoted after this war to the inventing of means to destroy the human race, with no restriction whatever on their use? It is a prospect which threatens civilization and the existence of the race itself.

In letting loose these things and in introducing them into war, Germany has been the great anarchist who has let loose on the world a greater and a more terrible anarchy than any individual anarchist ever dreamed of.

Unless there is some means of restraining these things future war will, by the developments of science, be made even more terrible and horrible than this war, because Germany has thrown down all the barriers which civilization had previously built up so as to keep the horrors of war within bounds. Neutral nations have an interest in seeing that something is done to insure that there shall be rules which are kept in future wars—rules which shall be so laid down and supported that it will be clear that any nation which departs from them will be regarded by the whole world as the enemy of the human race, and have the whole world against her.

The indiscriminate use of high explosives to destroy great cities and combatants and noncombatants alike, all those things which have been done in this war—the introduction of poisonous gas and the introduction, perhaps, of disease—it will need all the efforts, not only of belligerents but of neutrals, after this war is over, to see that the barriers necessary to secure that the inventions of science are used in the future in the air, on the land, on the water, and under the water, not for the destruction of mankind but for its welfare; to see that all nations shall recognize some responsibility to prevent outbreaks of war, and that if there be war it shall be conducted by rules at least as humane as those which our ancestors observed, and which Germany today has disregarded and thrown to the winds. That is a matter in which the whole human race is interested.

For years before this war we were living under the deepening shadow of Prussian militarism, extending itself over the whole of Germany, and then extending itself over the whole Continent. There must be no peace except a peace which is going to insure that the nations of Europe will live in the future free from that shadow, will live in the open air, and in the light of freedom. For that we are contending. We know that if mankind has any birthright, as we believe it has the birthright of peace and liberty, then our cause is just and right, because it is for that we are fighting. If we are asked how long the struggle is to continue, we reply it must continue till these things are secured, and if it be hard that the present generation in its prime should be called upon to sacrifice all that it has for the sake of the future of the nation and the generations that come after, it is our determination, which the progress of the war but deepens, in common with that of our allies, to continue the war till we have made it certain that the Allies in common shall have achieved the success which must and ought to be theirs; till they have secured the future peace of the whole Continent of Europe, and until they have made it clear that all the sacrifices we have made shall not have been made in vain.

The German Chancellor's Reply to Viscount Grey

Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's reply to the foregoing speech of Viscount Grey was delivered on Nov. 9 before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag. He declared that Germany was at all times ready to join a league of nations—"even to place herself at the head of such a league—to keep in check the disturbers of peace." He said in part:

WE never concealed our doubts as to whether peace could be guaranteed permanently by international organizations, such as arbitration courts. I shall not discuss the theoretical aspects of the problem in this place. But from the standpoint of matters of fact we now and in peace must define our position with regard to this question.

If at and after the end of the war the world will only become fully conscious of the horrifying destruction of life and property, then through the whole of humanity there will ring out a cry for peaceful arrangements and understandings which, as far as is within human power, will avoid the return of such a monstrous catastrophe. This cry will be so powerful and so justified that it must lead to some result.

Germany will honestly co-operate in examination of every endeavor to find a practical solution, and will collaborate for its possible realization. This all the more if the war, as we expect and trust, shall create political conditions that do full justice to the free development of all nations, of small as well as great nations. Then the principle of justice and free development, not only on the Continent, but also on the seas, must be made valid. This, to be sure, Lord Grey did not mention.

[The Chancellor pointed out that Lord Grey's ideas in regard to international guarantees of peace seemed to possess a peculiar character, in that they took into consideration only British wants. He said it was known on reliable authority that in 1915 Great Britain and France promised to Russia dictatorial domination of Constantinople, the Bosporus and the west shore of the Dardanelles, with the hinterland, and that Asia Minor should be divided among the Entente powers. These plans, he continued, probably were of interest for neutrals, who were expected to guarantee this order of things. The British Government, he asserted, has kept silent in regard to these plans, in spite of questions asked in Parliament. He added:]

British "Brute Force"

Such a policy of brute force cannot be the basis of an efficient international league for peace.

These are the plans of our enemies for annexation, to which must be added Alsace and Lorraine, while I have never designated the annexation of Belgium as our intention when I spoke about the aims of the war.

The first condition for the evaluation of international relations by way of arbitration and peaceful compromise of conflicting interests ought to be that no more aggressive coalitions be formed. Germany is at all times ready to enter a league of peace which will restrain the disturber of peace.

The history of international relations before the war stands clear before the eyes of all the world. What made France join with Russia? Alsace and Lorraine. What did Russia want? Constantinople. Why did England join them? Because Germany had become too strong for her, by peaceful toil. And what did we want? Lord Grey says that Germany with her first offer of Belgian and French integrity wanted to purchase from England permission to take of the French colonies whatever she pleased. Even to the most insane person in Germany it never occurred to assault France in or-

der to rob her of her colonies. It was not this which was Europe's doom, but the fact that the British Government favored French and Russian plans of conquest, which could not be obtained without a European war.

Origin of the War

[The Chancellor referred to the situation as it was on July 30, 1914, two days before Germany declared war on Russia. The German Ambassador at Vienna had been instructed to request Austria-Hungary most urgently to reach an understanding with Russia, making it clear that Germany did not desire to be drawn into a world war in consequence of disregard of her advice. Austria-Hungary agreed to Germany's suggestion. He continued:]

With this compare the following steps taken by Lord Grey, (British Foreign Secretary:) On July 2, 1914, the Russian Ambassador at London said that German and Austro-Hungarian circles were under the impression that England would remain quiet. Lord Grey replied: "This impression is removed by the orders which we gave to the main fleet." On July 29 he informed the French Ambassador of a confidential warning which had been given to our Ambassador in London that Germany ought to be prepared for quick decisions of England, which meant England's participation in the war. Could Lord Grey suppose that such a disclosure made to the French Ambassador would be of service to the cause of peace? Was not the French representative obliged to consider this disclosure as a promise of armed assistance in case of war? Must not France have been encouraged by this to give to Russia a promise of the unconditional fellowship in war asked for so urgently for days? And must Russia not have been strengthened to the utmost by this certainty of a British and French alliance in her intentions to wage war?

The Russian answer to the morning conversation of Lord Grey, indeed, came as quickly as was expected. On the evening of the same day, July 29, M. Sazonoff (Russian Foreign Minister) instructed the Russian Ambassador at Paris to express to the French Government sincere thanks for the declaration given to him by the French Ambassador that Russia could count completely upon the assistance of France.

Says Grey Ignores Facts

Thus on the night of July 30 Russia was faced by the following situation: Austria-Hungary yielded under German influence, which cleared the road toward peace. At the same time Lord Grey's disclosure to Paul Cambon (French Ambassador at London) assured Russia of the armed assistance of England and France, by which only the possibility of war was given to Russia. Russia decided upon mobilization and war. Who has been guilty of this decision, full of fate? Lord Grey did not mention all these facts, but directed the attention of his audience to unessential details.

The Hague Arbitration Tribunal offered by the Russian Emperor no doubt sounds very serious, but the offer was made when Russian troops were already sent to move against us.

As to Lord Grey's own suggestion of the conference he himself had substituted for our mediation, this has been repeatedly explained in the Reichstag. And the Belgian question—before a single German soldier had set foot on Belgian soil—Lord Grey had already told the French Ambassador, as related in his report: "If the German Navy should enter the Channel or pass the North Sea with the intention of attacking the French coast or French Navy and harass the French merchant marine, (gentlemen," harass,") then the British Navy would act in order to protect the French Navy in such a fashion that from that moment England and Germany would be in a state of war."

Can the same man who proclaimed that the sailing of our navy would be a casus belli, can that very same man still asseverate sincerely that only the violation of Belgian neutrality had forced England against her will into war?

[The Chancellor then took up Lord Grey's statement that Germany had asked England to condone the violation

of Belgian neutrality. "I challenge Lord Grey," he said, "to examine the fact in his own Blue Book and in his records." In order to localize the war, the Chancellor explained that on July 29, 1914, he assured the British Ambassador at Berlin that in case of England's neutrality Germany would guarantee France's territorial integrity. On Aug. 1 Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador at London, asked Lord Grey whether England would promise to remain neutral in case Germany accepted an obligation to respect Belgian neutrality. He further offered that in case of English neutrality the integrity not only of France itself, but also of the French colonies, would be guaranteed, and said that Germany was ready to renounce an attack on France if England guaranteed French neutrality. At the last moment the Chancellor gave his promise that so long as England remained neutral the German Navy would not attack the French north coast, and, mutual treatment presupposed, would do no hostile act against French merchantmen. To all this, according to the Chancellor, Lord Grey answered that he must decline, definitely, to give any promise of neutrality and could only say that England wanted to keep her hands free. The speaker continued:]

If England had given this declaration of neutrality then she would not have been the object of the whole world's contempt, as Lord Grey thinks, but would have prevented the outbreak of war. I also ask: Who wanted war—we, who were ready to give to England all imaginable securities, not only for her immediate interests, but also for France and Belgium, or Lord Grey, who declined every one of our propositions and refused even to hint a way by which to preserve peace between our two countries?

Russian Mobilization Fateful

The action which made the war unavoidable was the Russian mobilization, ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914. Russia, England, France, the whole world, knew that this step made it impossible for us to wait any longer, and that this step was synonymous with a declaration of war. The whole world—even England, too—now begins to comprehend the fateful importance of the Russian mobilization. Truth makes headway. An English scholar of world fame recently said: "Many people would think differently about the end of the war if they were better informed about its origin, especially about the facts of Russian mobilization." It is no wonder, therefore, if Lord Grey could not leave the Russian mobilization unmentioned.

[The Chancellor said Lord Grey admitted that the Russian preceded the German and Austro-Hungarian mobilization. But since he desired to clear the Entente of guilt, Lord Grey could not help referring to the Russian mobilization as Germany's work. Lord Grey said that Russia mobilized its army only after it received a report that Germany had ordered mobilization. Lord Grey added that Germany had played a trick in order to provoke the other country into a defensive measure to which Germany could reply with an ultimatum. It was two years and three months before this version of the cause of the war occurred to Lord Grey, said the Chancellor, and he characterized it as a version which was as incorrect as it was new. The event at which Lord Grey hinted was known. The document on which he based his argument, the Chancellor said, was a special edition of the Berlin newspaper Lokal-Anzeiger. The Chancellor recalled the fact that on Thursday, July 30, 1914, the Lokal-Anzeiger early in the afternoon issued a special edition with the untrue report that the German Emperor had ordered mobilization. The Chancellor added that every one in the Reichstag committee knew that the sale of this special edition was prohibited immediately by the police, and that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs immediately informed the Russian Ambassador by telephone that this news was untrue. He continued:]

I may state further that the Russian Ambassador, indeed, had sent a cipher telegram to St. Petersburg as soon as the special edition was issued, and that the telegram, according to the Russian

Orange Book, read: "I understand that an order for mobilization of the German Army and the German Navy has been proclaimed at this moment." After the explanation given by Secretary von Jagow over the telephone, this telegram was followed by a second telegram not in cipher: "I beg you to consider my last telegram as null and void. Explanation follows."

A few minutes later the Russian Ambassador sent a third telegram in cipher, which, according to the Russian Orange Book, stated that the Foreign Minister at that moment had telephoned that the news of the mobilization of the army and navy was untrue, and that the special edition had been confiscated. The quick action of Secretary von Jagow, which is confirmed by the official Russian Orange Book, giving Ambassador Sverbeew's telegram, set right the wrong news and in itself refutes Lord Grey's assertion that we intentionally desired to deceive Russia in order to cause her to mobilize. * * * At all events, the incorrect report had been set right before the Russian Government ordered a general mobilization.

Gentlemen, we do not fear any tribunal. I can state further that this new version has been brought forward entirely by Lord Grey. To the Russian Government itself, which ought to be the best informed about the cause of mobilization, it never occurred that it could refer to a special edition of the Lokal-Anzeiger as an explanation of its fateful step.

Germany Third to Mobilize

Lord Grey, I take it, will not refuse the Russian Emperor as a witness, and the Emperor at 2 P. M. on Friday, July 31, when the order for mobilization had already been issued to all Russian forces, telegraphed to the German Emperor as an answer to his last appeal for peace: "Technically impossible to stop our military preparations, made necessary by Austro-Hungarian mobilization." There was no word about the Lokal-Anzeiger, no word about German mobilization.

[The Chancellor then recalled that the Russian Emperor's reference to Austro-Hungarian mobilization could be no excuse for a general Russian mobilization, since Austria-Hungary then had mobilized only eight army corps against Serbia, to which Russia on July 29 already had replied by mobilizing thirteen army corps. Only after the general Russian mobilization did Austria-Hungary, on the morning of July 31, order a general mobilization. As to Germany, after the news of the general Russian mobilization, it did not mobilize at once, but at first only proclaimed a state of threatened danger of war, which was by no means mobilization. This was communicated to the Russian Government, and it was added that mobilization must follow if Russia did not stop all war measures against Germany and Austria-Hungary within twelve hours and if it did not inform Germany in clear fashion that this had been done. Thus Russia once more received time, even when, as a result of Russia's guilt, war already seemed unavoidable. Likewise, Russia's allies and friends had the possibility of still using their influence with Russia, in the same direction as Germany with her ally, Austria-Hungary. Russia, said the Chancellor, gave no answer. England remained silent to Russia. France, through her Prime Minister, on the evening of July 31, merely declared to the German Ambassador that Russia had not mobilized, and ordered her own mobilization some hours before Germany did. The Chancellor continued:]

As to the so-called defensive character of the Russian general mobilization, I may state here, in the most explicit fashion, that at the outbreak of the war in 1914 there was still valid a general order of the Russian Government, issued in the year 1912, in which was the following paragraph verbatim: "From the highest place it is ordered that a proclamation of mobilization is at the same time a proclamation of war against Germany." Against Germany, gentlemen, against Germany!

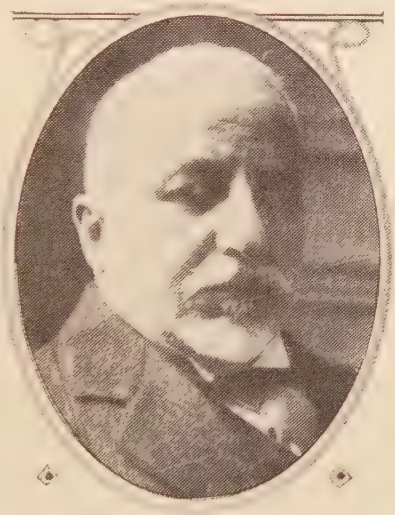
Russia never would have decided upon this fateful step if it had not been encouraged to do so from the Thames by actions and by failures to take action.

An Italian Diplomat's Part in Events Preceding the War

A Preface by Gabriel Hanotaux

M. Hanotaux, the famous French diplomat, historian, and Academician, has written the following introduction to a collection of speeches delivered since the war by Tommaso Tittoni, the Italian Ambassador in Paris, who resigned that position about Nov. 1.

SIGNOR TITTONI, Deputy, Prefect, Senator, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador, is a man who knows politics to the fingertips. He has knowledge and tact, courage and skill; he is a humanist, an intellectual, and a practical man, an excellent representative of the present generation of Italians, who received a free and united Italy from their predecessors and who reckon on leaving a "Greater Italy" to the generations of the future. * * * At the approach of the great war we find him master of his thought and of the ability to come to a decision when the crisis was in sight. The crowd suspected nothing. They were still living their laborious and heedless lives as the lookout men watched the rising of the storm. The Italians in particular early took in sail. They knew that in case of a storm their country would be tossed about in the opposing currents.



TOMMASO TITTONI
© *Topical Press Agency*

Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, and her position was all the more perilous on that account. She was not ignorant that Prussia, so as to turn aside the rivalry of Austria on German territory, was thrusting this power toward the Balkans and the Adriatic. If such a policy prevailed, Italy would be the dupe of the bargain. She had contracted the alliance for the sake of the European equilibrium and peace. What would she do if she were faced with deprivation of rights and war? Luckily Italian prudence had taken its precautions. The seventh article of the Triple Alliance provided for the possibility of Austrian intervention in the Balkans. That at bottom was all the treaty was made for. That article, the force and precision of which are admirable, reads:

> Austria-Hungary and Italy, aiming only at the preservation of the status quo in the Orient, bind themselves to exert their influence *so as to avoid any territorial change* prejudicial to either of the contracting powers.
>
> *These powers will give one another reciprocal explanations* making clear their respective intentions, in the same manner as the other powers, if in the course of certain events the maintenance of the status quo of the Balkan territory, the coasts or the Ottoman islands in the Adriatic Sea and in the Ægean Sea becomes impossible, and if the situation is the consequence of a third power or has a cause which ought to constrain Austria or Italy to change the status quo by a temporary or permanent occupation.
>
> This occupation can take place *only after preliminary agreements* between the two powers, on the principle of reciprocal consent in regard to all territorial advantages or any other arrangements which one of them should obtain modifying the status quo, *and so as to satisfy the just claims* of the two parties.

From the time that Austria's ambitions came into play and struck at the territorial status quo in the Balkans by falling upon Serbia without explanation

or preliminary arrangement with Italy this power had to take sides and sacrifice either her interests or the alliance. To break the alliance meant renouncing a system dating back many years and but recently renewed, which presented the appearance of security and prestige, serviceable in practice; which avoided a grave risk, and which, over and above the bargain and because of it, had sent Italy to sleep and left her unarmed. On the other hand, there were honor and the future, but risk. The situation was such that to take a step backward was to turn completely round. In the crisis that was to divide Europe a great power was obliged to declare itself under penalty of being excluded from the final settlement and of having enemies in both camps.

Italy had been driven into a corner a year and a half before the war, when Austria-Hungary, in connection with the Scutari incident, had threatened Montenegro. It was the Austro-Hungarian hegemony throwing its shadow on the Balkans. Great was the alarm at the Consulta. The Ambassadors were questioned. Ready as he was, Tittoni did not hesitate. To the question put to him he gave a reply which is a masterpiece of perspicacity and resolution. As between the alliance and the interests of Italy the Ambassador advised sacrificing the alliance. Just think—the other European powers were still holding back and Italy was then alone. The following is the text of this memorable dispatch, made public by the Ambassador himself in his speech at the Trocadero on June 22, 1916:

> The artifices to which the Austro-Hungarian and German Ambassadors are resorting in sticking to the letter of the seventh article have not the least value. The spirit of this article is clear, and for the rest it does not matter what may be the disturbance to the Italo-Austrian equilibrium, which might impair not only the seventh article but the entire treaty of alliance. The day Austria means to disturb, no matter how and to what extent, the balance of power in the Adriatic, *that day the Triple Alliance will have ceased to exist.*

This was written in April, 1913. From that date the crisis begins, and Italy, following the advice of her Ambassador, really ceased to belong to the Triple Alliance. Here were high resolves giving birth to action. Events now unfolded according to the logic of destiny. The man who had struck the decisive blow at the critical hour was not going to let himself be misled. He knew that the storm would burst in the direction of Serbia. He said so; he repeated it and kept every one on the watch. And when a tragic incident, the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, furnished Austria with the pretext she was looking for, he gave his country in a great flash of insight the supreme counsel. On July 26, 1914, he telegraphed the following brief words, laden with meaning and responsibility:

> *I am of opinion that from duty and loyalty we ought to declare to Berlin and Vienna that the ultimatum presented to Belgrade unknown to us and without being preceded by diplomatic negotiations constitutes on the part of Austria-Hungary a real provocation to war.*
>
> *Therefore, the compact of the Triple Alliance would no longer be applicable even if Russia took part in the war,* (that is to say, in case of general war.) *It is necessary to make the declaration at once.*

It cannot be said that this diplomat disguises himself. What a pleasure it is to see thus at work these fine minds with the gift of articulate thought! The Ambassador's words were inspired solely by the dignity and interests of Italy. They were in conformity with the ideas of the King and the Government, full of frankness and wisdom even to the members of the Triple Alliance if they had been in a condition to understand and listen to them. They bore first the seed of Italy's neutrality, then of her participation in the war, and finally of her declaration of war against Germany.

It could not escape the penetration of the Italian statesmen that Austro-Hungarian ambitions are only substitutes for German ambitions. Because Prussia wishes to stand alone in Germany she throws Austria back toward the Slav world. It is Germany that laid the trap in which Italy would have been caught if she had not known how to break through it. It is Germany that wants Trieste. Austria is only the tool. Sufficient allowance is not made for Pan-

BINDING THE ENEMY'S WOUNDS: SCENE ON A FRENCH FARM

This Eloquent Picture Almost Tells Its Own Story in the Faces and Attitudes of the People. A Wounded German Prisoner Has Been Brought in for First Aid.

(Root Newspaper Association.)

TENDING THE WOUNDED WITHIN SIGHT OF THE GUNS

An Official Crown Copyright Photograph of a British Red Cross Ambulance Corps Collecting and Caring for the Wounded Just Behind the Battle Line in France.

(Central News Photo Service.)

Germanism. German hegemony had Balkan and Mediterranean ambitions just as it had worldwide ambitions.

No longer is any compromise possible with Germany. She must submit to the general will of Europe since she has refused to be a "good European." The Bismarckian system has fallen; and now the proud militarism of Wilhelm II. must be destroyed; it must be torn up by the roots. When the time comes I count on Tittoni being a careful gardener in the garden of victory—maturae vinitor uvae, (gatherer of the ripe grapes.) Thus a short, brief phase in the life of one man will have seen the gravest problems raised and solved. There is not a line in the speeches published by Signor Tittoni that does not merit thoughtful reading.

[Italian Semi-Official Statement]

The Responsibility for the War

TOMMASO TITTONI IN NUOVA ANTOLOGIA, ROME

Under the above heading Senator Tommaso Tittoni, late Italian Ambassador to France, has addressed a twenty-page letter to the Director of the Nuova Antologia of Rome. The letter is intended to supplement the speeches of the Ambassador, which are soon to be published in book form. It deals with other questions than the one taken for the heading. Thus, under the subhead of "Problems After the War" Signor Tittoni says he has not embraced the Utopian idea that perpetual peace may be obtained, but he believes the Allies should begin now with measures to ward off a return of the calamity. He urges a postponement of all economic and kindred questions, as a "mentality of war" has been created, which tends to vitiate any plans now laid for peace times. The most important part of his article is devoted to answering semi-official utterances in German and Austrian journals, and to demonstrating that diplomats in those countries were aware that a turning of the Triple Alliance to aggression would bring about its dissolution. It is this portion that is here reproduced.—Translator.

IMMEDIATELY after I had read the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia I telegraphed to the late Marquis of San Giuliano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the ultimatum constituted a real provocation to war on the part of Austria and that we should at once declare this to Berlin and Vienna, so that they should not count on our co-operation in any case whatsoever. The publication of my telegram (reproduced by Gabriel Hanotaux in his preface) induced two Austrian papers, the Fremdenblatt and the Reichspost, to draw from it the unexpected conclusion that I was one of the men responsible for the war, because, having communicated my telegram to the French statesmen, (the papers cited have the kindness not to affirm this precisely, but say "in all probability,") I pushed them on and encouraged them to war.

Now, all this is baseless. The French statesmen had no knowledge whatever of my telegram. It was strictly secret and personal for Minister San Giuliano. If I had communicated it to the French Government before knowing to a certainty the decision of the Italian Government, I should have failed in my duty to the country I represented. It is easy to prove, moreover, that the communication of my telegram to the French Government may not be considered "probable," as the Austrian papers pretend, but must be absolutely excluded as impossible. * * *

My telegram was sent with an intention exactly the oposite of the one attributed to me by the Austrian journalists. Not only did I never think of exciting France to war, but I hoped confidently that the declaration I was advising the Marquis of San Giuliano to make to Berlin and Vienna at once, without losing a minute, might inspire milder counsels and have the effect of preserving peace. I saw, behind the ultimatum itself, the pretext, badly chosen and more badly shaped, for war. I hoped that our categorical refusal to participate in it, delivered in time at Berlin and Vienna, could hold back the men in power in those

capitals from the fatal slope to which they had rushed.

Declarations of Sazonoff

The Pester Lloyd, like the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, finds it awkward and difficult to meet my documented demonstration of the responsibility for the war. So what does it do? It gets rid of it en bloc by saying that my arguments are useless and superfluous after the statements of Mr. Sazonoff. But it does not seem to me that there is anything incriminating in the interview that Mr. Sazonoff gave to the Russkoe Slovo, anything that would justify the Norddeutsche in saying that "Mr. Sazonoff has swept away, with a brutal gesture, the cobweb tissue of my reasoning." Here is the passage of Sazonoff's to which the Norddeutsche refers:

> Herr Bethmann Hollweg maintains that France and Russia would never have dared to accept the challenge of Germany if they had not been sure of the support of England. But the real political situation was the following, even if the Chancellor will not admit it: In reality, France and Russia, notwithstanding their profound love for peace and their sincere efforts to avoid bloodshed, had decided to break the pride of Germany at any price and to make her stop, once for all, treading on the toes of her neighbors.

Read and reread this passage as much as you will, you cannot find in it the proposal to commit aggression that the Norddeutsche denounces. Sazonoff meant and said that even without the aid of England, France and Russia were decided on a resistance of Germany's bullying and aggression. In short, he did no more than repeat the determination that surged up unanimously in Russia, when, in March, 1909, that country had to accede to Germany's intimation, and sanction at once the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, renouncing every guarantee; renouncing, also, the conference which was about to take place—for during those days I had (as Minister of Foreign Affairs) proposed it again in terms that suited Austria as well as the other powers. Russia, while yielding to German arrogance, promised herself that it was to be the last time. Sazonoff did no more than interpret that proposition, and so he said nothing that was not already known to all before the war.

If this was not known by the German and Austrian statesmen who provoked the war, let us not be surprised, for they have shown how to be ignorant of too many things already.

Austria and My Speeches

It will be noticed that of the German and Austrian papers which took up my speech at the Sorbonne, not one has tried to adduce facts and proofs to refute what was affirmed and documented by me as to the responsibility for the war. This attempt was made, after a noteworthy delay, on July 16, 1916, by the Neue Freie Presse. My severe but measured and correct language was answered by the Viennese journal with an explosion of insults, ("Lies—mendacity—cynically contrary to the truth, &c.")

In the beginning of the article in the Viennese paper we find the following passages a short distance apart: "Tittoni says that Austria was continually recurring to mobilization. This is false." And a little further on we read: "Besides, the successive mobilizations of Austria-Hungary are proof that she was taking a defensive measure, feeling herself menaced at every moment by Russo-Serbian intrigues." So the question is, Did Austria have her blessed mobilizations, or did she not? It is rather a difficult task to get a consistent statement out of the Neue Freie Presse. The truth is that Austria mobilized every time a leaf rustled and that her mobilization imperiled the peace of Europe.

Faithful to my system of proving by evidence whatever I affirm, and not offering any testimony but that of my adversaries themselves—against whom there can be no charge of partiality or other suspicious circumstances—I will recall what the Hamburger Nachrichten published on March 17, 1909: "The armament and expenses for mobilization of Austria-Hungary have reached such a height that she can scarcely make war any longer!"

San Giuliano's Statements

It is affirmed in continuation that "the Marquis of San Giuliano admitted, in the Summer of 1914, to the Ambassador of

Austria-Hungary at Rome, that the proofs contained in the memorandum of the Austro-Hungarian Government gave him much solicitude, and that the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the profound impression of the annexes to the note to Serbia, expressly recognized the defensive character of Austria-Hungary's action, and that he asked and obtained from the Marquis of San Giuliano the latter's authorization to tell Herr von Merey that he considered the refusal of the Italian Government to fullfil its duties as an ally unjustified and mistaken."

The attitude of the Marquis of San Giuliano cannot have been that which Ambassador von Merey attributes to him in the documents published in the Austrian Red Book. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador has related his conversation with our Minister of Foreign Affairs with the same inexactitude as his colleague in London, Count Mensdorf, in relating his conversation with Sir Edward Grey. The attitude of the Marquis of San Giuliano is seen in the telegram he sent to the royal (Italian) Ambassadors in foreign countries, in which he says that Ambassador Merey, on presenting him with the text of the ultimatum to Serbia, asked neither his support nor his opinion, and that he had therefore no comment to make. Outside of this, the Marquis of San Giuliano could not have placed himself in opposition to the President of the Council, Signor Salandra, who declared on the same day to the German Ambassador, Flotow, that Italy had no obligation to intervene if, on account of Austria's aggression, Germany were to get into war with Russia—a declaration which, moreover, San Giuliano himself repeated to Baron Flotow after the German intimation to St. Petersburg.

As to the distinguished Secretary General of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I have several times had the opportunity to discuss the matter with him. I shall not stop with the last part of the declarations attributed to him. That is so ridiculous and so much in contradiction of all diplomatic documents that the denial he made of it would seem superfluous. How can any one suppose that the Marquis of San Giuliano, while strenuously maintaining toward our allies the position that we were neutral according to the letter and spirit of the alliance, should authorize the Secretary General to say precisely the reverse? Such fantastic inventions transport us from the field of reality to that of fable. As to the first part, Commendatore de Martino always said to me that he observed to Herr von Merey that it was strange that little Serbia could menace, as the ultimatum affirms, nothing less than the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; and this ironical phrase was transformed by Herr von Merey into an affirmation favorable to his contention.

Count Tisza and Metternich

In spite of the publication of the Green Book and the exhaustive speeches of Ministers Salandra and Sonnino, the Neue Freie Presse returns to Italy's efforts for territorial concessions. It seems to me useless to return to this point after the declarations made by Count Tisza to the Hungarian Parliament on Aug. 23, declarations as to which the Deputy Rakowski regretted that the censor had permitted the publication. Count Tisza rejoiced over the fact that these efforts had made Italy lose time and delayed her intervention until after the victory of Gorlice, so that Austria was able to strip the Serbian frontier and gather sufficient forces to parry the attack of Italy.

The words of Count Tisza recall the tactics followed in 1813 by Metternich against Napoleon. Metternich conceived the plan of offering to France a systematization of territory which he was determined not to maintain, and which he well knew that Napoleon could not accept; and of continually varying these offers, of prolonging the discussion of them, to lose as much time as possible, so that Austria might finish arming herself. Once this was accomplished, his plan was to interrupt relations with France, and, together with Prussia, (the secret participant of Metternich's plan, and bound to it,) join with Russia in crushing France through their united strength. The instructions to the nego-

tiators ran thus: "Proceed with ability and circumspection, feign loyalty to France, keep her in full confidence, do not refuse directly any new demand she makes, but feed her with vain hopes." The success of Metternich was complete and had its epilogue at Fontainebleau. Count Tisza and Count Berchtold have been less fortunate than Metternich.

The Neue Freie Presse abandons the assassination at Serajevo as the reason for the ultimatum to Serbia, and accepts completely the position of Count von Jagow that this was nothing more than a pretext for provoking to war the powers of the Entente, which were making life intolerable for Austria-Hungary. I have placed on record this precious confession, which, since it abandons the assassination of Serajevo as the reason for the war, belies the ultimatum. The view of von Jagow as to the systematic hostility of the Entente Powers toward Austria, then, seems to be accepted. But this thesis was refuted in my speech at the Sorbonne in so efficacious a manner that up to now no one has been able to oppose my refutation.

[From further extracts from the official article in the Neue Freie Presse Signor Tittoni deduces further proof of Austria's responsibility for the war, and concludes his letter with the prophecy, contained in one of his speeches, that Austria would herself be the victim of the forces she set in motion.]

Sèvres Porcelain Work in War Time

A Paris correspondent gives this interesting glimpse of the war work at Sèvres:

The arts are all now the handmaidens of war. For the first time in its history since the days of Mme. de Pompadour, when the factory was started though not in its present building, the famous porcelain works of Sèvres have undertaken war work. The Sèvres museum of porcelain is still there, and the most valuable pieces, which had been sent away to a safer place in the south at the time when invasion seemed to threaten Paris, have all been brought back. One can still admire the wonderful eighteenth-century Sèvres, the famous biscuit statuettes, so delicate that one can scarcely breathe on them—much less dust them; one can be interested and amused by the Sèvres porcelain of the Restoration and Louis Philippe; one can admire some of the modern Sèvres and deplore a good deal of it. But all the rest of the Sèvres porcelain works has put art on one side and thinks only of war.

No men of military age, of course, are left in the factory. It was stirring, and a little tragic, to watch the others—artists, designers, foremen, workmen—every one of them an artist in his way and in his sphere, but now thinking solely of what Sèvres can do to defend France. Every one of them, from original artist to skilled artisan, now thinks only of fashioning and baking huge pots in which are treated acids essential to the making of high explosives. I saw all, from the director down to the aged artist foreman, retired, but returned to the works, bent only on this war work. New huge furnaces had been built.

The old furnaces, which turned out delicate porcelain, now produce huge crucibles in which nitric acid is condensed. They are of strange shapes—some immense fat jars, with round paunches and four or five mouths, others great pipes six feet high. Sèvres has made these indirect engines of war with all its old conscientiousness and traditions of a century and a half, and the texture of the earthenware of which these giant retorts are made is beautifully pleasant to the touch. Some of the immense war jars are also agreeable to the eye, and tinted a very pleasant pink; all are finished by hand, and the skilled artisan, bereft for the duration of the war of his occupation, can at least give himself some pleasure in smoothing the surface of a monster crucible. The director has had a few small models made, which will be sought after as garden pots.

Indeed, in after years the war earthenware of Sèvres may quite likely fetch fancy prices among collectors. Sèvres has proudly stamped each piece with a newly invented war mark—the drawing of a .75 gun wreathed in laurel, and with the Sèvres trade mark. This war trade mark of Sèvres may be worth any money some years hence.

Liebknecht's Arraignment of Germany

Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the radical Socialist leader of the Reichstag, who was sentenced on June 28 to thirty months' penal servitude and dismissal from the army for high treason, submitted the following paper to the Reichstag Committee during his trial. The text recently reached the outside world through the Zurich Socialist paper, Volksrecht:

TO the Royal Council of War in Berlin: At the hearing of the inquiry into my case, I want to lay stress on the following points:

1. The German Government, as it is at present constituted, is only an instrument for the oppression and the exploitation of the working classes, both inwardly and outwardly. It serves the interests of the junkers, of capitalism, and of imperialism. It is the unscrupulous representative of the policy of conquest, and by reason of its armaments it has been the principal instrument in bringing about the present war.

The Government has prepared this war in agreement with the Austrian Government, so that it bears the chief responsibility. It brought about the war by leading into error the bulk of the nation and even the Reichstag. [Refer to the terms in which the ultimatum was addressed to Belgium and the manner in which the German White Book was drawn up, also the suppression of the Czar's telegram of July 29, 1914, &c.] It acted thus in order to maintain the masses of the people at the desired level.

The Government has carried on the war in accordance with methods which are even incompatible with everything which has been done hitherto—the violation of Belgium and Luxemburg; the use of poison gases, which were subsequently used by the other belligerents; there were Zeppelin bombs which killed both combatants and noncombatants, a submarine war on commerce, the torpedoing of the Lusitania, &c.; pillage and extortion of tribute, beginning with Belgium; the internment and imprisonment of the population of the eastern provinces; various devices for forcing prisoners to work against their own country, by spying for the Central Powers, thereby committing an act of high treason; contracts arranged between Zimmermann and Sir Roger Casement in December, 1915, for the formation of armed units of English prisoners of war, for the purpose of forming the Irish brigade. Besides these, other attempts must be mentioned, which were made among the foreigners in concentration camps in Germany, threatening them with internment unless they betrayed their own countries and placed themselves at Germany's disposal.

In proclaiming the state of siege the Government had recourse to political proceedings totally devoid of all scruples, and it increased its demands on the working classes further by its organization of the food question. During the war everything has been done with an eye to the wishes and demands of the agrarians and capitalists, at the expense of the masses of the people. Even today it is thought that the aims of the war must comprehend the conquest of territories, and these desires for annexation form the greatest obstacle in the way of the conclusion of peace.

The password of all true Socialists ought to be this: "Down with the Government!"

2. The present war is not a war of defense or a war waged for the liberation of oppressed peoples. From the proletariat's point of view, it merely signifies a concentration and an accumulation of political oppression and military sacrifices, increasing the misery of the working classes to the profit of the capitalist and to the profit of absolutism.

For the German working class there can be no thought of its ever coming to terms with leaders animated by such ideas, and I shall pursue the struggle against them with all my strength.

KARL LIEBKNECHT.

Germany's Promise to Poland

Proclamation by the Central Powers Promising Autonomy to Conquered Provinces

A MANIFESTO was proclaimed officially on Nov. 4 by the Central Powers at Warsaw and Lublin, in Russian Poland, promising autonomy to the conquered Polish provinces under the name of the Kingdom of Poland. The proclamation follows:

His Majesty the German Emperor and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary, inspired by firm confidence in a final victory of their arms and prompted by a desire to lead the districts conquered by their armies under heavy sacrifices from Russian domination toward a happy future, have agreed to form of these districts a national State with a hereditary monarchy and a constitutional Government. The exact frontiers of the Kingdom of Poland shall be outlined later.

The new kingdom will receive the guarantees needed for the free development of its own forces by its intimate relations with both powers. The glorious traditions of the ancient Polish armies and the memory of the brave comradeship in the great war of our days shall revive in a national army. The organization, instruction, and command of this army shall be arranged by common agreement.

The allied monarchs express the confident hope that Polish wishes for the evolution of a Polish State and for the national development of a Polish kingdom shall now be fulfilled, taking due consideration of the general political conditions prevailing in Europe and of the welfare and the safety of their own countries and nations.

The great realm which the western neighbors of the Kingdom of Poland shall have on their eastern frontier shall be a free and happy State enjoying its own national life, and they shall welcome with joy the birth and prosperous development of this State.

The manifesto was read in Warsaw at noon, Nov. 5, in the Royal Palace, by Governor General von Beseler to the assembled Polish representatives. A Berlin dispatch describes the scene in these words:

The ceremony was short and simple. Precisely at noon General von Beseler, wearing the decorations granted for the reduction of Antwerp and the Polish fortresses, mounted the dais in the gala ballroom of the old Jagellonian Castle, and in the name of Germany's sovereign read the imperial manifesto in ringing, soldierly tones. When he ceased, the Polish Count, Hutten-Czapski, the Palace Commandant, read from a leather-bound pamphlet to the Polish notables a translation of the manifesto in their own language.

Then came cheers from the hitherto silent crowd—cheers for Poland, Emperor William, Emperor Francis Joseph, for Germany and for the Germans and for General von Beseler. President Brudzinski of the recently elected City Council, who is rector of the University of Warsaw, advanced before the dais and in the Polish tongue gave thanks for the imperial decree. He said that the determination of the Poles would be found worthy of the liberties conferred and asked that, as the first step toward the formation of the Government, a Regent be appointed for the kingdom, since the time was not ripe for the nomination of the hereditary sovereign promised in the manifesto. President Brudzinski, who was in plain civilian attire, without decorations, seemed to represent the spirit not of the ancient Poland and the Polish chivalry but of modern intellectual Poland.

General von Beseler replied that in the midst of the world war had come the moment of fulfillment of the long-cherished Polish wish for re-establishment of the Polish Kingdom.

"Doubts as to the future," he said, "can find no place in Polish hearts. It will be our task, shoulder to shoulder with the residents of Poland, to carry the war to a victorious conclusion and to heal the wounds of the war. Take places at our side in confidence which we repay by the magnanimous decision of the Austro-German monarchs, who place their seals on the plans for the unity of Poland. We hope that soon a Polish army will be fighting on our side in token of the sentiment for development of the new kingdom. May all good fortune attend the Kingdom of Poland."

In the assemblage were the members of the new City Council, delegates from the university, the Faculties of the academies of science and arts, members of the Roman Catholic clergy, headed by the Archbishop in the brilliant robe of a Cardinal, which he was entitled to wear as primate of the Polish Church; the bearded Chief Rabbi and Jewish subordinates; leading representatives of the old Polish aristocracy, headed by Prince Lubomirsky and Prince Radziwill; a student deputation with banners, forming a guard of honor around the dais, and a little group of veterans of the insurrection of 1863. Mingled with the Austrian and German officers was a detachment of officers of the Polish Legion in gray field uniforms.

MAP OF RUSSIAN POLAND, WHICH HAS BEEN PROMISED AUTONOMY BY BOTH RUSSIA AND GERMANY; ALSO MAP OF GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN PORTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL POLAND

The ceremony at Lublin took place in the palace of the Governor General, in the presence of the clergy, deputies from Polish associations, and prominent civilians. The Governor General, when he concluded the reading, declared: "The allied monarchs thus most solemnly guarantee the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland. This fact cannot be any more overturned."

He concluded with a cheer for Poland in the Polish language. At the same time the Polish flag was hoisted and the Austro-Hungarian troops rendered honors to it while the band played the national anthem amid the shouts of an immense crowd before the palace. Two aeroplanes dropped a large number of Polish banners, and the Polish flag was hoisted beside the Austro-Hungarian colors on all public buildings.

Austria-Hungary has indorsed the German promise to Poland in a letter sent by Emperor Francis Joseph to the Austrian Premier, Ernst von Koerber, the text of which is as follows:

In accordance with my agreement with his Majesty the German Emperor, a national State with a hereditary monarchy and a constitutional Government will be formed of the Polish districts conquered by our brave

armies from Russian domination. On this occasion are remembered with deep emotion the many evidences of devotion and faith during my reign on the part of the land of Galicia and likewise of the great and heavy sacrifices which this land, while exposed to violent hostile attack, had to make for the victorious defense of the eastern frontiers of my realm, sacrifices which give Galicia everlasting title to my warmest paternal care.

It is therefore my will, at the moment when the new State comes into existence, to grant in connection with this evolution the right to the land of Galicia to settle public affairs autonomously so far as is consistent with the fact that Galicia forms part of our Commonwealth and so far as is consistent with the welfare of that land; and thus to offer to the population of Galicia a guarantee of national and economic development.

In notifying you of my purpose in this connection I request you to elaborate projects suitable for its legal realization and to place them before me.

A German statesman is quoted by The New York Times correspondent at Berlin as stating that, while the autonomous State will not be set up until peace is restored, the promise is to be regarded as "a solemn and irrevocable guarantee." He stated that the question as to who will be King will also be settled after the war. He added these significant words: "The organization of a national Polish army will also be deferred until peace is restored; but this does not preclude the possibility that volunteer Polish armies will be seen fighting in the present war in defense of the promised autonomous Polish State."

This hint was followed three days later—on Nov. 10—by another proclamation, signed by Governor General von Beseler and General Kuk, and published in Warsaw and Lublin, in these terms:

The rulers of the allied powers of Austria-Hungary and Germany have given notification of their resolution to form of the Polish territory delivered from Russian tyranny the new autonomous Kingdom of Poland. Your most ardent desire, entertained in vain for more than a century, is thus fulfilled.

The importance and danger of this wartime and regard for our armies standing before the enemy oblige us for the present to keep the administration of your new State still in our hands. Readily, however, we will give, with your aid, to the new Poland by degrees those public institutions which guarantee her consolidation, development, and safety. Of these the Polish Army is the most important.

The struggle with Russia is not yet terminated. You desire to join in it. Therefore, step to our side as volunteers in order to help complete our victories over your oppressor. Bravely and with high distinction your brothers of the Polish Legion fought on our side. Rival that in the new bodies of troops, which, together with the legions, shall form the Polish Army that will consolidate your new State and guarantee its interior and exterior security.

You shall protect your country under your own colors and flags, cherished by you above all. We know your courage and your ardent patriotism and call you to arms at our side. Rise, valiant men, and follow the example set by the brave Polish Legion, and in common work with the German and Austro-Hungarian armies and lay the foundation for a Polish Army, reviving the glorious traditions of your war history by the faith and bravery of your warriors.

The Polish manifesto of the Central Powers is regarded with suspicion and dissatisfaction by the majority of Poles in the United States, and is generally looked upon by neutrals as a diplomatic move to secure further recruits. N. L. Piotrowski, whose article on "Poles Under German Rule" appears in the following pages, apparently utters the thought of the majority of Poles when he says that Germany and Austria hope to raise 500,000 more troops by this move. "What we want," he says, "is a united Poland—Russian, German, and Austrian." Other distinguished Poles express the same conviction. Maximilian Harden, the noted German editor of Die Zukunft, in his issue of Nov. 11, 1916, discredits the proclamation and says that it is valueless because the Chancellor has not signed it officially—that it is not a legal obligation upon the German Federated Governments.

In this connection it should be recorded that on Oct. 17 President Wilson announced that the efforts to relieve the distress in Poland by sending supplies from this country had failed through the inability of the warring powers to agree upon any plan that would prove acceptable.

Poles Under German Rule

By N. L. Piotrowski

An American citizen born in Poland and former City Attorney of Chicago

Mr. Piotrowski spent seven months in Europe last year studying wartime conditions in all three sections of Poland.

GERMAN POLAND consists of three provinces—the Grand Duchy of Posen, which is known as the cradle of Poland, having a population of 2,150,000, and East and West Prussia, having about 4,000,000 people. These three provinces were annexed to the Kingdom of Prussia when Poland was dismembered by Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Silesia, which was lost to Poland in the fourteenth century, has also a large Polish population. The Poles in the Polish provinces number about 4,000,000.

The hostility between the Germans and the Poles does not merely date from the partition of Poland. The struggle between those two races has been in operation since the dawn of history and is due to the lust of conquest on the part of the Teutons. Since the remotest times the Germans were the greatest peril to the national existence of the Poles. Drang nach Osten! has been Germany's political dogma for centuries. The crime of partitioning Poland was first conceived by Frederick the Great, and the shameless perfidy of his nephew and successor, Frederick William, in his relation to Poland, has no parallel in history. German statesmen and German professors openly avow that the most important task of the German Government is either to Germanize or to exterminate the Poles in the Polish provinces. From Germany's point of view there is no compromise possible between that nation and the Poles.

Former Chancellor Prince von Bülow, in his book, "Imperial Germany," says:

"No concern for the Polish people must hinder us from doing all we can to maintain and strengthen the German nationality in the former Polish provinces. It is the duty and the right of the Government to see that the Germans do not get driven out of the east of Germany by the Poles. The object is to protect, maintain, and strengthen the German nationality among the Poles. Consequently it is a fight for German nationality. In the struggle between nationalities one nation is the hammer and the other the anvil, one is the victor and the other the vanquished."

In other words, the aim of the German Government is the stamping out of the Polish Nation, and that is what the Poles understand—that between them and the Germans there is a struggle of life and death.

After the consolidation of the German Empire in 1871, although the Poles fought with the greatest bravery and loyalty in the three wars against Denmark, Austria, and France, the Government under the influence of Bismarck began active persecution of the Poles. A policy of severity was adopted and a series of oppressive measures were commenced for their denationalization.

By an arbitrary edict some 40,000 Russian and Austrian Poles who had settled in Prussian Poland were expelled for no other reason than that they were Poles and that Bismarck wanted to get rid of them. No charge of conspiracy or disloyalty was preferred against them. Many of them served in the Prussian Army. One and all were compelled to give up their occupations and to leave their homes with their families. The expulsion was carried on with great severity and without the slightest compassion. But the expulsion of 40,000 Poles did not affect the Polish problem, and today there are more Poles in Germany than before the expulsion.

The Government next tried to Germanize the Polish provinces by colonizing the estates of Polish landowners with German peasants. This scheme failed, partly because many German colonists, having intermarried with the Poles, became

Polonized, and partly because Polish landowners refused to sell their land for such purpose. Many Polish peasants took advantage of the colonization scheme and bought land in small holdings. To prevent the Polish peasants from buying this land a law was enacted prohibiting the erection of any new houses or farm buildings without the consent of the Colonization Commission. To a Pole such permission is never granted. Naturally the Poles regard this law as rank injustice. The Constitution says that all citizens are equal before the law, yet the Poles are treated by the Government as stepchildren are treated by a very bad stepmother.

The hardship of this law may be illustrated by the following incident, which actually occurred: A Pole, having bought a piece of land, wished to build a house on it. The necessary permission having been refused, he managed to erect some sort of a house. Then an officer came with a wrecking crew to demolish it. Exasperated beyond control, the Pole shot the officer, and then, realizing what he had done, he shot himself. Is there any one who would not sympathize with a poor and uneducated peasant who has been forbidden by the Government to build a house on his own land, while his German neighbor on the next parcel is not only allowed to do so, but actually gets the Government to help him?

Owing to this rank injustice and to the agitation among the Poles against this colonization scheme, the commission found it difficult to buy land. In 1907 Chancellor von Bülow had a new law enacted, known as the Polish Expropriation or Dispossession act, to expropriate the Polish landowners in favor of Germans by compulsory purchase of such land as may be desired at prices fixed by the authorities. The land is sold only to Protestant Germans, and cannot be sold back to a Pole. The object in allowing only Protestant and not Catholic Germans to buy the land is to prevent marriages between Germans and Poles, the latter being Catholics. Whenever a German Catholic married a Polish woman, he and his children became Polonized.

Think of the position in which the Poles are placed. The Government takes the money which the Poles have paid in taxes and uses it for the forcible expulsion of their own countrymen from the land that was theirs for centuries past and colonizes it with strange people of a different religion. It is impossible to realize the hardship that is caused by the operation of this law and the racial and religious antagonism that it creates to the detriment of both Poles and Germans.

But the German Government was not satisfied with these measures. A law was passed which aimed at the extirpation of the Polish language. Polish is strictly excluded from the schools, and only Germans are employed as teachers in the Polish provinces, while Polish teachers are sent to the west of Germany. Little children of six, understanding only Polish, are suddenly plunged into a German school, where they are compelled even to say their prayers in that language. This caused a strike among the children, who refused to say the prayer in German. Many of them were flogged and the parents were fined and imprisoned. Polish schoolmasters are even prohibited to use the Polish language at home in their family circles.

The Polish language is not permitted to be used in courts of law or in public meetings. The Polish names of towns and villages, many of which have historical associations dear to the Polish heart, were changed for German names. The authorities were able to insist even on the Germanizing of Polish family names. No positions in the Government are given to the Poles except to renegades. A Pole has not even a chance to be appointed a chimney sweep.

The attitude of the German Government has been to encourage racial and religious prejudices and to create an economic and social warfare between the Poles and the Germans in the Polish provinces. It has done everything it possibly could to stamp out the Polish nationality. It has forbidden everything that is Polish—Polish language, Polish songs, Polish costumes. It would even forbid to think in Polish if that were

possible. Because of this relentless persecution Germany has never been able to win the confidence and loyalty of the Polish people.

The German Government exercised also its baneful influence over the Russian Government in its relation toward the Poles under Russia's rule. Since the partition of Poland Russia and Prussia were bound by a solidarity of partnership in that great historical crime. It is evident that, in spite of antagonism between those two nations in other matters, in the Polish question the two Governments always agreed, and the German influence over Russia's Polish policy was always very strong.

It is a well-known fact that the Poles in Russia would have been granted autonomy after the war with Japan if the Government had not been prevented from carrying out its purpose through influences that came from Berlin. The German Government did not want to see the Poles in Russia treated better than were the Poles in Germany. It was plainly intimated that any concession granted to the Poles by the Russian Government would be regarded by the Berlin Government as a casus belli. There is no disposition to adopt a milder course even at the present time.

While in Europe last year I met, in Vienna, in Cracow, and in Switzerland, many Poles from Prussian Poland as well as from Russian Poland, which is now under German military occupation, and from them I obtained the most authentic information regarding the conditions that exist there and the attitude of the Poles toward the German Government. Their sentiment was voiced by a prominent Pole, whose name I cannot reveal, in the following statement:

"The Poles, as subjects of Germany, have fully performed the obligations imposed upon them by the Government. No ground was given the German military authorities for bloody revenge. With despair in their hearts, but without revolt, more than 600,000 Poles went into the German ranks, together with an equal number of their brothers in the Austrian ranks, against their own countrymen, who are equally compelled to fight on the Russian side—to shed fraternal blood, not for their own cause but for that of their oppressors.

"This is the greatest sacrifice that a subject people could possibly make and a conquering nation could impose. It is a heartrending tragedy.

"Nevertheless, the sacrifice was made, but there it ended. All the efforts of the German Government to obtain from either the Polish Parliamentary group in Berlin or from the Polish members of the Prussian Diet an expression of loyalty availed nothing.

"On the contrary, the Polish members of the Prussian Diet at the time of the passage of the annual budget entered a solemn protest against the oppressive anti-Polish laws. The Poles in the German Reichstag took the same stand. This attitude of the representative Poles in Berlin expressed the sentiment of the bulk of the Polish people under German rule, from the Baltic to Upper Silesia. Those who have proclaimed their loyalty to the Government can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

"The Polish press in those provinces points to the fact that, although there are 600,000 Poles fighting in the German ranks, the Government not only has failed to repeal any of the oppressive anti-Polish laws, but has not even shown any mitigation in the execution of those laws. In view of that, the Poles in Prussian Poland have assumed a dignified attitude of watchful waiting.

"They are taking no part in the celebrations of German victories, for they well remember that the victories in '70 and '71, in the Franco-Prussian war, brought them only misfortune.

"The Poles in that part of Poland have passed through a hard school of political oppression, but in that school they became hardened and more persevering, and today they form the most energetic part of the nation. Nothing was able to subdue the Polish element in Prussian Poland.

"In spite of the fact that the Government has during the last thirty years spent more than 2,000,000,000 marks to oust the Poles from their native soil; in spite of the fact that the school, the

military, and the civil authorities, and even the clergy, are working day after day, month after month, and year after year to Germanize them, especially the young generation—to drown them in German 'Kultur'—the Poles are growing stronger in the development of their national character and their national aspiration, conscious of their indestructibility as a nation and of their national political future.

"During these tragic days the Poles in Posen are devoting their entire time to relieving the sufferings of their more unfortunate brothers and sisters in Russian and Austrian Poland, waiting and hoping with faith in eternal justice that at the end of this war, over the western lands of Poland, the cradle of the ancient kingdom, will rise the sun of freedom."

A Pole from Russian Poland, discussing the conditions in that country, told me the following:

"The situation of the Poles under German occupation is most desperate, particularly from an economic point of view. The cities of Poland, especially Warsaw and Lodz, the first having a population of 900,000, the second of 500,000, enjoyed before the war great commercial and industrial prosperity. Poland supplied Russia with all kinds of manufactured goods.

"Now the factories are all closed and several million men and women have been for months out of employment. The Germans tell the Poles that there is no need of their factories being opened, as the factories in Germany can supply them with everything. This means ruin to the whole manufacturing industry in Poland, total bankruptcy to thousands who were wealthy before the war and starvation to millions of working people.

"The German authorities want the Polish workmen to go to Germany and seek employment there. But the Poles don't want to leave their homes and their country and go to a strange land, among strange people whose language they do not speak."

From an American correspondent who was in Poland and whom I met in Vienna I have learned that the German Government is intentionally bringing about famine to compel the Polish people to emigrate to Germany. They have closed the factories in Lodz, Warsaw, and other industrial cities of Poland, and are interfering with the charities.

According to Dziennik Poznanski, a Polish paper published in Posen, (German Poland,) the petition of the Warsaw business men for opening the factories was met with a refusal on the part of the German Governor, von Beseler, who declared that anybody could find employment in Germany.

Under the authority of the German Government the Import Company, Limited, was organized to "import foodstuffs out of Poland into Germany." By an edict the grain and potatoes in Russian Poland had to be turned over to the Import Company. The company buys these cheap from the peasants and sells the flour at extortionate prices to the people in Poland.

In the City Council of Lodz Mr. Winnicki, a Councilor, asked the question: Why the German Import Company, which has the monopoly of buying all the grain in Russian Poland, pays for 100 pounds of rye 7½ rubles, but sells for 23 rubles flour which contains hardly 40 per cent. of rye? In answer to Mr. Winnicki's question Burgomaster Schoppen admitted that an injustice is being done to the people of Lodz, but he could do nothing in the matter, since the prices at which the Import Company bought grain, as well as the prices charged for flour, were fixed by Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The German Import Company has also a monopoly of fuel, tobacco, and cigarettes.

The Berlin Potato Company took over the potatoes requisitioned in Poland and distributed them for the extraction of alcohol for the distilleries of Germany. This alcohol was then reimported into Poland for consumption, while the Polish distilleries were kept in idleness, though they are well equipped to do the work. The forests are being systematically cut down. A special company has been organized for the exploitation of lumber. The Germans have seized the foodstuffs in Poland, withheld their coal, destroyed their industries, and now they are bent

on acquiring their most inalienable asset —their labor.

Life in Poland is being made impossible. Everything is done to make Poland a country without a future and to deepen the atmosphere of despair. The Polish workman who is not in the trenches sees all turning to ruin around him, and fear of the starvation of his wife and children is ever present.

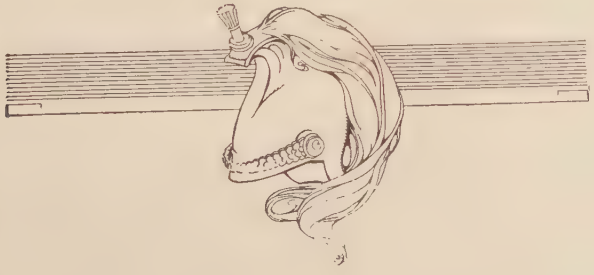
One can hardly realize the far-reaching scheme of the German Government—the destruction of the whole industry of Poland, the financial ruin of the Polish capitalists, and the depopulation of the country. After the war the rich Polish soil is to be bought up by the Germans at their own price and colonized with German settlers. The German press openly advocates the enactment of a law which would permit Germans alone to reap the profits from the sale of land in Poland.

A certain German publicist published a book in which he advocates the scheme that when the new boundary between Germany and Russia is established, the treaty shall provide that Germany is to have the right to colonize a strip of land about ten miles in width, extending the whole length of the boundary line, with German colonists, for whose benefit the native population, the Poles, shall be compelled to evacuate the territory; in lieu of which Russia should agree to give them land in Siberia. A beautiful scheme, worthy of German culture!

It is conceded that the authorities in Berlin are inclined, at the present time at least, to treat the Poles with some consideration and to give them a certain measure of self-government. In Warsaw the Citizens' Committee, which, under the Presidency of Prince Lubomirski, took charge of affairs when the Russian authorities withdrew, is still running the city. The Germans brag that they permitted a Polish university in Warsaw to be opened. For the last forty years, however, the Polish language has been prohibited to be taught in that part of Poland which is under German rule, and is still prohibited. Should Germany obtain permanent possession of Russian Poland, the Polish university in due course of time would become a thing of the past. There is no difference of opinion among the Poles on that question.

The Poles can hope for nothing from Germany. Only those who are completely blind will trust her. Germany will in these days consent to the opening of a Polish university, or to the appointment of a Polish Archbishop, but if she wins she will resume the Germanization of the Polish provinces with redoubled vigor.

[Since this article was written the cables have announced the collapse of the Polish Legions fighting under Hindenburg. A dispatch from Berne, Switzerland, is responsible for the following details: "After long efforts and coercive pressure, Germany and Austria-Hungary succeeded in enrolling 18,000 Poles. They were divided into six brigades. Four brigades mutinied at the beginning of October, and they were disarmed and imprisoned in the Brest-Litovsk barricks. The remnants of the legion were sent to the interior of Austria, the troops being considered unreliable."—Editor.]



Forcing Belgians to Work in Germany

Governor General von Bissing's Explanation and Cardinal Mercier's Reply

A CONTROVERSY which bids fair to become as acutely acrimonious as that regarding the original invasion of Belgium has arisen from the action of the German Governor General of Belgium in forcibly deporting many thousands of men to Germany, and there compelling them to work in various industrial establishments.

The first official charges on the subject were issued on Nov. 9 at Havre by Baron Beyens, Belgian Foreign Minister, as follows:

"The German Government is rounding up in large numbers in the towns and villages of occupied Belgium, such as Alost, Ghent, Bruges, Courtrai, and Mons —to name only the first to be victims of the measure—all men fit to bear arms, rich and poor, irrespective of class, whether employed or unemployed. Hunchbacks, cripples, and one-armed men alone are excepted. These men are torn in thousands from their families; 15,000 from Flanders alone are sent God knows where. Whole trainloads are seen going east and south.

"The German authorities seek to justify these deportations by pretending that it is the duty of the occupying power to make, in accordance with The Hague Convention, the necessary regulations to establish public order and public life. They affirm that the unemployed must not fall a charge upon public charities, and that work whereon they are employed has nothing to do with the war. Those who are really responsible for the stagnation and decay of Belgian industry are, according to the Germans, workmen who prefer to live on charity rather than on the proceeds of their labor, and England, who prohibited the importation of raw materials into Belgium.

"Is it necessary to answer that there would be no lack of work in Belgium if the Germans had not made a clean sweep of raw materials, copper and oil, in the factories, as they will perhaps make a clean sweep tomorrow of all leather belting, which must now be declared in detail; if they had not requisitioned in masses machinery, parts of machinery, and machine tools? If, finally, they had not placed prohibitive duties on metal goods exported to Holland in order to keep them out of the market—the only one remaining open as a competitor for German industry? Is it necessary to add that industries cited by the Germans as having no connection with the war, such as quarries and limekilns, furnish the German Army with materials for concrete wherewith to fortify and consolidate trenches?

"If they desired to use the arms of our workmen to repair and maintain roads, would it be necessary to deport them like cattle instead of employing them in the neighborhood of their homes and families? The truth is that Germany, by these corrallings of Belgians, intends to liberate an equal number of German workmen to fill the gaps in her armies."

Many Thousands Exiled

Following this declaration, news came from Amsterdam that 30,000 men had been exiled from Antwerp up to Nov. 10, and that the deportations had provoked a riot at Brussels, in the course of which thirty Germans were killed and wounded, with numerous Belgian casualties. Later reports confirm the news of these deportations, over 5,000 having been sent from Ghent to Germany up to Oct. 26, 5,000 from Salzaete, 5,000 from Oudenard. Similar reports are received respecting other towns throughout Belgium. It is charged that it is the intention of the Germans to deport 400,000 within the next few weeks.

General von Bissing, the Governor General, attempts to explain and justify his action in the following statement:

"By cutting off raw materials England is trying to get Belgian industries into her own hands. England is deliberately striving to get Belgium in her power economically also for use against Germany in the war after this. Belgian business men have told me they feared that in the economic struggle after the war Belgium would have to compete not only against Germany, but also against England, and that Belgian industries must keep in training for competition especially with England.

"The evacuation of Belgian laborers to Germany is not a hardship for either the land or the population. It is a necessity called forth by the war, and at bottom a blessing both for the workers and the nation. To make clear the reasons for my evacuation measure one must go back to Dec. 1, 1914, when I assumed office. At that time I at once recognized the dangers of unemployment in Belgium and began to attack the problem. Through England's ruthless cutting off of Germany, Belgium, too, was involved, and Belgian national economy, which is dependent on the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactures, was robbed by the British blockade of its vital condition necessary to life. The result was greatly to increase unemployment, and consequently also the public support of the unemployed, the long duration of the war leading to the misuse and exploitation of public charities and to unstable social conditions. Nothing so demoralizes a man as long idleness, and nothing tends more to weaken a nation than if a large part of it is compelled for years to do nothing.

"I accordingly directed the Belgian communities to give employment to as many as possible on emergency public works—buildings, roads, sewers, &c. This, however, in time resulted in saddling a heavy uneconomic burden of debt on the communities for non-productive public works, the total debts of the Belgian communities having been increased by 364,700,000 francs, mostly unproductive. I had to put on the brakes and limit this emergency work for the unemployed, ordering that in each case it be ascertained whether it was a necessary or a useless occupation. Thereby the ranks of the unemployed were again increased.

"I also did everything possible to revive Belgian industries, but because the raw material failed it was impossible to bring the Belgian factories to their height of production. England refused to let raw materials in or attached such conditions as to make compliance with them absolutely uneconomic and unacceptable.

"Again and again we tried to get raw materials, even going to the length of sending people to England to see if something could not be done—some arrangement made to save industrial Belgium from economic stagnation and the illness eating into the fabric of the nation. We pledged ourselves not to use the resultant manufactured products, but to export them for 75 per cent. of their value. But England was ruthless and turned a deaf ear to all pleadings on behalf of Belgium."

Lays Blame on England

General von Bissing then discusses the first efforts he made to reduce the idleness; 16,000 were working in wagon factories, but this output he acknowledges was used in part by the German Army. He says 30,000 voluntarily went to Germany to work. He charges that the families of these volunteers were blacklisted by the Allies, and that this checked the voluntary flow. He denies emphatically that any Belgian laborers were compelled to work in war industries. He explains that the process of "evacuation"—he refuses to call it "deportation"—is being made as gentle as possible; the families remaining behind are cared for by German social welfare workers. He says the men receive $1.90 a day in Germany as against an average of $1 in Belgium, with better food conditions. In his districts, he says, there are 1,000,000 persons out of a population of 5,500,000 dependent on charity through refusal to work.

Regarding the reasons for evacuating Belgian workers to Germany rather than compelling them to work in Belgium,

General von Bissing explains in conclusion:

"The Belgian industries are entirely dependent on the overseas importation of raw materials, which are now cut off by the British blockade. In addition, England permits exportations from Belgium only to a very small extent and under impossible conditions. The industrial plants are therefore condemned to idleness. On the other hand, the occupied territory has a close economic community with Germany, Germany being the only great nation with which Belgium is able to maintain commercial intercourse. Germany has promulgated no prohibition of payment against Belgium, as is customary against enemy nations, and German money continues to flow into Belgium. Since there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed in Belgium, while there is ample work in Germany, the employment of Belgian idle labor in Germany becomes an economic and social duty.

"Objection has been made to me that by the bringing of numerous workers to Germany the family life of the Belgian laborers is destroyed, to which I could only answer that it is the present conditions that constitute the greatest menace to family life, to which idleness is the worst foe. One who works abroad for his family, as in peace times countless Belgian workers did in France, and hundreds of thousands of Italians in North and South America, contributes more to the happiness of his family than the idler who stays at home. Moreover, the laborers who voluntarily go to Germany continue regular communication with their families and receive vacations to return home at regular intervals—every three months, if they like. They can even take their families along to Germany.

"Tens of thousands of Belgian workers have already voluntarily gone to Germany, where, placed on the same footing as German workers, they earn wages they never received before, and where, instead of living on charity, they are able to prosper again. These wages prove not only a benefit to the individual worker and his family, but also to the Belgian national economy, for they greatly increase the flow of money from Germany to Belgium. The workers who have grown weary of long enforced idleness have joyfully embraced the opportunity of again employing their productive forces. The number of these productive workers would have been much greater if all sorts of influence had not been at work in Germany. In their own interest we must compel those who hesitate and waver, and when this is necessary it is done in the most humane manner thinkable. If in isolated cases hardships cannot be avoided, those who suffer should thank only those who kept them from work."

Cardinal Mercier Replies

Cardinal Mercier, Primate of Belgium, in behalf of the Belgian Bishops, issued a proclamation of protest on Nov. 7 addressed to the neutral nations and appealing for their aid in opposing the proceeding. His protest is in these terms:

"The military authorities are daily deporting thousands of inoffensive citizens in order to set them to forced labor.

"As early as Oct. 19 we sent a protest to the Governor General, a copy of which was also sent to the representatives in Brussels of the Holy See, Spain, the United States, and the Netherlands. The Governor General, in reply, refused to take any steps.

"At that time the ordinances only threatened unemployed men. Today all able-bodied men are carried off pell-mell, penned up in trucks, and deported to unknown destinations, like slave gangs.

"The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague reports have reached us that arrests have been made successively at Tournai, Ghent, and Alost, but we were unaware of the circumstances.

"Between Oct. 24 and the beginning of November the enemy operated in the regions of Mons, Quievrain, St. Ghislain, and Jemappes, from 800 to 1,200 men being rounded up daily. Tomorrow and the following days he intends to fall on the Nivelles Arrondissement.

"A poster orders all males to present themselves at Nivelles on Nov. 8, provided with identification and registration cards. They are permitted to bring

CARRYING THE WOUNDED TO ENGLAND

Thousands of the Seriously Injured Are Lowered Thus From Channel Vessels at Home Ports.

Wounded "Tommies" on Stretchers Waiting to be Placed on Board the English Hospital Train.

(Photos Underwood & Underwood.)

RAILWAY AMBULANCES—INTERIOR VIEWS

Wounded British Soldiers, With Nurse and Physician, On British Red Cross Express Train.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

One of the German Hospital Cars, Long Trains of Which Filled With Sufferers, Run on Both Fronts.

(Photo © Brown & Dawson.)

only a small handbag. Clergymen, doctors, barristers, and schoolmasters are exempt. Burgomasters are held responsible for the execution of the order. There is an interval of twenty-four hours between the posting of the order and deportation.

"Under the pretext of the necessity to carry out public works on Belgian soil, the occupying power had tried to obtain from the communes lists of unemployed workmen, which the majority of the communes proudly refused to give.

"Three decrees of the Governor General paved the way for the blow which was struck us today. The first, issued Aug. 15, 1915, ordered forced labor for the unemployed under pain of imprisonment and a fine, but it stated that it was only a question of work in Belgium. The second, issued May 2, gives the German authorities the right to provide work for the unemployed, any unauthorized person giving work being liable to three years' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 marks. The third decree, issued May 13, authorized the Governors and military commanders to issue orders for the unemployed to be forcibly taken to places for work.

"It was already a matter of forced labor for Belgium. Today it is no longer a question of forced labor in Belgium, but in Germany for the Germans' benefit.

"At first the Germans tried to give their measures an air of plausibility by alleging that the unemployed people in Belgium were dangerous to public order and a burden to official charity. I replied to Governor von Bissing that he himself knew well that public order was in no way endangered and that the unemployed made no demands on official charity.

"In his answer von Bissing abandoned his previous argument and alleged that, first, the mere fact of widespread unemployment tends to burden finances, and, second, prolongation of unemployment will result in the workers losing their technical skill.

"To this I replied: 'There are other ways of protecting Belgian finances. For example, spare us the war levies which have reached a total of a milliard of francs, and continue at the rate of 40,000,000 francs monthly; also spare us requisitions in kind, which have already totaled several milliards.

"'There are other ways of maintaining the professional skill of workmen. Belgian industry could have been allowed to keep its machines, accessories, raw material, and manufactured products, which have been transferred to Germany.'

"The whole truth is that each deported workman means another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made a soldier.

"The situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be summed up as follows: Four hundred thousand workmen are reduced to unemployment through no fault of their own, and largely inconvenience the German occupation. Sons, husbands, fathers, respectful of public order, bow to their unhappy lot. With their most pressing needs provided for, they await with dignity the end of their period of trial.

"Now, suddenly, parties of soldiers begin to enter by force these peaceful homes, tearing youth from parent, husband from wife, father from children. They bar with the bayonet the door through which wives and mothers wish to pass to say farewell to those departing. They herd their captives in groups of tens and twenties and push them into cars. As soon as the train is filled the officer in charge brusquely waves the signal for departure. Thus thousands of Belgians are being reduced to slavery.

"The Germans are not only enrolling the unemployed, but they are also recruiting a great number of men who have never been out of work."

The United States Remonstrates

Secretary of State Lansing has directed the American Embassy at Berlin to take up personally with the German Chancellor the matter of the Belgian deportations in an effort to persuade him that they should be stopped. The Embassy is directed to point out that if the deportations are continued they will

leave a most unfavorable impression on neutral public opinion, especially in the United States. This action is informal, not official. A similar course was pursued with reference to the exiling of women from Lille, and it is asserted that in consequence of this informal remonstrance the German authorities have promised that the women will be returned to France. The deportation of Belgians is regarded as a violation of the spirit of that agreement. It is understood that the Pope and the Government of Spain will either protest officially or informally remonstrate.

The question bids fair to become one of the most critical of the war, and, if the remonstrances are unheeded, may arouse several neutral nations from their attitude of passivity regarding the struggle; or, on the other hand, it may result in an international conference, when it will be easy to pass from that question to a discussion of peace proposals.

Slavery in Northern France

[A French War Cartoon]

—Forain in Paris Figaro

"Whoever shall try to escape en route will be pitilessly punished."—General von Graevenitz

[A German Countercharge]

Treatment of German Soldiers by the French

Current History Magazine, as an impartial annalist, publishes from time to time the official charges and countercharges regarding atrocities committed by the various armies. The October issue contained the official report of the almost unbelievable butcheries committed by Turks with German sanction in Armenia, and by Austro-Hungarian troops in Serbia. The report printed below is prepared by a German official from German official documents, and the deductions and comments are those of the German official. The editor of this magazine does not vouch for the accuracy of the charges, nor does he indorse the deductions.—Editor.

THE semi-official North German Gazette of Aug. 31, 1916, contains a report of several columns telling of the inhumanity and brutality with which the French are treating German soldiers who have the misfortune to fall into their hands. The article, obviously emanating from official quarters, starts out by saying that the material which has been gathered by the German authorities treating of infractions of the laws of war and violations of the dictates of humanity is enormous, and the fiendishness on the part of the French which it reveals is almost beyond belief. Thousands of affidavits have been drawn up during the course of the last two years, from which it is alleged that it seems as if assassination of prisoners, systematic murder of unarmed men, bestial mutilation of wounded, infamous insults offered to captives, shameless acts of robbery, &c., were the order of the day.

Germany's reluctance to publish these facts, so the report says, has only been overcome by the fact that the French have shown no hesitation in publishing a mass of charges against the German Army with the purpose of creating a sentiment of revulsion and loathing against the very name of Germany among the credulous public in neutral countries. But Germany considers that now the time has come to show to the world how ill-deserved is the name of champion of humanity to which France is laying claim in every one of her accusations against Germany, while her own sons are committing the vilest atrocities.

A number of cases are then cited in the form customary with the German Army of sworn affidavits duly attested by court officers, whose names are given, while for reasons which may be understood the full names of the informants are withheld.

Private Fritz H. tells of a raid that was undertaken by some eighty men of his troop on a French position; how the party was surrounded by the French and wiped out, with the exception of himself and three other infantrymen. H. had been wounded in the knee and was helpless, and the four men were finally made prisoners. A young French Lieutenant came up, looked at F.'s wound and passed him by. When he came to two of his comrades he shot them, one after the other, placing the muzzle of his revolver on the left side of their breasts. F. stood only two or three yards away while this murder was perpetrated.

Paul G. of the Second Infantry Reserve, by vocation a building engineer, was wounded by a keyholer during an attack between Les Eparges and Présouvaux. While lying prostrate he observed how Moroccans, Zouaves, and Turcos killed off all those of the wounded German soldiers lying around him who were still giving signs of life. They went from one to the other, and the witness describes how his comrades cried out in agony while they were being mercilessly slaughtered and how then it became still. The chief purpose of these French soldiers seemed to him to be spoliation of the corpses.

On Sept. 25, 1915, the French stormed

a trench defended by a company in which Adolf R. was a private. When resistance became useless, the survivors gave up their arms. They had formed a column and were ready to be led away when the French soldiers, upon order of a superior, fired into them. The defenseless men scattered and R., wounded in the leg, fell into a shell crater, from which he observed how the French finished their work with rifle butts and kicks. R. thinks he is the only survivor of that group of some forty captives.

A similar case is related by the eighteen-year-old volunteer, Paul V. Surrounded by the French, his trench had to surrender. When some of the enemy's soldiers were about to shoot and throw hand grenades at the defenseless Germans, they were stopped by what seemed to be a French officer. But another officer, apparently of higher rank, approached, drove the prisoners into a cluster by pointing his pistol at them, and gave orders for his men to fire into them. Most of the twenty men fell dead, while the witness escaped by throwing himself to the ground and feigning death. Another witness, Martin G., acting officer, testifies to the truth of this story, adding that the noncommissioned officer who had intended to treat the captive Germans as the laws of war and humanity demand, was severely rebuked by the second officer, evidently for making the men prisoners instead of killing them.

This refusal of pardon seems to have been systematic and recurs in several of the affidavits, for instance, that of Noncommissioned Officer Oswin L. The circumstances are similar to the preceding case. The Germans were caught in a trench in Champagne. The Sergeant in command put his weapons down, lifted his hands, and asked for pardon, with the result that a Frenchman hurled a grenade at him, wounding him on the head, whereafter he killed him by shooting his revolver off into his mouth. Another heavily wounded German was killed by the French, who fired repeated rifle shots at him. Stretcher bearer Otto B. upholds this account, adding that the Sergeant's request for pardon was replied to by the French calling "nix pardon!" A third witness observed these events from a distance through his field-glasses.

A particularly revolting case happened on Oct. 6, 1915, near Chapelle Sainte Pudentienne, on the Somme Py-Souain Road. A German artillery position was surprised by Turcos in the morning mist. Having no time to reverse the cannon and being without other arms, the officer in command, First Lieut. W., surrendered with his men. They were surrounded by the Turcos, half of whom leveled their guns at them while the rest went through the pockets and belongings of their captives without any interference from the white officer in their command. Part of the Germans were then lined up opposite the Turcos and shot; all of them—three officers and fourteen men—from a distance of ten yards. Those who were not dead at the first volley were subsequently killed.

Lieutenant Dr. Rudolf I., who miraculously lives to tell the tale, reports how the victims, partly dead, partly still alive, were repeatedly gone over for valuables by several troops of Turcos, the last of whom expressed their disappointment at finding "seulement des journaux ("only newspapers") in his coat. The most horrible moment came when he had to witness how one of his men, praying in vain for his life, had his eyes gouged out by the black fiends.

This horrible scene is further described in protocols drawn up by the regiment after the ground had been recovered. All valuables were gone, ring fingers cut off, eyes pierced, and other mutilations committed, to judge from their nature, not in order to kill the enemies, but only from instincts of brute bestiality.

Not only were these events observed from a distance by other German army men, but they are also admitted by Tris Welmeden, Second Moroccan Regiment, Second Company, who was made prisoner when the position was recaptured. He was identified as one of the murderers by a survivor, and deposed: "I admit having taken part in the shooting of the German artillerists. Though we saw that the Germans had surrendered, I had to fire, because I received orders

to that effect from my Captain, whose name was Chepeleau."

The last case quoted brings into strong relief the crime committed by France in employing on European battlefields black hordes whose actions are not governed by soldierly reason, but solely by a lust of plunder and savage cruelty. What is, however, more despicable is the fact that white officers of the French Army not only tolerate but order such acts as those described and that, as hundreds of affidavits show, these acts are by no means confined to the colored auxiliaries of the French, but that such barbarities seem to be equally common among the white soldiers of the republic. Many of the horrors committed reveal such a depravity as to make them unfit for general publication, though they have been brought to the official knowledge of the neutral Governments, in whose archives they will probably repose until the tables are cleared for a general sifting and probing of charges and countercharges.

Germany feels confident that from such a tribunal she will emerge unsullied and that her enemies will have to answer for many a black deed which could not have happened with the order and discipline governing the German Army.

The Evacuations of Lille

Official German Reply to French Charges

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published a pamphlet, entitled "The Germans at Lille and in the North of France," which embodies the charges raised against Germany of forced deportation of French citizens from the occupied territory and of alleged attending inhumanities. In refutation of these charges the German Government has published in the German press, notably in the semi-official North German Gazette, the following memorandum:

DURING the last ten days of the month of April, 1916, the Supreme Command of the German Army removed to the country some 20,000 inhabitants of the northern French towns of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing. There can be no doubt that the French Government became cognizant of the matter in the shortest time and that the Supreme Army Command soon after these measures were taken got into touch with the representatives of neutral Governments. Moreover, the Gazette des Ardennes undertook from early June to transmit communications from the persons removed to their relatives. In spite of all this, the French Government took no stand whatever in this matter until the end of July, that is to say, three months later, when it made the measures in question the starting point of a systematic campaign of slander, which was expanded all over the world.

The reception which these calumnies have recently met abroad, particularly in neutral countries, requires that a detailed presentation of the matter be given to the public.

I.

The underlying facts and the course of events are as follows:

In the populous towns of the northern French industrial districts of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing in spite of the praiseworthy care of the Spanish-American Relief Committee the feeding of the inhabitants met with continually increasing difficulties. On account of the scarcity arising from the illegal British blockade, foodstuffs from Germany could be placed at the disposal of the inhabitants of the occupied parts of France only in an insufficient degree. Moreover, the repeated British threats to tighten the blockade made it impossible at the beginning of the year to judge whether and how long England would allow American supplies to enter. In order to safeguard the feeding of the town population in the north of France it thus became necessary for the Supreme Army Command to take drastic measures. In view of the circum-

stance that large portions of the town population were out of work on account of the British blockade, while, on the other hand, owing to their sparse population, the rural districts were suffering from a scarcity of labor, the indicated step to be taken was to transplant a part of the town population into the country.

The town population was asked to take part voluntarily, and in return for pay, in the tilling of the ground and the reaping of the harvest, but without success. The only way that was left open was to compel those to work who were capable of doing so. The town commanders of the three north French towns announced the impending evacuation by means of a proclamation, which was also communicated and explained to the Mayors' offices. In this proclamation the reasons for the measure were stated and it was pointed out that the people were to be removed into the interior of the occupied provinces, far away from the front, where they were to be employed in farmwork, but not in work of a military character, against pay and with their sustenance guaranteed. Each person was permitted to take sixty-six pounds of baggage, and they were advised to get their baggage ready without delay.

The selection of those to be removed had to begin at once, since the failure to obtain volunteers had caused an irretrievable loss of time. The evacuation was a military measure, an action relative to the war, which could not be postponed, because labor was urgently needed to insure the harvest and because the exceptionally favorable April weather required an early Spring cultivation. These were the facts that determined the time chosen for the selection of those to be evacuated. This selection did not begin at 3 o'clock in the morning, as the enemy and neutral press have asserted, but at 5 o'clock, after the population had been given warning in the proclamation not to leave their houses before 6 o'clock. The people were gathered in groups at various places, where, to begin with, food was given them from a large number of field kitchens. Officers had been detailed for making the selection. They inspected the people, examined claims for exemption, and, with as much regard as possible for their personal and family circumstances, segregated and dismissed to their homes those that they found unavailable for such reasons or otherwise unfit. Delegates of the Red Cross were present at the selection as representatives of the community. As a matter of principle, the removal of young girls was confined to such as were accustomed to stand on their own feet and earn their living by their own work. The necessity to care for the old people was taken into consideration as far as circumstances permitted. In agreement with and on the responsibility of the Mayors' offices families, women, and children were quartered with the rural population. Unmarried men were made to live together in labor colonies.

Although a large proportion of those originally summoned had been dismissed at the time of making up the convoys, after the people had arrived at their new homes another examination was made for the purpose of discovering any unintentional hardships that might have resulted from the initial selection or that might have arisen later from a change of circumstances. On account of this second examination 1,993 people of those removed were sent back.

As regards the purpose of the measure, that is to say, a great utilization of the soil and an increase of the harvest, the removal of the people has proved a success. The majority of them, to conclude from their own statements, are by no means dissatisfied with their position; their reception by the rural population was throughout a friendly one, their food is good and their pay sufficient. Complaints concerning a lack of facilities in communicating with their families have been met by introducing letter forms, by means of which they can exchange news with the people at home. A great number of those removed have declared their readiness to continue their stay even after the present harvest has been gathered and the soil prepared for the new crops.

II.

From the point of view of international law, the measures taken by the military

administration in the occupied territory appear to be justified by Article 43 of the Regulations Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land agreed upon by the powers at The Hague Convention. This article says:

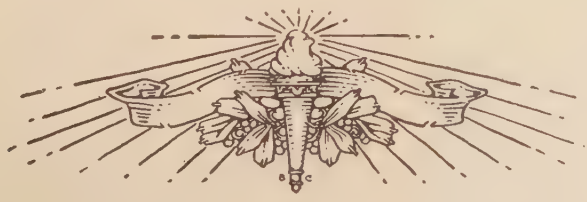
> The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all the measures in his power to restore, and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country.

It cannot be disputed that to insure the feeding of the population is part of the maintenance of public order and safety. Under the prevailing conditions food for the population could only be secured from the agricultural production of the occupied territory itself. In view of the danger threatening this production, and particularly of the lack of hands required for the farmwork, all means had to be used to prevent distress. The article quoted states that the measures to be taken in such a case are to be decided in accordance with the laws in force in the country. If these make no provision, the occupant is under compulsion and fully justified by the concluding words of the article to supply the lack of legal provision by measures of his own. In the present case the impending danger of distress could not be removed in any other way than by compelling a portion of the population to take part in the farmwork in their own interest. The foregoing presentation of the matter shows that it was a case of emergency and that the measures taken by the military authorities were both needed and effective in attaining their end.

III.

The fact that the French Government came forward with its complaints against the measures of the German military administration only after three months had elapsed proves clearly that it was not concerned with reducing the alleged suffering of the Northern French population, but that it aimed at arousing sentiments adverse to Germany among its own and neutral peoples. For this purpose it withheld its complaint until the time when it thought some strong stimulant necessary. That time had come at the end of July. The relatively small successes of the Summer offensive, undertaken with a gigantic apparatus and announced with so much noise; the prospect of the third Winter campaign and the impending opening of the French Chamber; finally, the desire to mobilize more neutral countries against the Central Powers, all these evidently were the reasons which then induced our enemies to take their indignation out of cold storage and warm it up to the boiling point. This purpose could never have been effected by a truthful presentation of the actual occurrences. The enemy's propaganda, therefore, had to fall back on the reprehensible, though to them very familiar, means of adding to the facts such sensational inventions as would produce the desired effect. This purpose is served by the assertion that the people were not removed to other places in France, but to Germany, that they were forced to do work in the trenches or munition factories. The climax is reached by Professor Bossi in Genoa, who informed the editors of the Popolo d'Italia in a letter of Aug. 26 that the women of Lille had been taken to the country to be used by the German soldiers for immoral purposes.

All these assertions can only be characterized as shameless lies, spread with the intention of dragging the German name and the reputation of the German Army into the mire, of rousing the waning war sentiment in the countries of the Entente, and of inciting the neutral world against us.



The Facts Regarding Louvain

Henri Davignon, Secretary of the Belgian Commiission of Inquiry, in this brief letter to The London Times, summarizes the evidence in the case.

IN the interest of truth, permit me to put before you some of the facts relative to the destruction of the town of Louvain, which have been established by Belgian and neutral witnesses, and even by the Germans themselves, in a manner which would prove satisfactory to any court of inquiry: (1) On the evening of Aug. 25, 1914, several parts of the town were set on fire at a given signal. (2) The German soldiers carrying out this work were provided with special apparatus and were commanded by their officers. (3) The Church of St. Pierre was set on fire by the roof, which is much higher than those surrounding it, and in the interior by means of piles of chairs. (4) The "Halles" and the library of the university took fire and burned without any attempt being made to save them. No books could have been saved. (5) The Town Hall was spared because the German military authorities lodged there. (6) The fire in the town destroyed 1,120 houses. It lasted three days, during which time the German authorities forbade any attempts to extinguish it. A number of the inhabitants were shot in the square in front of the station; many of them fled by the Tirlemont, Malines, and Brussels roads; a large number have been taken to Germany in cattle trucks, where they were disgracefully treated. After the fire the pillage of the remaining houses was begun, with the consent and encouragement of the German officers.

The proofs of the above facts will be found in the third Gray Book, recently published by the Belgian Government, of which an English edition is in preparation—"Reponse au Livre Blanc Allemand," (Berger-Levrault, editeur, Paris.) Other evidences collected by the Belgian Commission of Inquiry are published in extenso, notably those given by MM. Leon Dupriez, A. Van Ecke, G. Verriest, Bruylants, and Mgr. Deploige, professors of the University of Louvain. In this same document appears also the pastoral letter of H. E. Cardinal Mercier, in which the Primate of Belgium asserts on his honor the extent and nature of the damage done, and the collective letter from the Belgian to the German Bishops in which these assertions are repeated. Evidence given by persons belonging to neutral countries confirms all these declarations, notably that by the Dutch Professor Grondijs, the Viennese priest Van den Berghe, and the South American priest Gamarra. Finally, diaries taken from German soldiers, especially from Gaston Klein, (Eleventh Company of Landsturm,) and from a cyclist who began his service at Burg on Aug. 15, 1914, contain very precise information with regard to the burning, the looting, and the destruction of Louvain.

I possess a series of photographs taken at Louvain showing without any doubt the extent of the disaster. As for the cause of it we have the ingenious declaration of the German writer Walter Bloem in the Kölnische Zeitung of Feb. 10, 1915. He writes as follows: "And it is beyond doubt that the destruction by fire of Battice, Herve, Louvain, and Dinant has acted as a warning signal."

I do not know what "consideration for the feelings of our Belgian friends" prompts Miss Hobhouse to give the personal impressions she received in her brief visit to Louvain, under the auspices of the German authority. We have found echoes of these impressions in other descriptions given in America and in Sweden after some rapid excursion managed by the occupying power. We know well how this power endeavors to impress upon its guests the idea that Belgium has suffered much less than is believed. The Germans would make out that the crime of Louvain was an unfortunate catastrophe, and in diminishing the extent of it would try to make us forget where the responsibility lies. If anything could remind us of their own responsibility, it would be this Shakespearean attempt to wash out "this damned spot."

Text of British Reply to American Protest Against Trade Blacklist

Great Britain sent a reply on Oct. 10 to the American note of July 28, in which our Government protested against the British trade blacklist. It defends the blacklist as an entirely legal regulation applied solely to the acts of British subjects. It is signed by Earl Grey of Fallodon, the British Foreign Minister, and includes among its grounds of justification the fact that the war is far from ended—that there is "still a long and bitter struggle ahead." The text of the American note in question appeared in the September CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *The full text of the British note is given below, with Ambassador Page's forwarding note.*

Ambassador W. H. Page to the Secretary of State.

American Embassy, London,
Oct. 12, 1916.

SIR: With reference to the department's telegram, No. 3,578, of July 26, 1916, 10 P. M., and to my telegram, No. 5,003, of the 11th inst., I have the honor to inclose herewith a printed copy of a note I have received from the Foreign Office concerning the Trading with the Enemy act. I have, &c.,

WALTER HINES PAGE.

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Ambassador W. H. Page.

Foreign Office, Oct. 10, 1916.

Your Excellency: His Majesty's Government have had under consideration the note which your Excellency was good enough to communicate to me on the 28th July last, with respect to the addition of certain firms in the United States of America to the statutory list compiled and issued in accordance with "the Trading with the Enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915."

2. You will recall that shortly after this act became law I had the honor, in my note of the 16th February last, in reply to your note of the 26th January, to explain the object of the act. It is a piece of purely municipal legislation, and provides that his Majesty may by proclamation prohibit persons in the United Kingdom from trading with any persons in foreign countries who might be specified in such proclamations or in any subsequent orders. It also imposes appropriate penalties upon persons in the United Kingdom who violate the provisions of this statute.

3. That is all. His Majesty's Government neither purport nor claim to impose any disabilities or penalties upon neutral individuals or upon neutral commerce. The measure is simply one which enjoins those who owe allegiance to Great Britain to cease having trade relations with persons who are found to be assisting or rendering service to the enemy.

Surprised at Our Stand

4. I can scarcely believe that the United States Government intend to challenge the right of Great Britain as a sovereign State to pass legislation prohibiting all those who owe her allegiance from trading with any specified persons when such prohibition is found necessary in the public interest. The right to do so is so obvious that I feel sure that the protest which your Excellency handed to me has been founded on a misconception of the scope and intent of the measures which have been taken.

5. This view is strengthened by some of the remarks which are made in the note. It is, for instance, stated that these measures are "inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all nations not involved in war." The note then proceeds to point out that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with any of the nations now at war. His Majesty's Government readily admit that the citizens of every neutral nation are free to trade with belligerent countries. The United States Government will no doubt equally readily admit that they do so, subject to the right of the other belligerent to put an end to that trade by every means within his power which is recognized by international law, by such measures, for instance, as the seizure of neutral goods as contraband, or for breach of blockade, &c. The legislation, however, to which exception is taken does not belong to that class of measures. It is purely municipal. It is an exercise of the sovereign right of an independent State over its own citizens and nothing more. This fact has not, I feel sure, been fully realized by the Government of of the United States of America, for the note maintains that the Government cannot consent to see these remedies and penalties altered and extended at will in derogation of the right of its citizens; and says that "conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated, except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere."

No Property Interference

6. As I have said above, the legislation merely prohibits persons in the United Kingdom from trading with certain specified individuals who, by reason of their nationality or their association, are found to support the cause of the enemy, and trading with whom will therefore strengthen that cause.

So far as that legislation is concerned, no rights or property of these specified individuals are interfered with; neither they nor their property are condemned or confiscated; they are as free as they were before to carry on their business. The only disability they suffer is that British subjects are prohibited from giving to them the support and assistance of British credit and British property.

7. The steps which his Majesty's Government are taking under the above-mentioned act are not confined to the United States of America; the policy is being pursued in all neutral countries. Nay, more. With the full consent of the Allied Governments, firms, even in Allied countries, are being placed on the statutory list if they are firms with whom it is necessary to prevent British subjects from trading. These considerations may, perhaps, serve to convince the Government of the United States that the measures now being taken are not directed against neutral trade in general. Still less are they directed against American trade in particular; they are part of the general belligerent operations designed to weaken the enemy's resources.

8. I do not read your note of the 28th July as maintaining that his Majesty's Government are obliged by any rule of international law to give to those who are actively assisting the cause of their enemies, whether they be established in neutral or in enemy territory, the facilities which flow from participation in British commerce. Any such proposition would be so manifestly untenable that there is no reason to refute it. The feelings which, I venture to think, have prompted the note under reply must have been that the measures which we have been obliged to take will be expanded to an extent which will result in their interfering with genuine neutral commerce; perhaps, also, that they are not exclusively designed for belligerent purposes, but are rather an attempt to forward our own trade interests at the expense of neutral commerce, under the cloak of belligerency; and, lastly, that they are, from a military point of view, unnecessary.

May Extend the List

9. Upon these points I am able to give to the Government and people of the United States the fullest assurances. Upon the first point, it is true, as your note says, that the name of a firm may be added to the statutory list of persons with whom British persons may not trade whenever, on account of the enemy association of such firm, it seems expedient to do so. But the Government of the United States can feel confident that this system of prohibitions will not be carried further than is absolutely necessary. It has been forced upon us by the circumstances of the present war. To extend it beyond what is required in order to secure its immediate purpose—the weakening of the resources of our opponents—or to allow it to interfere with what is really the genuine neutral trade of a country with which we desire to have the closest commercial intercourse, would be contrary to British interests.

The advantage derived from a commercial transaction between a British subject and a foreigner is mutual, and for his Majesty's Government to forbid a British subject to trade with the citizen of any foreign country necessarily entails some diminution of commercial opportunity for that British subject, and therefore some loss both to him and to his country.

Legitimate Trade Untouched

Consequently the United States Government, even if they are willing to ignore the whole tradition and tendency of British policy toward the commerce of other nations, might be confident that self-interest alone would render his Majesty's Government anxious not to place upon the statutory list the name of any firm which carries on a genuine, bona fide neutral trade. If they did so, Great Britain herself would be the loser.

10. As to the second point, there seem to be individuals in the United States and elsewhere whom it is almost impossible to convince that the measures we take are measures against our enemies and not intended merely to foster our own trade at the expense of that of neutral countries. I can only reiterate what has been repeatedly explained before, that his Majesty's Government have no such unworthy object in view. We have, in fact, in all the steps we have taken to prevent British subjects from trading with these specified firms, been most careful to cause the least possible dislocation of neutral trade, as much in our interests as in those of the neutral.

11. I turn now to the question whether the circumstances of the present war are such as to justify resort on the part of his Majesty's Government to this novel expedient.

12. As the United States Government are well aware, the Anglo-American practice has in times past been to treat domicile as the test of enemy character, in contradistinction to the Continental practice, which has always regarded nationality as the test. The Anglo-American rule crystallized at the time when means of transport and communication were less developed than now, and when in consequence the actions of a person established in a distant country could have but little influence upon a struggle.

13. Today the position is very different. The activities of enemy subjects are ubiquitous, and under modern conditions it is easy for them, wherever resident, to remit money to any place where it may be required for the use of their own Government, or to act in other ways calculated to assist its purposes and to damage the interests of the powers with whom it is at war. No elaborate exposition of the situation is required to show that full use has been and is being made of these opportunities.

14. The experience of the war has proved abundantly, as the United States Government will readily admit, that many Germans in neutral countries have done all in their power to help the cause of their own country, and to injure that of the Allies; in fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that German houses abroad have in a large number of cases been used as an integral part of an organization, deliberately conceived and planned as an engine for the furtherance of German political and military ambitions.

It is common knowledge that German business establishments in foreign countries have been not merely centres of German trade, but active agents for the dissemination of German political and social influence, and for the purpose of espionage. In some cases they have even been used as bases of supply for German cruisers, and in other cases as organizers and paymasters of miscreants employed to destroy by foul means factories engaged in making, or ships engaged in carrying, supplies required by the Allies.

Such operations have been carried out in the territory even of the United States itself, and I am bound to observe, what I do not think will be denied, that no adequate action has yet been taken by the Government of the United States to suppress breaches of neutrality of this particularly criminal kind, which I know that they are the first to discountenance and deplore.

15. In the face of enemy activities of this nature it was essential for his Majesty's Government to take steps that should at least deprive interests so strongly hostile of the facilities and advantages of unrestricted trading with British subjects. The public opinion of this country would not have tolerated the prolongation of the war by the continued liberty of British subjects to trade with and so to enrich the firms in foreign countries whose wealth and influence were alike at the service of the enemy.

16. Let me repeat that his Majesty's Government make no such claim to dictate to citizens of the United States, nor to those of any other neutral country, as to the persons with whom they are or are not to trade. They do, however, maintain the right, which in the present crisis is also their duty toward the people of this country and to their allies, to withhold British facilities from those who conduct their trade for the benefit of our enemies. If the value to these firms of British facilities is such as to lead them to prefer to give up their trade with our enemies rather than to run the risk of being deprived of such facilities, his Majesty's Government cannot admit that their acceptance of guarantees to that effect is either arbitrary or incompatible with international law or comity.

17. There is another matter with which I should like to deal.

18. The idea would seem to be prevalent in some quarters that the military position is now such that it is unnecessary for his Majesty's Government to take any steps which might prejudice, even to a slight extent, the commerce of neutral countries; that the end of the war is in sight, and that nothing which happens in distant neutral countries can affect the ultimate result.

End of War Not in Sight

19. If that were really the position, it is possible that the measures taken by his Majesty's Government might be described as uncalled for, but it is not. We may well wish that it were so. Even though the military situation of the Allies has greatly improved, there is still a long and bitter struggle in front of them, and one which in justice to the principles for which they are fighting imposes upon them the duty of employing every opportunity and every measure which they can legitimately use to overcome their opponents.

20. One observation which is very commonly heard is that certain belligerent acts, even though lawful, are too petty to have any influence upon a struggle of such magnitude. It is, I know, difficult for those who have no immediate contact with war to realize with what painful anxiety men and women in this country must regard even the smallest acts which tend to increase, if only by a hair's breadth, the danger in which their relatives and friends daily stand, or to prolong, if only by a minute, the period during which they are to be exposed to such perils.

21. Whatever inconvenience may be caused to neutral nations by the exercise of belligerent rights, it is not to be compared for an instant to the suffering and loss occasioned to mankind by the prolongation of the war, even for a week.

Barring Use of Ships

22. One other matter should be mentioned, namely, the exclusion from ships using British coal of goods belonging to firms on the statutory list. This is enforced by rendering it a condition of the supply of bunker coal. What legal objection can be taken to this course? It is British coal; why should it be used to transport the goods of those who are actively assisting our enemies? Nor is this the only point. It must be remembered that the German Government by their submarine warfare have sought to diminish the world's tonnage; they have sunk illegally and without warning hundreds of peaceful merchant ships, belonging not only to allied countries but to neutrals as well. Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish, Greek ships have all been sunk. Between June 1 and Sept. 30, 1916, 262 vessels have been sunk by enemy submarines; 73 of these were British, 123 allied, and 66 neutral. These totals included ten British vessels which were sunk without warning and involved the loss of eighty-one lives; two allied, one of which involved the loss of two lives, no information being available as to the other, and three neutral, involving a loss of one life. Even so, the list is incom-

plete. Probably other vessels were sunk without warning and more lives than those enumerated were lost. It may be added that where those on board did escape it was, as a rule, only by taking to open boats.

23. One of the first enterprises to feel the loss of tonnage has been the Commission of Relief in Belgium. Relief ships have themselves been repeatedly sunk, and in spite of all the efforts of his Majesty's Government, in spite of the special facilities given for the supply of coal to ships engaged in the commission's service, that body is constantly unable to import into Belgium the foodstuffs absolutely necessary to preserve the life of the population. Can it then be wondered that the British Government are anxious to limit the supply of British coal in such a way as to reserve it as far as possible to ships genuinely employed in allied or neutral trade?

Recalls Civil War

24. There is, indeed, one preoccupation in regard to this use of coaling advantages by his Majesty's Government which is, no doubt, present in the minds of neutrals, and which I recognize. I refer to the apprehension that the potential control over means of transportation thus possessed by one nation might be used for the disruption of the trade of the world in the selfish interests of that nation.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, take this opportunity to declare that they are not unmindful of the obligations of those who possess sea power, nor of that traditional policy pursued by the British Empire by which such power has been regarded as a trust and has been exercised in the interests of freedom. They require no representations to recall such considerations to mind, but they cannot admit that, in the circumstances of the times, their present use of their coal resources, a use which only differs in extent from that exercised by the United States in the civil war in the case of vessels proceeding to such ports as Nassau, is obnoxious to their duties or their voluntary professions.

25. In conclusion, I cannot refrain from calling to mind the instructions issued by Lord Russell on July 5, 1862, to the merchants of Liverpool in regard to trade with the Bahamas. His Lordship there advised British subjects that their "true remedy" would be to "refrain from this species of trade" on the ground that "it exposes innocent commerce to vexatious detention and search by American cruisers."

26. His Majesty's Government do not ask the Government of the United States to take any such action as this, but they cannot believe that the United States Government will question their right to lay upon British merchants, in the interests of the safety of the British Empire, for which they are responsible, the same prohibitions as Lord Russell issued fifty years ago out of consideration for the interests and feelings of a foreign nation. Suspicions and insinuations which would construe so simple an action as an opening for secret and unavowed designs on neutral rights should have no place in the relations between two friendly countries.

27. I trust that the explanations contained in this note will destroy such suspicions and correct the erroneous views which prevail in the United States on the subject.

I have, &c., GREY OF FALLODON.

German Dread of English Victory

The semi-official Cologne Gazette quotes with approval the following from an anonymous handsheet issued in Germany:

The majority of our people still have no conception of the consequences which would follow if we were defeated, and defeated by such an enemy as England. It is a dangerous mistake to regard as vain boasting the speeches of English Ministers and Deputies, who, after our overthrow, desire to destroy German "militarism," to blow up Krupp's works, and to banish the Kaiser to St. Helena. "Sink, burn, and destroy" was always England's motto.

For God's sake let us not deceive ourselves about England's determination so to force Germany to her knees that she must accept England's conditions without resistance, and be wiped out forever as a competitor in the world's markets. All classes of the people are united in this resolve, from the First Sea Lord to the humblest dock laborer at Newcastle-on-Tyne. It cannot be too firmly insisted that such a victory for England would mean an irreparable catastrophe for the German Empire. Not only would the German Empire be dissolved, but our people itself would be most seriously threatened with extinction, especially in view of the Russian torrent pouring in from the east. Such an English victory would not only mean the bankruptcy of our industry and our oversea trade, but it would be the ruin of our whole middle class. It would be felt especially by our trading middle class, because such an English victory would totally exclude the possibility of our enemies being made to pay our war costs, and for generations to come our own war burdens would grow enormously. Among our workmen there would be misery which would throw them back eighty years—back to the times when English machine-made yarns drove out German hand-made yarns, and starvation fever carried away thousands, especially in Silesia and Saxony.

Sweden's Fight for Neutrality

WHILE Norway is working out her critical issue with Germany regarding the rights of submarines, Sweden is still in the midst of a hot diplomatic controversy on certain aspects of the Entente blockade. Her proximity to Russia and Germany places her in a far from comfortable position, while the dislocation of sea-borne trade and maritime communications caused by the British blockade of Germany has drawn her into sharp controversy with Great Britain in particular. Sweden has throughout asserted the independence of a sovereign State, refusing to bow to any of the belligerents.

The British Government, determined to prevent Sweden and the other neutral countries of Northern Europe from becoming channels of trade between Germany and the outside world, has seized neutral ships and detained their cargoes in British ports on the suspicion that Swedish importers have been trying to obtain goods, not for Swedish consumption, but on behalf of Germany. The standpoint of the Swedish Government is that Great Britain in trying to cut off supplies from Germany has been inflicting unnecessary hardship on the Swedish people, in spite of the fact that Sweden has taken stringent measures to maintain the strictest neutrality and to prevent the shipment of contraband articles to Germany.

The commodities which have been chiefly affected by British action are coal, copper, brass, tin, and other metals, lubricating oils, automobiles and automobile tires, cotton, corn, wheat, and other grains, fats for margarine, lard, bacon and pork, coffee and cocoa.

The Swedish Government has had its hands full in seeing that its regulations and prohibition orders are not evaded. Among the ingenious plans it has been able to discover in time to circumvent them was one to supply Germany with copper. Large orders were placed in Sweden for copper medals bearing Hindenburg's likeness, for alleged distribution to the soldiers in the German trenches. Another large order was for solid copper headstones for German graves. The Swedish Government awoke to the fact that the medals and "gravestones" might find their way into the melting pot, and the orders were not allowed to be filled. It is in the light of such evasions, or attempts at evasion, that the British Government feels justified in permitting only small direct shipments of copper to Swedish manufacturers, and none at all to dealers.

A special phase of the controversy between the Swedish and British Governments concerns the intercepting of parcel mails. At some points the dispute has been particularly acrimonious. At the end of 1915 the British authorities took possession of the parcel mails on board the Hellig Olav, and after examination declared that one-third of the parcels contained absolute contraband. A hundred bags of rubber consigned to a Swedish firm were placed before the British prize court on the ground that the rubber was believed to be destined for Germany. Sweden, by way of protest, decided to detain British mails in transit to Russia, whereupon the British Government strongly hinted that it would put an embargo on all Swedish mails. Count Wrangel, the Swedish Minister in London, replying to Sir Edward Grey on Jan. 21, 1916, said that his Government had no reason to suspect that the rubber seized by the British authorities was destined for Germany, and that there could be no enemy destination, since the export of rubber from Sweden was prohibited.

In regard to the Swedish steamer Stockholm, outward bound from Gothenburg to New York, from which the British authorities had taken fifty-eight bags of parcel mail from Malmö to Chicago, the Swedish Government refused to recognize any right of interference derived from the British Order in Council of March 11, 1915, as Sweden did not admit the validity of that order. Sweden

was now holding back a large quantity of British parcel mail which should have been sent across to Russia.

For the sake of friendly relations Sir Edward Grey offered to submit to arbitration after the war any prize court decisions with which Sweden was not satisfied. This was followed by a demand for the release of the British mails detained in Sweden, as "it keeps alight a smoldering fire of irritation which may at any moment cause serious difficulties." On June 19, 1916, Sir Edward Grey again demanded the release of the embargoed parcel mails and their dispatch to Russia, and intimated that the British Government would claim damages for the loss caused by their detention during so many months.

Sweden replied that she was prepared to accept the British arbitration proposals, despite their inadequacy, and release the detained parcels, but she reserved to herself the decision as to forwarding further mails to Russia. Sir Edward Grey protested that the refusal to continue the transmission of parcel mails between the United Kingdom and Russia was a violation of the Anglo-Swedish postal agreement. On Aug. 2, 1916, the British Foreign Secretary wrote again pointing out that the arbitration offer held good only so long as Sweden observed the postal agreement in respect to the carriage of mails between the United Kingdom and Russia. At this point the correspondence, issued by the British Foreign Office on Aug. 24, closed, leaving it in doubt as to how the Swedish Government intended to act in regard to the future transmission of British mails to Russia.

German and Russian naval operations in the Baltic have imposed a heavy strain on Sweden. The small but efficient Swedish Navy has been kept busy night and day protecting the territorial waters from infringement. Despite this vigilance, many ships have been sunk or captured by German and Russian submarines and destroyers, and but for the promptitude of the Swedish patrols many more attacks would have been made. If the map is studied it will be seen that it is no small task to police a coastline stretching from the head of the Gulf of Bothnia to the Cattegat. Nevertheless, the Swedish Navy has done an enormous amount of work in escorting British, Russian, and German merchant ships hugging the coast within the neutral shelter of the three-mile limit.

More than once Swedish warships have prepared for action against belligerent destroyers and submarines which have been waiting to pounce upon a prize in the territorial waters. A British steamer, which was making its way out of the Baltic, was met by a German destroyer. Knowing that he was within the three-mile limit, the British Captain took no notice until the destroyer began to steer between him and the shore so as to force the steamer outside the three-mile limit. The manoeuvre was succeeding when a Swedish torpedo boat, commanded by Prince William, second son of the King of Sweden, came on the scene and saved the British ship. Another British steamer, the Adam, was captured by a German destroyer and would not have been released but for Sweden's protest. Similarly, two German steamers, captured by Russian submarines, had to be released on Sweden's declaring that the captures had been made within the three-mile limit. As an additional safeguard against "poaching" the Swedish Navy has laid mines.

Recent Swedish decress affecting navigation in territorial waters, and particularly in the Baltic, have led to fresh controversy with Great Britain as well as the other Entente Powers. On Aug. 30, 1916, the British Minister at Stockholm protested against the Swedish decree which distinguishes between submarines armed for warfare and so-called commercial submarines, the latter of which were to be able to navigate with impunity beneath Swedish territorial waters, and also against another decree which reserved exclusively for Swedish merchant vessels the route across the mine fields laid in the Kogrund Passage, thereby closing the only route by which non-Swedish merchant ships could pass between the sound and the Baltic, while leaving open in Swedish territorial waters between the Kalmar-Lulea Straits a

route accessible only to Swedish or German ships. The British note concluded:

Sweden has completed the barrier which the Germans had placed between the Allies in the Baltic. To guard against the eventuality of a violation of Swedish waters by Russia, the Royal Government is increasing the surveillance of its coasts, and threatens the immediate use of force. On the other hand, in order to prevent analogous action on the part of Germany, the Royal Government removes all objection to the incursions of the German naval forces into its territorial waters by purely and simply suppressing the commercial traffic which Germany was interested in disturbing.

Thus, there is in the attitude adopted by the Royal Government toward the one and the other of the two belligerent camps a notable difference, and one which seems but little compatible with the demands of a loyal and an impartial neutrality.

The Government of his Britannic Majesty records the fact with keen regret.

The Swedish Government, in its reply, dated Sept. 9, stated that it

cannot enter into a discussion on the sincerity and impartiality of its neutrality, which have been abundantly demonstrated throughout the whole duration of the present war. It would, however, observe that an allegation of this character is not well founded, when it is only based on isolated and imperfectly investigated facts. * * * All submarines are treated as war submarines, unless their employment for commercial purposes is clearly established by evident facts. The observations which have been made can only spring from the fact that the contents of these provisions is not known to you.

When the Swedish Government assures, as it has often done, and still does, for the benefit of the navigation of the allied countries in all Swedish waters, and to the merchant ships of all nationalities, that protection which is their due in Swedish waters by preventing any violation there of the sovereignty of Sweden, it is only safeguarding its neutrality in the war which is considered best adapted to that end.

Further restrictions on the trade of the neutral countries of Northern Europe, which also affect the United States, were contained in a new British order issued early in September, under which the acceptance by Holland of further consignments of American goods and letters of assurance that American shipments would reach Scandinavia are refused. Lord Robert Cecil, the British Minister of War Trade, however, explained on Sept. 15 that the new restrictions applied only to certain prohibited articles and not to trade in general. The object of the British orders is to prevent the entry of foodstuffs and other commodities into Holland and the Scandinavian countries in quantities exceeding the needs of normal consumption, the theory being that the excess ultimately finds its way into Germany.

Sweden's attitude was defined by her Premier, Mr. Hammarksjold, in an interview on Oct. 4. He declared that whenever Sweden had taken any step displeasing to one or other of the belligerents it had been dictated solely by consideration of her own necessities and not by partisan reasons. The blacklist was objectionable because it deprived Swedish citizens of their rights. He was glad, he added, that the United States had taken steps in the matter. "America is in the fortunate position," Premier Hammarksjold concluded, "that she is far removed from the strife." This observation is frequently made in Sweden, where the maintenance of a neutral attitude is more difficult than it appears on this side of the Atlantic. Sweden is in the midst of the war without being a belligerent, and her neutrality is both expensive and an ever-present problem.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

The Partition of Kamerun

GUSTAVE BABIN IN L'ILLUSTRATION, PARIS

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Journal Officiel has just published a decree according to the terms of which M. Lucien Fourneau, Colonial Governor of the Third Class, Lieutenant Governor of the Middle Congo, is "appointed to the functions of Commissioner of the French Republic in the territories of the former Kamerun," to take the place of General Aymerich, recalled to France at his own request. All colonials have ratified this choice, which is consecrated both by the administrative qualities of M. Lucien Fourneau and the part which he has taken in person in the conquest of the former German colony. For without doubt the very active rôle played in the operations which culminated in the territories formerly ceded to Germany by the Lieutenant Governor of the Middle Congo has not been forgotten, nor the conditions under which, wounded on board the Luxembourg in the course of an offensive reconnoissance, he won the War Cross.

Six months have passed since the conquest of Cameroon was completed, [the spelling of Cameroon changes here with the change of ownership,] and a Franco-British agreement concluded in London left us the provisional administration of the greater part of the country. We can today give a general view of the value and the organization of our new colony; we shall find in it only causes for self-congratulation and, at the moment when our enemies invite us, with their habitual arrogance, to "look at the war map," we can allow our eyes to wander over the 231,600 square miles of African territory which has been added to the domain of France.

Unlike the Germans, we do not know how to make the best of our advantages. If the fortunes of war had happened to give them Morocco or our French West Africa, we should have seen their press deafen the world with the noise of their success. They would have declared that that prize alone was worth all that we could hold, and, for them, the "war map" would only have been valid in the Mediterranean basin, or on the west coast of Africa. But we, with our sincerity and our habitual skepticism, have not sought to extract any advertising from our brilliant success. It is not the less true that, for the initiated, the conquest of Cameroon will remain one of the triumphs of military history, for no country could offer more extensive resources to the defensive, or oppose more obstacles to the assailant: the climate, vast spaces, the population, who, logically, should have been against us. And we know besides what means of defense our enemy had heaped up in addition to all this.

The area of the French Cameroon is greater than that of France, and this immense territory, contrary to what one finds in the majority of African colonies, includes no uninhabited zone. From Lake Chad to the sea, a distance of 2,000 kilometers, (1,242 miles,) dense and prosperous populations are met with, and this fact may be noted—a criterion by which Africans judge the general healthiness of a country—that horses and cattle, animals very sensitive to tropical climates, can go without trouble from the great lake (Chad) to the Atlantic; from Fort Lamy, for example, to Duala.

Without doubt there is not in the whole of West Africa a "geographical unit" which approaches this magnificent Cameroon region in value. Wedged between our French equatorial Africa, which is still in the early stages of its development, and British Nigeria, whose remarkable prosperity is well known, Cameroon has over its neighbors the inestimable advantage of being a region of high plateaus, where the advantages of altitude correct the possible disadvantages of latitude.

Conquered by English and French troops whose effectives were sensibly

equal, the Cameroons should fairly have been divided into equal parts between our two countries. Knowing the importance of the commercial interests which our allies possessed there and the desire which animated them to acquire the key of the country's commerce, the Port of Duala, we might have apprehended a partition which would have deprived us of the most interesting part of the country—that of the high plateaus. This was the haunting fear of those who had helped to conquer this magnificent empire for France.

So we cannot describe the joy of our contingents when, at the beginning of March, the main outlines of the delimitation map were made known to them. They were profoundly grateful, on the one hand, to those who in the negotiations following the contest had been able to make the French view triumph, and, on the other, to their British comrades, who, with a largeness of view which has not been sufficiently appreciated, admitted and accepted the principle that in this rich conquest so fine a share should be given to us. But, to tell the truth, the general public has up to the present known nothing, or almost nothing, of these arrangements.

This last consideration induces us to indicate in passing how strong was the brotherhood of arms which united the leaders and soldiers of the Allies in the course of that rude campaign. After a few weeks of reserve, which would be amply explained if explanation were necessary—apart from former prejudices—the fact that the new comrades, brought together for this great adventure, were not acquainted with each other, and that the one side needed the time to feel how much tender camaraderie was hidden under the apparent lordliness of the other side, and for the latter to discover how much affectionate esteem was hidden under the ironical mockery of their companions in arms; after this, a perfect understanding was reached, and the relations between the English and the French became charming.

General View of Cameroon

Cameroon has roughly the form of an isosceles triangle whose apex is marked by Lake Chad. Its geometrical centre is somewhere near Kounde, on the southeastern limit of the high plateaus. What characterizes this colony is the massive basaltic formation, sprinkled with spaces of granite, which occupies its central region. The equatorial forest begins far to the south, beyond Yaounde, and it is a real obstacle only in the part of French equatorial Africa which, by the treaty of Nov. 4, 1911, we ceded to Germany.

The regions situated to the north of this plateau, that is, to the north of the Benué, include an enormous, massive formation of sandstone, the Mandara, which will remain famous for the siege of nineteen months which the third German company endured on Mount Mora under the command of Captain von Raben. It is a region of deeply indented mountains, in which erosion has created natural fortresses, of which Mount Mora is only one example. To the east of this sandstone formation one enters the low plain of the Logone.

The regions situated to the east and south of the central plateau, that is, all that is watered by affluents of the Congo, share in the general characteristics of our equatorial Africa — great quantities of vegetation, plenty of water, too much mud, the equatorial swamps called poto-poto, and, finally, a population of savage forest tribes.

The Cameroon coast is rather inhospitable. Excepting Duala, a magnificent harbor in a well-sheltered gulf, there are only open roads, swept by the surf. This is the consideration that made us so afraid of losing Duala.

The populations of the Cameroons are, like the soil on which they live, various. Following a law which is always verified in black Africa, regions of mountains or forests have savage and timid inhabitants which are called by the Mussulmans "Kirdis" or "Habes," that is, fetichists. In the plains or steppes, on the contrary, the Mussulman invaders have freely established themselves, and in a short time have succeeded in imposing their authority and their demands on the Kirdis.

In the whole Cameroon region these

two elements are juxtaposed. To the north of the Benué, the Kirdis occupy the mountains of Mandara and the rocky islands of the Province of Diamare; the invaders are represented by the Bornuans and the Peulhs, (or Fellatas.) The Cameroons, in its northern half, is a veritable Peulh colony, and is greatly benefited by the presence of these admirable shepherds, who outstrip the Arabs in their passion for raising flocks. The Bornuan, like the Haussa, is a small trader, the born enemy of European commerce, which he everywhere supplants by methods analogous to those which have made the reputation of the Greek and Syrian peddlers.

In the southern half of the Cameroons, the Haussa reigns uncontested over the backward aborigines, half-cannibals, in whom, by machine-gun fire, the Germans have inculcated certain elements of Kultur, making them sly and thievish, like the doctor who cured the passion for opium by the morphine habit, and the latter by alcohol.

What these populations have had in common during the twenty months of the Franco-British campaign, what has welded them together, is a profound hatred for the German and an ardent sympathy for the Allies. From the day our troops crossed the enemy's frontier they found only friends among the blacks. In spite of the ridiculous German proclamations, published in all the languages of the country, in which "Willoun" the Kaiser was represented as a descendant of Mohammed, and the Nassara (Nazarenes, French, and English) were said to be animated by a fanatical religious proselytism, the natives were for us.

The Germans, with their habitual psychology, (so inferior to their metallurgy!) had inundated the country with printed tracts, which the illiterate Kirdis used to light their pipes. Certain of these proclamations will find their place in the anthologies: that, for example, in which Captain von Hagen, commanding the district of Ebolowa, signs himself "Von Hagen, the Wild Beast of Ebolowa." Who will ever know the number of poor negroes—in the depths of their hearts a thousand times more neutral than the most neutral of the Greeks! —who paid with their lives for the defeat of the Germans; how many villages destroyed, how many plantations razed, how many men, women, and children massacred? The whole Bakoko region, to the east of Duala, is nothing but a vast cemetery. In the north of the Cameroons Mandara corpses swung from the branches of every tree.

Why this rigor? It only resulted in throwing the natives into our arms. They knew us already, especially those near the boundaries of our equatorial Africa. They know that we treat those under our administration with kindness, a fatherly familiarity, which more than once surprised even our allies. How many times our English friends remained silent with wonder before the long palavers which our old sharpshooters delight in and in which they recount to their leaders the sorrows of their hearts or their exploits.

In Northern Cameroon the French troops without doubt profited by the reputation and prestige acquired over all the black tribes of Central Africa by General Largeau, one of our Verdun heroes. His spirit of justice, his benevolence, which led him to open his door to the lowliest under our administration, were known everywhere. Our military exploits at Wadai and Borku had equally worked for us. What an enthusiastic reception, therefore, was given us at Mora, at Garua, at N'Gaundere, at Tibati, everywhere!

From the height of his peak at Mora, Captain von Raben could see with his field glass the evolutions, at the foot of his lair, of the thousands of horsemen who came to welcome us. Our old Senegalese had never seen anything like it, and they were ill at ease in presence of the splendid diffas which were offered to them.

When Colonel Brisset, returning to France, left Garua on June 2, 1916, the splendor of the farewells which the population paid to him passed all possible anticipations. Great Sultans had marched whole weeks in order to come to salute him. The celebrated Rey Buba, the greatest black king of the Cameroons, whom

KAMERUN, FIRST OF THE CONQUERED GERMAN POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA TO BE PARTITIONED BY THE ENTENTE ALLIES.

the Germans dreaded, and who was one of our chief collaborators, brought no less than 5,000 men, splendid horses, bands of archers clothed in panther-skins, lancers, men at arms wearing mediaeval coats of mail, coming one knows not whence and transmitted from father to son; beside him, the powerful Lamido of N'Gaundere, which his guards clad in coats of mail, was only a shade less splendid than his neighbor; the Lamidos of Marua, Garua, Binder, Madagali, the Sultan of Mandara, and many others likewise clustered round the French officers, swearing allegiance to them and multiplying cries of joy that they were rid of the Germans.

Each large town in Northern Cameroon and Central Cameroon had sent its representatives. It is enough to enumerate the leading towns to show what great possibilities this country has in the immediate future: Marua, 25,000 inhabitants; N'Gaundere, 20,000; Tibati, 15,000; Banyo, 10,000, and so on.

All these reassuring manifestations carry with them their imperative consequence; we could not, without treason to these dusky friends of ours, give the Cameroons back to the Germans at any

future day. If we gave them back we should condemn to death all those who had helped us to conquer them, who were our collaborators, sometimes our allies; German reprisals would be terrible. And let it not be said that we could protect them against this evil by written promises. No! In spite of their oaths, our enemies would take their revenge, and our honor would be irrevocably stained. Not only the populations of the Cameroons, who, trusting in us, came to help us to win, but those of our former possessions would reproach us for abandoning them shamefully.

Provisional Organization

The present organization of the French Cameroons is altogether provisional, and has evidently followed the outlines drawn by our predecessors. Great difficulties have been experienced in getting things started, because the enemy had destroyed or carried away his archives, and it was necessary to carry on the military and civil activities at the same time.

General Aymerich—who has just been replaced by M. Lucien Fourneau—had been named Government Commissioner, and had taken hold of all the services which were made over to him by the English. In order to progress as fast as possible the military occupation was intrusted to units taken from the expeditionary corps of French West Africa and different troops of French equatorial Africa. It may be affirmed that the occupation is strong enough to meet all possible eventualities. General Aymerich has created a certain number of administrative circumscriptions, some of which include two of the former German circumscriptions; a police force has been installed, all (and this detail alone will show how completely the population has come over to our side) made up of sharpshooters drawn from among the natives of the country, many of whom are former German sharpshooters who had fought against us.

The railroads are working perfectly under our section of field railroads; commerce has begun again, with a scope explained by the suppression of commerce during the two years of fighting. French merchants who understand the needs of the country have established themselves in the regions near the coasts. The great commercial company of our French equatorial Africa, the Sangha-Ubangi Forest Company, has already undertaken important developments. The safety of the trade routes is perfect. The English, when leaving, sold all their automobiles, which were bought by our traders, and now furrow the roads of lower Cameroon, carrying palm oil, cocoa, rubber; elsewhere, the Haussas and Bornuans are once more carrying on their donkeys stuffs, salt, kola, natron. From the north to the south descend unwearyingly herds of oxen to feed the blacks of the forest, and the country has resumed its former active life, with this single difference that, to a hard, jarring Prussian administration has succeeded ours, benevolent, paternal, French.

How the British "Tommy" Got His Name

A writer in the Bulletin des Armées de la Republique, the official weekly of the French Army, offers this explanation:

The English soldier is universally called "Tommy." Why? Because at Waterloo, a little more than a century ago, a British infantryman named Thomas Atkins, having particularly distinguished himself, was brought before the Duke of Wellington to receive special felicitations. His exploits were popularized by engravings and newspaper stories in England, where soon the name of Tommy Atkins was applied as a tribute of honor to all his comrades. Then by abbreviation the "Atkins" was dropped and the more familiar "Tommy" remained. That is how it happens that today the British soldiers are known to the masses as "Tommies."

—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris*

ON RECONQUERED SOIL

"I knew I should never see them again"

Where Heroes Sleep in France

[A correspondent in The Scotsman, Edinburgh]

IN all the range of that great dusty camp among the sand dunes there is no fairer spot. Something grips your throat when first you see it, and you walk toward the graves with head uncovered, but through the mist in your eyes the sunshine and the flowers smile welcome to you, and speak of life, not death. It lies toward the south and west, a triangle with its point upon the high road from which the slow processions come; upon your left side as you enter a ridge of pine trees rustles homely greeting, and upon your right rise sloping banks of sand. In front lie the flats toward the river side, and a little further on you catch the sparkle of the sea and the white breaking of the waves upon the bar. Just over there you know lies Havre, beyond the sparkle and the blue. The pine trees and the sand dunes guard the graves on either side, but the base of the triangle is ever widening as the graves increase from week to week, and where there were a hundred a year ago, there are fifteen times that number today.

Here lie hundreds of our soldiers—in each grave two, carefully numbered and registered—who have died of wounds in hospital or have succumbed to illness in the training camps. Each mound is beautifully tended, and many are covered with masses of crimson or yellow flowers, planted by loving hands—one thinks of gardens, not of graves. Here also asleep lie many German dead—prisoners whose wounds were beyond the doctors' skill and nurses' care. Each has had a soldier's funeral, save that on the coffin lay a fair white shroud, and not their country's flag.

The eastern side of the triangle is reserved for officers, each in his own narrow cell, in two long curving rows between the sheltering, rustling pines and the footpath you walk along. Nearly three months ago a beloved physician of a Scottish city was laid to his honored rest there. Round the foot of the grave were gathered many brother officers who knew his worth and work; at the head of it stood the wife, laying her love to sleep. Behind the fence on the pine-clad slope a little group of nurses stood,

mourning that their best care had not sufficed to save their friend. Overhead the larks sang shrilly sweet, and yonder the blue sea sparkled and the yellow sands were gleaming in the sun, while just a few hundred yards away men, hot and dusty, but untiring and determined, were drilling on the dusty flats, and behind us the machine guns rattled incessantly at practice.

But already the double row of crosses beneath the pines has stretched further down the slope, and we read the names upon them as we pass. The next is that of a German officer, Lieutenant Krebs, of the One Hundred and Ninth Reserve Regiment of Infantry; no doubt in Prussia some are mourning him, and in the peace that comes perhaps a loving hand will lay flowers there some day, too. And next again is the pathetic record, "An unknown officer." One of our own?—how tragic that no word was found to give his name and home. God rest him, whoever he may have been; he died in the righteous cause.

There they rise, these crosses, telling of Scots and English, Welsh and Irish, Canadian and Anzac—men who have played their part in Armageddon, and are now at rest. But a little further on there is a woman's name. She, too, has died on service, leaving the great city by the Clyde to serve in the Scottish Churches' huts, and falling by a strange, mysterious illness at the post of duty. Six weeks only of her faithful service was she allowed to give, but enough to show her devotion to the lads she loved to serve.

To her also was given in death the honor of the flag, and she lies looking toward the west and home across the sunlit, sparkling sea.

"But We Shall Live Forever"

A Soldier Boy's Last Letter

This poignant letter was written by a London youth of twenty years, Lieutenant Eric L. Townsend, who was killed in France on Sept. 15 while leading the first wave against the German position. Along with his will was found this manly attempt to comfort his father and mother.

Sept. 8, 1916.

DEAREST Mother and Father:

You are reading this letter because I have gone under.

Of course I know you will be terribly cut up, and that it will be a long time before you get over it, but get over it you must. You must be imbued with the spirit of the navy and the army to "carry on." You will still have dear little Donald, who is safe, at any rate for some while. If he should ever have to go on active service I somehow feel that his invariable good luck will bring him through.

You must console yourselves with the thought that I am happy, whereas if I had lived—who knows?

Remember the saying attributed to Solon, "Call no man happy till he is dead." Thanks to your self-sacrificing love and devotion I have had a happy time all my life. Death will have delivered me from experiencing unhappiness.

It has always seemed to me a very pitiful thing what little difference the disappearance of a man makes to any institution, even though he may have played a very important rôle. A moment's regret, a moment's pause for readjustment, and another man steps forward to carry on, and the machine clanks onward with scarce a check. The death of a leader of the nation is less even than a seven days' wonder. To a very small number is given to live in history; their number is scarcely one in ten millions. To the rest it is only granted to live in their united achievements.

But for this war I and all the others would have passed into oblivion like the countless myriads before us. We should have gone about our trifling business, eating, drinking, sleeping, hoping, marrying, giving in marriage, and finally dying

with no more achieved than when we were born, with the world no different for our lives. Even the cattle in the field fare no worse than this. They, too, eat, drink, sleep, bring forth young, and die, leaving the world no different from what they found it.

But we shall live forever in the results of our efforts.

We shall live as those who by their sacrifice won the great war. Our spirits and our memories shall endure in the proud position Britain shall hold in the future. The measure of life is not its span but the use made of it. I did not make much use of my life before the war, but I think I have done so now.

One sometimes hears people say, when a young man is killed, "Poor fellow, cut off so early, without ever having had a chance of knowing and enjoying life!" But for myself, thanks to all that both of you have done, I have crowded into twenty years enough pleasures, sensations, and experiences for an ordinary lifetime. Never brilliant, sometimes almost a failure in anything I undertook, my sympathies and my interests somehow or other—why, I cannot tell—were so wide that there was scarcely an amusement, an occupation, a feeling which I could not appreciate. And, as I have said, of most of these I had tasted.

I don't suppose I ever met anybody who was not my superior in knowledge or achievement in one particular subject; but there his knowledge and his interest ended, whereas, my interests comprised nearly the whole field of human affairs and activities. And that is why it is no hardship for me to leave the world so young.

Well, I have talked a lot of rot which must have given you great pain to read and which will not bring you much comfort. I had intended to try and say words of comfort, but that scarcely being possible, it has drifted into a sort of confession of faith.

To me has been given the easier task; to you is given the more difficult—that of living in sorrow. Be of good courage that at the end you may give a good account.

Kiss Donald for me.

Adieu, best of parents. Your loving son, ERIC.

"Bantams and Bleuets"

VASSILI NEMIROVITCH-DANCHENKO IN RUSSKOE SLOVO, MOSCOW

ON my way to Verdun I passed through the English positions. We came upon a group of English soldiers. Hitherto, I had never seen their like—short, stocky, like Japanese dwarf trees, with an expression of indescribable swagger on their sun-tanned faces; an expression which says, "You try laughing at me, and I'll show you!"

"Who are they?" I asked my companion.

"Bantams!"

I could make neither head nor tail of that. Explanations: In English, a "bantam" is a diminutive breed of barnyard fowl, and the trim little roosters of that breed are desperate fighters, daringly attacking, and generally vanquishing, far bigger birds. They make up for their lack of height by such daring, such rush and dash, that the bullies and braggarts of the barnyard fly before them. In the English Army the men are very jealous of the general appearance of the front. Most of the tall men will refuse to fall into ranks beside these Bantams. The real Tommy must be at least five feet five inches. So the insulted Bantams have formed their own companies. And whoever has seen them march, unwearied, eager, swiftly climbing hills, thanks to their vigorous lungs, will not think of smiling at the Bantams. They are even more daring than the Guardsmen and the Highlanders; they show splendidly on the march, and charge in battle with such ferocity that the Pomeranian and Brandenburg "giants" break their necks to get out of the way of these gnomes, who, in the thick of the combat, are yelling

their "Tipperary" at the top of their lungs. * * *

A cordial welcome from General N.: "The Russians are at home here. Do and see whatever you wish!" No concealment—the fullest readiness to show everything, from the bivouacs in the rear to the fighting line.

From one of the dugouts come sounds of conversation, songs, and laughter. The men, among whom are not a few artists, have covered the chalk walls with caricatures and drawings. Here, in dolce far niente, the soldiers rest, ready, at the sound of the bugle, to rush to the advanced positions.

Our guide indicated one of the men: "This is my best soldier! It has never happened to him to draw back, or to fulfill carelessly even the most difficult details. When hunters are needed, he is the first. He has brought back wounded officers from incredible furnaces, exposing himself to the Boche grenades!" And, within forty-eight hours, this poilu was killed instantly on duty.

The whole French Army is held together by the bond between the citizen-soldier and the citizen-officer. Its discipline is—implicit obedience in battle, and free-will and critical understanding in the entr'actes. The Vieux Grognards ("old grumblers," old guardsmen) of Napoleon I. are still alive in their ranks. In their familiarity is much heartfelt love and deep respect. These same "grumblers" will die withut a murmur for their officers—not under compulsion, but through clear moral conviction. * * *

An amusing thing happened at Verdun. The men are forbidden to fish in the Meuse. But Frenchmen love to fish. They thought out a wonderful plan; they mounted a long, round log on two wheels, put it on a raft with a torch beside it, and set it floating down the river. The Boche gunners spotted the "gun," and began sprinkling it with shells. The shells killed quantities of fish, which the "Bleuets" ("blue cornflowers") gathered up and—grilled! * * *

In one of the caverns, the men, many of whom are sculptors, have carved wonderful bas-reliefs in the chalk. Of the Crown Prince, there are many microcephalous images. There is a fine portrait of the Generalissimo, with the inscription: "Papa Joffre, Father of Victory!"

My Inspiring Experience at the Front

By Sarah Bernhardt

The Famous French Actress

MY first performance for the fighting men of France was perhaps the most stirring event of my eventful life. Nothing that I expected, nothing that I heard about them, nothing that occurred, resembled anything that I had been led to expect. They were not dulled by their wounds, they were not sad, or grim, or dramatic in any way. They were bearded children.

"What wonderful spiritual progress the experiences of these men have created for them!" was what I thought as I saw over 3,000 of them massed in front of me in the inclosure called a theatre just behind the lines at the front.

They were too absorbed in the ideals of the poetry I had brought them to think of their own distress. They had the gift to lose themselves in the romance of the play. That was the most wonderful part of the whole thing to me. How these men, covered with mud from head to foot, their blood-soaked bandages tied carelessly by themselves across their faces, their heads, with their unshaven, unkempt appearance, their trench clothes still on their tired backs, could rise above all this to the sublime heights of some poet's fancy—that was the wonderful feature of the whole experience.

I take no credit to myself for their appreciation of these things, because there have been others who have enter-

tained them at these theatres at the front, and they have observed the same remarkable psychology. Their enthusiasm, their guileless delight at any bit of fun, and the ease with which they laugh—these, too, are among the startling incidents of the war.

Imagine for a moment what these men had been through. Imagine how we, in our habitual civilization, mourn the death of a relative or a friend in silent grief, and then consider how many there are to mourn among comrades and friends for these men that are killed by the thousands daily!

I said to myself when I saw this warm sympathy in the hearts of these men whose business of the day is killing: "Death has been conquered; life is at last understood in all its aspiring purposes."

As I watched them, laughing heartily, like children, gayly, uproariously, so that their bandages must have slipped, it was I who felt the emotional strain of the moments most. If you could have seen those men as I did, you would never listen to the maudlin sentiments one reads about the horrors of war. Of course, war is horrible to those who dwell upon the sorrowful side of it all, as I have done, as many others in the world have done, who have not been actually in the midst of it. But these men who had been in the thick of it had actually been inspired by its terrific experiences. They were restored from the thin-blooded habits of intellectuality in France to the full-blooded simplicity of real things to think about, of real things to do, of real sentiments to live for. They had no time to argue fine points among themselves about the primal motives of life. They had been restored to their own souls by the fires of war.

There was nothing dramatic or even emotional about their manner, or about their attitude toward the play. So far were they from being emotional that the slightest slip toward theatricalism by the artist was noticed and pronounced false. Fresh from the greatest melodrama of the world, they were quick to sense any insincerity of art. Their applause was the only trace of emotion in the whole affair, and that was the emotion of gratitude. What I expected to be one of the saddest experiences of my life turned out to be the gayest, the happiest, the most inspiring. No audience in Paris ever flattered me so much, because no audience ever felt so truly, so sincerely, the art of my life and its meaning to the human soul.

They did not suffer in the tragedy of the play; they rose to it. They did not cry with watery tears that streamed down their faces; the tears just filled their eyes so that they could see better the great destiny of their own lives.

There was no scenery to distract the senses; there were no illusions of the theatre to glisten in the lights, no wings to keep the imagination from its full scope. And I think those men fresh from the real horrors of tragedy would have laughed at the mere attempt to give them scenery as an added attraction. They huddled together, close together, so that they could be as near to the actors as possible, fearing that they would lose a word, an inflection. Their eagerness to enjoy every mood of the artist in the interpretation of the poem was not a personal tribute; it was a tribute to their experiences in the long, silent hours in the trenches, when their souls struggled to understand the problem of life and death. In these performances they are helped to this understanding because the performances reawaken in them the pleasure of feeling—a luxury, I can assure you, to these men who are denied the realities of artistic pleasure so long.

I learned much more than I could teach them from my trip to the front. Although fear of death has long ago left me, because when one is of a certain age death is of no consequence, I learned from those men with blood showing from their wounds, on their faces, that a new epoch in the "histoire humaine" of the world had been reached. We have arrived at the epoch in the history of the world when fear of death is no more. The courage of thousands upon thousands involved in this war has spread the moral influence of this defiance of death in the trenches. It is felt everywhere. It was an influence that seized

me there among those men of France, whom I saw so wonderfully spiritualized by their release from fear, and it has impressed me ever since wherever I am.

Oh, it was a happy experience, to have seen the fresh blood on the faces of those men, who were so gay, so eager to live, so indifferent to the fear of death.

Diary of a French War Prisoner in Germany

This touching human document fell into the hands of the Paris correspondent of the Retch, Petrograd, V. Ropshin, who presented it to the readers of his journal with the simple headline, "Read and Judge."

OCT. 15, [1915.]—Leave all hope behind, you who enter here. * * * Imagine an enormous square 400 yards long and 250 wide, fenced with barbed wire. Divide this square into eight equal parts and place in every one of these several hundred people, all dressed in uniforms. Build forty-eight wooden barracks and unite them by passages. Place sentinels forty feet from each other, and cultivate police dogs. In each of the four corners of the square place a machine gun. Behind the fence, outside, erect the kitchen, hospital, bath, Kommandatur. This is our camp, a clearing house for prisoners. Not a flower, not a tree, not even grass. Monotonous semi-liquid Autumn mud. Surrounding us a plateau. On the horizon the tile roofs of the houses of Merezburg.

It is damp, cold, and I am hungry. Today we were supplied with the following things: A plate, spoon, piece of rag, and a quilt. Today also we were counted into the inclosures. The Sub-Lieutenants were losing their thread in the middle of the count, and, consequently, we stood for several hours in the mud.

Oct. 20.—On Sundays the Merezburg burghers come to look at our camp. They come "gemütlich," with their wives and children. Why not? Blue berettas of the Alpine Rifles, crimson pantaloons of the Royal Grenadiers, blue jackets of the hussars, white burnouses of the Arabs, and plaid "skirts" of the Scotch. * * * What a sight for the militant Fritz! We are guarded by old men from the Landsturm. They good-naturedly talk to us like this: "We have a howitzer of 60 centimeters. We placed it in Calais and from there bombarded London. * * * As to you Frenchmen, you, like the Austrians after Sadowa, will conclude peace with Germany, for Paris—kaput!" * * *

"Paris—kaput! Paris—kaput!" This is the only refrain you hear after each talk. We drag ourselves to the inclosure. A small rain is drizzling. The burghers have opened their umbrellas and do not leave the fence. They examine the medals on the breasts of the Arabs. The medals are various—Morocco, Madagascar, Lagoma, Tonking. * * * The Boy Scouts march along the highway with music and banners. They stop and also regard us with curiosity. The sentinels explain to them that we are live proof of the prowess of the German soldiers.

Oct. 22.—The barracks are built of wood and divided into several rooms. In each room there are two stoves. There is electricity and water. But the doors will not shut and the windows crack. The wind blows in through all holes. A retired Colonel is in command of the camp. Retired Captains are in charge of the regiments, and retired Lieutenants of the battalions. A battalion (1,200 prisoners) is divided into three companies, each company consisting of squads of twenty men each. The squads are guarded in turn. In the morning, at 7 o'clock, a German Sub-Lieutenant rushes into the barrack and shouts at the top of his voice: "Kaffee hole! Aus! Aus! Weck! Los! Los!" We rise and begin the day. At 9 o'clock bread. At 11 and 5 soup, i. e., warm water in which pieces of fat and macaroni float. In the intervals we are occupied by exercises, writing of letters, and following the announcements of the French General Staff in the German papers. In addition to this we play bridge. At night we dine at a restaurant—in our dreams!

Nov. 1.—Today Russian prisoners were brought in. They had not eaten for four days. They have no epaulets, no buttons, no caps. Many of them have no shoes and no coats. They stand around us and silently watch us eat. They ask for nothing. When we give them bread they bow and say "Spasibo." I cannot forget one of them, to whom the Germans have left nothing but a shirt and a pair of trousers. Through the holes his naked body can be seen. His feet are wrapped in rags. Trying to warm himself, he pressed his hands to his breast and jumped in front of our window. The day was gray. Clouds were creeping in the skies. In an hour I again looked out of the window. The same Russian, in his only shirt, was still jumping in the next inclosure. He was shaking like a November leaf.

In the evening the Russians chanted their prayers. When they finished their songs, the Arabs in the next barrack began to sing.

Nov. 14.—Today one Russian prisoner, dying from hunger, devoured more than forty herring thrown out in the refuse. Toward evening he died. The guards explained to us: "It is all England's fault. England blockades us. What do you expect—that we should feed you while we ourselves are soon to have nothing to eat?" Indeed, I read today in the Anzeiger: "Save your bread! In wartime a good German will not permit himself to eat cake! Whoever spares bread is doing a service to the Fatherland!" Following this there was a meditation on Joffre. "Joffre does not understand modern warfare. He is prolonging the war, trying to defeat Germany by starvation. Lord Kitchener supports him. Such tactics are barbarous, because not only the German Army will suffer through them, but the peaceful German population. The French boast of their civilization, but they war like savages." I was satisfied with this article. I made a canvass of our inclosure. From 350 votes cast, 190 think that we will return to France by Easter, 109 think about June 1, and 51, the pessimists, postpone our return till Sept. 1 next. I also am of the opinion that the war will end about the beginning of next Summer; that is, Germany will sue for peace about that time.

Dec. 10.—A search. We are undressed to the skin and a German Sub-Lieutenant is searching our things. He searches thoroughly, fulfilling his "sacred duty." He takes away from us paper, books, knives, tobacco, and a multitude of little things. The Commander looks confused. He stands aside, taking no part in the procedure. He received an order from Berlin. We are forbidden to enter other inclosures. At our doors sentinels are placed. If we try to talk to the workingmen repairing our barracks we are bound to the post. The post is a common punishment. We are not allowed in the city. We are living not in a camp, but in a jail. The mail arrived, parcels and letters. From the tin boxes of the conserves nothing but the keys remain. I show them to the Commander. He vaguely spreads his hands: "What can I do? It's war!" Besides the keys I received a roll of wool and several oranges.

Dec. 25.—We celebrated Christmas in the camp. On the table we spread a cover, we cut flowers from paper, and we bought in the store biscuit and ham. At midnight, when in France the bells rang, we sang the "Marseillaise," and then the Allies' hymns. The guards made it appear that they did not hear.

Jan. 27.—Kaisergeburtstag—the Kaiser's birthday! Is this not the reason why our money was taken away from us? Now we have a right to keep with us a sum not exceeding 10 francs. In Merezburg, on account of the celebration, the military orchestra played "Deutschland über Alles" and "Ich Bin Ein Prusse." The guards communicate to us news that does not appear in the newspapers. "England has been surrounded by 2,000 submarines; 400 Zeppelins recently attacked London. Verdun—kaput! Paris—kaput! There is a rumor: President Poincaré wrote a letter to Wilhelm praying for peace. Half a million Russians captured." We answer: "So, so! Kolossal!" But Mohammed-ben-Halil, a twenty-year-old Algiers sharpshooter, cannot control him-

self and shouts in broken French: "Toi —kaput! Brot—kaput! Germany—kaput!" Poor Mohammed! He is always in a state of hunger.

Feb. 1.—We scarcely see the English at all, but the Arabs and Russians are our neighbors. The Arabs sit immovable on the floor all day long. They seldom converse among themselves. Still more rarely do they speak to us, and never ask any questions of the Germans. One day a Turkish Colonel came from Berlin. The Arabs were mustered out in their inclosure and told of the holy war. When the speaker finished, one hodgah said: "Monsieur speaks well in Egyptian, but not all of us understand that language. We beg Monsieur to speak in French." The same day the Colonel departed.

The Russians are a sociable and smart lot. Many of them have already learned the necessary French words, and they rather freely express themselves in German. They are ready for everything. You wish to boil some potatoes? A Russian will do it. You wish to fry a herring? A Russian will fry it for you. The Russian will make you a mandolin from tin boxes. He will carve a most exquisite plaything from a piece of wood, and from a horseshoe he will forge a cross. The Russian is more hungry than the Frenchman or Englishman. He receives no parcels. He has no money at all. And how submissively, how patiently, he bears his burden. Every day he prays to God. "What do you pray about every day?" I asked one Russian. "I pray to God to forgive my sins." The Russians are children. And how little do we know these children!

Feb. 10.—The bread ration has been reduced to 300 grams per man, while according to the Geneva Convention we should get not less than half a kilo a day, this not counting meat, sugar, coffee, and vegetables. We are promised in compensation for it two extra soups a week, the privilege of smoking from 10 to 11 in the morning and from 3 to 4 in the afternoon. Our menu now consists of tapioca dissolved in water, salted codfish, and sausages of fish. We get almost no meat at all.

It is snowing. The quarters are enveloped in white, and because of it our life has become still more monotonous. Merezburg cannot be seen now. It is drowned in the snowflakes. Tomorrow will be Sunday. For the hundredth time the burghers will come to examine us as if we were beasts. When, finally, shall we return home? Or, really, is it—"Leave all hope behind, you who enter here"?

An Interned Belgian's Story

A Letter by René Bourgeois

A Foot Chasseur Interned in Holland

More than 12,000 Belgian soldiers who fought the Germans and later escaped into Holland are interned in the Dutch prison camp at Zeist, where they must remain until peace is declared. The letter here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was written to an American friend by one of these unfortunate—or fortunate—young Belgians. Among their diversions is the publication of a six-page daily newspaper, each letter of which is drawn with a pen, the pages then being printed from photo-process plates.

IN accordance with your request I am going to relate the events which preceded our internment. You doubtless know that the European armies—except that of England—are not composed of volunteer soldiers as in America, but of young men called to the colors in their twentieth year. I was therefore called upon to serve in the Belgian Army in 1910 and assigned to a regiment of Foot Chasseurs quartered at Mons in the Department of Hainault. I remained there eighteen months, after which I spent two and a half years in civil life, when I was summoned out by the mobilization of Aug. 1, 1914.

Nobody in Belgium believed that there would be war, for we had already been

through similar crises in 1906 and in 1911, and everybody hoped that the diplomats would be able to smooth matters over. So you can imagine our surprise when Germany rejected all arrangements and declared war on all her neighbors. The great European drama had commenced!

Being at Mons, we were immediately ordered to the vicinity of Namur, and thence to Brabant, to protect the regiments which were retiring from Liége. We had some skirmishes with advance guards of the Uhlans and with the soldiers of von Kluck, who had commenced to besiege Namur. From Brabant we had to retire to the fortified outskirts

N°42 6 PAGES 5 CENT DIMANCHE

LE COURRIER

: JOURNAL DES INTERNÉS :

ADMINISTRATION CAMP DE ZEIST

RÉDACTION L.J. DELREZ. DEROUX QUINTENS. VERBIST. WÈVE

CE QUE NE VIT PAS LE VOYAGEUR

Dans nos bergeries alsiens parmi les rues de cette charmante petite ville d'Amersfoort, je fis la rencontre un jour d'un voyageur. Je serais bien embarrassé de dire bien...

au camp de Zeist. En fait, vos promenades bucoliques et vaguement sentimentales parmi la bruyère en fleur et les sapins odorants vous ont certes, vous conduit en vue du camp de Zeist.

Eh bien, monsieur le voyageur, quelle a dû être votre impression lorsque vous vous

Certes notre de Zeist n'est guère les jou nos pensées quent encore Mais ce sont blessent un no

DAILY NEWSPAPER, ALL HAND-LETTERED, ISSUED BY BELGIAN PRISONERS IN HOLLAND

of Antwerp, where we were set to work to put the fortifications in a state of defense.

Meanwhile we made occasional incursions into the German lines, they being then at Malines. On Aug. 23 we fought the first great battle in open country. My regiment recaptured the village of Eppeghem, but could not advance any further because the Germans had intrenched themselves and we could not dislodge them. The battle lasted until Aug. 25, when we withdrew into our fortifications. On the 29th the Germans came to attack us, but as we were expecting them they were well received. Three thousand of their number left their bones on this field of battle. On Sept. 8 we made a second sortie with a view to preventing the Germans from sending reinforcements to the Marne, where the French were engaged in giving them a thorough beating. The battle lasted until Sept. 12, and the losses were terrible on both sides. I saw two of my most intimate friends fall and believed that they were dead, but learned later that they were only wounded and had been picked up by the German ambulances. They were cared for in Brussels and are now, both of them, in a prison camp at Soldau, in Hanover, Germany.

On Sept. 24 we were sent to Termonde to prevent the Germans from crossing the Escaut. We threw them back with heavy losses. We then learned that the Boches were attacking the fortifications of Antwerp. It would take too long to relate now all that happened during the defense of Antwerp. I will only state that it was terrible. We were placed between the forts of Wavre-Sainte-Catherine and Wharem. The Germans, who had unrivaled artillery, sprinkled us with shells of all calibres, and as our armament was not to be compared with theirs we were compelled to evacuate the first lines of defense and the forts, which no longer existed.

The greater part of the Belgian army then withdrew from Antwerp and cer-

tain divisions were placed to cover their retreat. I was among the latter contingent, and on Oct. 9 we were still on the right bank of the Escaut. All the bridges and pontoons had been destroyed and no further resistance was possible. If we had remained we should have fallen into the hands of the Germans, who already occupied Antwerp; our officers decided to march to the north and try to reach the Dutch frontier. We experienced great difficulties, for many of the roads were occupied by the enemy. Finally, after toiling all night in a forced march, we reached neutral territory, where our arms were taken from us and we were interned behind barbed wires.

When shall we see the end of this long exile? Will it be this year? Most probably not, for I think that the war will still last for a long time. The military situation is improving each day to our advantage. For some time we have had a new ally, and before long I believe that other neutral countries will range themselves on our side. Let us hope and expect it. My brother is still in the Belgian army on the Yser, and is in good health. He has lots of pluck. I hope that in a short time the German lines will be broken by the allied forces.

As I told you in my last letter, I had to appear before the Dutch Counsel of War for attempted escape, and was sentenced to two months of military prison; but, as I had already served three months of preventive imprisonment in a special barracks, I was liberated soon after my trial and was returned to my old barracks, where I found all my friends. Here it is always about the same thing day after day. The time drags heavily through these long hours of captivity. I spend my time studying the English language, or we talk of the war or read the daily communiqués, &c.

By this mail I am sending you two copies of The Courier of the Camp, a little paper printed by ourselves and giving an accurate account of our life and occupations during these long hours of exile and captivity. Also a copy of The Gazette of the Ardennes, a paper printed in French by the Germans and distributed throughout the territory they have "swallowed up." If we were to believe them, it is we who commenced the war, we who committed the massacres in France and in Belgium! Let us have patience! The hour of chastisement is about to strike for these barbarians.

The following extract from an article in Le Courrier entitled "What the Traveler Did Not See" gives an added glimpse of the daily life of these prisoners and of the spirit in which they are facing their ordeal. It is a reply to a tourist who had expressed pity for the prisoners:

"O traveler," I would have said, "we understand the thoughts which a view of the Camp of Zeist inspires in your soul. Your generous heart gave vent to words of pity. You were moved at the sight of our wretchedness; you are entitled to our gratitude. Nevertheless, we have no use for your compassion. 'No, thank you,' as Cyrano would have said. You thought you saw, and yet you saw nothing. Certainly our forced encampment at Zeist is not brought about with a view to make us regret the happy days of the past. True, our hearts are homesick; they repeatedly and ever think of our dear homes. But those are sentiments which do not weaken our willpower nor our courage. We are unhappy, of course, as any man is whom destiny separates from his loved ones, but this sentiment is exclusively personal to each interned man. This state of the soul, inherent to human nature, permits other sentiments to exist in the mass of those you saw behind the double rows of barbed wire, oh, sympathetic stranger. These sentiments are courage, duty, example, and hope.

"It is courage which enables these men to support the grief of being separated from their wives and children, and which enables them to resist the knowledge of their uselessness. It is duty which makes them support this situation with stoicism and with an admirable resignation. It is example which they vaguely feel they ought to show to others, to those who are suffering in their occupied fatherland. Lastly, it is hope—hope which you did not see, oh, traveler,

in their veiled look of melancholy, to use your expression. It is this hope which enables them to overlook their petty miseries of internment, and which keeps their hearts warm.

"They look back on the gloom of the dark days which have gone by, and they salute the radiant dawn which illumines the horizon. They have the presentiment that soon the victory of right over force will restore their country to them. They know that the future is opening out full of promise for a Belgium which will rise from its ashes more beautiful than ever. No, traveler, if those you beheld were unhappy—oh, the moral sufferings of these two years!—today the sky has brightened, and timid hope has become strengthened by certainty. Look! the clouds have passed away! The gaze of the interned is directed toward the azure sky!"

A Sample of the German Imperialistic Spirit

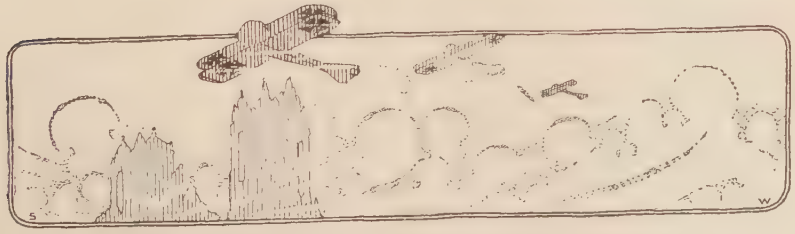
[Translated from La Nacion, Buenos Aires, Sept. 6, 1916]

Baron von Stengel, Professor at Munich, who was one of the German delegates at The Hague Conference, accepting an invitation from the Anti-War League of Holland to give his opinion on the subject of a future peace conference, has replied as follows:

It would be completely superfluous, because it is beyond all doubt that the final and decisive victory must rest and will rest with Germany. Then we shall be in a position to restrain all the enemies of peace, and to win and maintain permanent peace; the only peace that will be assured, alike for ourselves and for all civilized humanity. The war has demonstrated, throughout its course, that we, the Germans, have been chosen by Providence, from among all earth's peoples, to put ourselves at the head of all the civilized nations and guide them to a sure peace under our protection. For this we possess not only the necessary power and force, but also, in the highest degree, the intellectual gifts requisite, and we are the flower of the entire creation's Kultur. Consequently, it has been reserved for us to do what no nation hitherto has been able to do—to give all the world peace.

From this it follows that it is useless to engage in any labors on behalf of peace, because we, the Germans, with our domination over our turbulent neighbors, shall assume also the duty of policing peace. We shall be in a position to destroy in the germ all hostility to peace.

Subjection to our guardianship, which is in every sense superior to any other, is the surest and the only road to prosperity for every nation, and especially for the neutrals. The best thing they can do is to unite voluntarily with us and rest on us. In these times, so difficult for those who are isolated, it is proper and prudent for them to unite themselves with one powerful head. To make one's self worthy of a powerful hereditary seigneur is to sow seed for the future. No people is richer in sentiment and in ideals than are we, the Germans. Therefore, under our protection, all international law is perfectly superfluous; for, by our own natural instinct, we give each his own.



Typical German War Surgery

By Dr. H. M. Richter

Professor in Northwestern University Medical School, Chicago

[An interview for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

I RETURNED just a few weeks ago from some six months in a military hospital in Central Germany. I was in one of the ten units sent out up to that time by the American Physicians' Expedition Committee, a purely voluntary organization, by the way. Each of the first three units took along surgical instruments and supplies. Now the units take with them funds for the purchase of these things in Germany and Austria, for the very good reason that England has prevented their being carried into these countries.

These American surgical units work in the German and Austrian military hospitals, which are of three sorts. The field hospitals at the front take the worst cases. The etapen (from the French word for halting place) hospitals receive those who can be moved in automobile ambulances out of range, say, six, eight, or twenty miles back. The reserve hospitals (Americans are apt to speak of base hospitals in this sense) are distributed through the country from fifty to two hundred miles from both the east and west fronts, and are on railroad lines. Each group of buildings can care for from 1,000 to 10,000 patients. Before a transport train arrives in a hospital town the men have been classified and tagged according to the seriousness of the injury of each, and they are distributed by their tags.

In the days that follow, transfers based on further examination may occur. But, within two hours from the time of unloading, every patient is in bed, and a board on his bed bears his record, I mean his name, his position in the army, and the character of his injury. The wärter (attendants or orderlies) in these hospitals are soldiers detailed for this duty. Moving vans have been converted into transport wagons, and one of them can carry twelve patients on stretchers and six standing or sitting. On arrival the surgeons and nurses remove bandages, note the condition of wounds, put on new bandages or order operation, and within twelve to twenty-four hours every man has been attended to.

How did we treat infected wounds? Well, at the beginning of the war it was hoped that first-aid dressing would prevent infections with the consequent pus and gangrene. But it was found that practically all wounds were infected. More than 90 per cent. of them are wounds from shell fragments. The explosive shell means irregular fragments penetrating the tissues, carrying clothing into them, and so rending and tearing them that the tissues themselves are killed. Wounds from rifle bullets heal kindly, but only a few of these are seen. There were a larger proportion of these from the Somme than from Verdun, but even there they were few in number. Sabre wounds are rare. In hand-to-hand fighting hand-grenades are generally used. The Cossacks use lances and sabres.

The type of wound is new, and a better technic has been evolved, but nothing revolutionary. The hyposulphites used in our own civil war have been used again to some extent, but none of the antiseptics have proved of extraordinary value. The characteristic treatment of infected wounds—you know I just now said that practically all of them were infected—is about this: Opening the wounds widely, leaving them open to the air, letting the surface dry up, no dressings to interfere with the escape of secretions, use of continuous hot water baths for great lacerated wounds. Men with these big wounds live in the bathtub two or three weeks, eat their meals there, sleep there on an air pillow. To remove infectious materials from the deep parts of wounds, rubber tubes are sutured in

CAPTAIN BOELKE

Germany's Most Famous War Aviator, Who Shot Down Forty Allied Aeroplanes Before He met His Own Death in an Air Battle.

(© *Central News Photo Service.*)

BELGIUM'S CHIEF DEFENDER

General de Witte, Commander of the Belgian Army in the Field. Has Held Back the Germans in Flanders for Twenty Months.

(© *International Film Service.*)

place and a continuous stream of sterilized water is passed through the tubes and wound. Various solutions, such as sodium hyposulphite, were tried, but for the wide-open wound plain sterile water gave better results than more complicated processes. Many hundreds of cases of compound and complicated fractures that passed through the hospital were treated in this manner. If the patient had to be kept in bed instead of in the bathtub, then the wound was irrigated from above and the water drained off through a trough of rubber.

There was not one case of non-union among these soldiers in our hospital. In civil life infected fractures commonly give a material percentage of cases where bony union fails. Yet with all the care that is taken, in infections of the large joints of the body, particularly of the hip, knee, and shoulder joints, many extremities are sacrificed because the infection of these large spaces cannot be controlled. But you must remember that these joints are specially susceptible of infection.

I have frequently been asked about the mortality from injuries, but there is really no way of estimating this mortality. In the first place, the patients in the field hospital (lazaret) are too badly wounded to be carried further away, and the mortality is high. Then in the etapen hospitals the mortality is high, too, for these take care of the wounds of the brain and abdomen. Those considered in danger of dying are kept in one of these two places. On the other hand, the patients in the third, or reserve, class of hospital show by the records a comparatively low mortality. In more than six months that I observed the reserve hospital where I was stationed the mortality was less than 1 per cent. In our civil war the mortality of compound fractures above or below the knee was 25 per cent.

Now as to feeding—in Germany the Government regulates the amount of food to the individual. In Summer the man at the front gets 170 grams of meat daily, and the patient in the hospital who is allowed a full meat diet by his doctor gets 140 grams of it each day. The men in the hospitals get any food that is ordered for them, alcohol-free beer is provided, and also alcohol beer if ordered.

We Americans are aware of certain forms of German preparedness, but I found some surprises. Before the first patient reaches the hospital each man's complete hospital equipment is placed at his bed. There is extreme specialization in the different buildings with reference to the class of cases admitted; for instance, a whole building may receive only gross mechanical injuries of the nerves, (such as severed nerves that must be sewed,) or still another hysteria only. These hysteria cases are mainly men who were in trenches when a shell exploded, and may have seen the whole group around them killed, or were themselves blown to some distance by the force of the explosion.

Besides all this there are the schools, of which you know something, for teaching the injured to take up their previous trades or new ones. This may be done for patients paralyzed in their extremities. If possible a man is re-educated to his old trade. A tailor is taught to sew with two or three fingers, or a machinist uses an artificial device instead of a lost hand. Of the teachers in these schools, a few who superintend are not soldiers nor patients, but the direct overseer is usually some wounded soldier capable of teaching, as, for example, a tailor turned soldier who had had his leg hurt. But it takes a teacher and a tailor to teach a maimed man tailoring. In one school I saw the teaching of tailoring, cabinetmaking, printing, engraving, bookbinding, basketry, as well as of foundry work and of the machinist's trade.

The War Doctor's Perilous Task

LORD NORTHCLIFFE IN THE LONDON TIMES

WE are so accustomed to consider doctors as part of our daily lives, or as workers in speckless and palatial hospitals, that we have hardly yet visualized the man who shares the hell of the front trench with the fighters, armed only with two panniers of urgent drugs, instruments, and field dressings, his acetylene lamp and electric torch. Most of us think of his war work as being accomplished at one of the great healing places at the base.

If there be degrees of chivalry, the highest award should be accorded to the medical profession, which at once forsook its lucrative practices in London, or Melbourne, or Montreal, in a great rally of self-sacrifice. The figures of the casualties among them bring home to those who have only the big hospital idea of the war doctor sad facts that should lead to due understanding of this not sufficiently known veritable body of Knights Templar in the great crusade. For the last three months, in the Royal Army Medical Corps alone, I account them according to the figures published in The Times from day to day:

Officers killed	53
Officers wounded	208
Officers missing	4

Noncommissioned officers and men (Royal Army Medical Corps only):

Killed	260
Wounded	1,212
Missing	3

I propose to set down the order in which our medical service arranges its chain of responsibility, premising my account by the statement that the medical army of today exceeds numerically the whole British military force overseas before the outbreak of war.

It is a little difficult and complex to explain. I find that there is some confusion in the public mind as to the regimental work, that of the Royal Army Medical Corps, and their handmaidens the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John. But there is no confusion or overlapping in the zone of hostilities. In the preparations for the great battle of the Somme Sir Douglas Haig, thorough in this as in every other detail, himself co-operated with the medical services in arranging his regimental aid posts, his casualty clearing stations, and the rest of them as systematically as his batteries, his ammunition "dumps," and his reserves.

Regimental Aid Post

First in the order of danger is the regimental aid post, where the regimental doctor, with his stretcher bearers, awaits, alongside the men who are to clamber "over the top," the bloody fruits of battle. In the early days of the war, before we had discovered the secret or had the means to blast our road into Germany by ceaseless shells, the regimental aid post was, as a rule, in some deserted farmhouse as near to the front trench as possible. Today, as we advance, our guns leave nothing standing, so that what was once perhaps a château is now only a stretch of rubble. There is therefore but little available cover for the doctors or the others before "consolidation."

The intensity of the French and German artillery at Verdun in March seemed to me then the limit of human capacity to produce noise and destruction. But the Somme bombardment actually furrows or flattens all before it. Verdun itself could not exist a week if exposed to the present French and British cannonade. Its intensity of sound is so great that at times the very earth shakes beneath one's feet.

The doctor has today probably only the shelter of one of our own trenches or any little part that may remain of a captured German trench. There is no other covering for him and his brave stretcher bearers, who are at once his nurses and his orderlies. Happily not so many of these are fired upon by the enemy as heretofore; for, as the Prussians have realized that our artillery is the most deadly thing in the history of war, they have

become a good deal more reasonable and human. Now that their own wounded greatly outnumber ours on almost every occasion, their doctors and stretcher bearers often advance with a sheet or towel held high on a rifle as a flag of truce in order that they may collect their wounded and we ours. In the early days of the war similar suggesions on our part were haughtily and contemptuously refused. And so the advanced medical forces on both sides are at last sparing the wounded a good deal of the drawn-out horrors of No Man's Land.

Swift Work of Surgeons

The fine young men with the English, Scotch, Irish, Canadian, and Australian accents who stand unarmed in these regimental aid posts work with an intensity and celerity which eclipse even that of the surgeons in London's operating theatres.

The stretcher bearers stagger in with their load. There is a lightning diagnosis, an antiseptic application, bandaging, a hastily written label tied to the man's breast, and the wounded one is borne off and away in the open to the next stage, the advanced dressing station, which is as often as not also pushed right up into the fire zone. The regimental stretcher bearers therefore begin again another dangerous pilgrimage rearward.

As there is much ignorance in the public mind on the subject of casualties, it should be well realized that by far the greater proportion of our wounded are slightly hit, and are "walking cases," so little hurt that in innumerable instances where the stretcher bearers themselves have fallen they have been carried by the slightly wounded soldiers.

I know no more moving experience than an afternoon in an advanced dressing station. Let me describe that of West Péronne. Its location is changed now, so I am giving the enemy no information. We reached it on a heavy and sultry Sunday afternoon by hiding ourselves behind anything possible. Dust and smoke gave the atmosphere of a coming thunderstorm; the thudding of the guns on both sides was incessant. Now and then was heard the brisk note of a machine gun, which sounds for all the world like a boy rasping a stick along palings or the rattle which policemen carried in Mid-Victorian days.

There was no sign of anything in the nature of a hospital, a tent, or of anything above ground. I was getting somewhat weary of being told to lie down flat every few seconds to avoid bursting shells, when I saw a couple of stretcher bearers coming through the haze as from nowhere and then disappear under ground. "It is underneath there," I was told by my guide, whose daily duty it was to inspect these medical outposts.

As quickly as possible we got down into a trench and followed the stretcher bearers. There in darkness, lit by a few candles, we gradually made out a very grim scene. Talking was difficult, for one of our batteries had just come into action a few yards away.

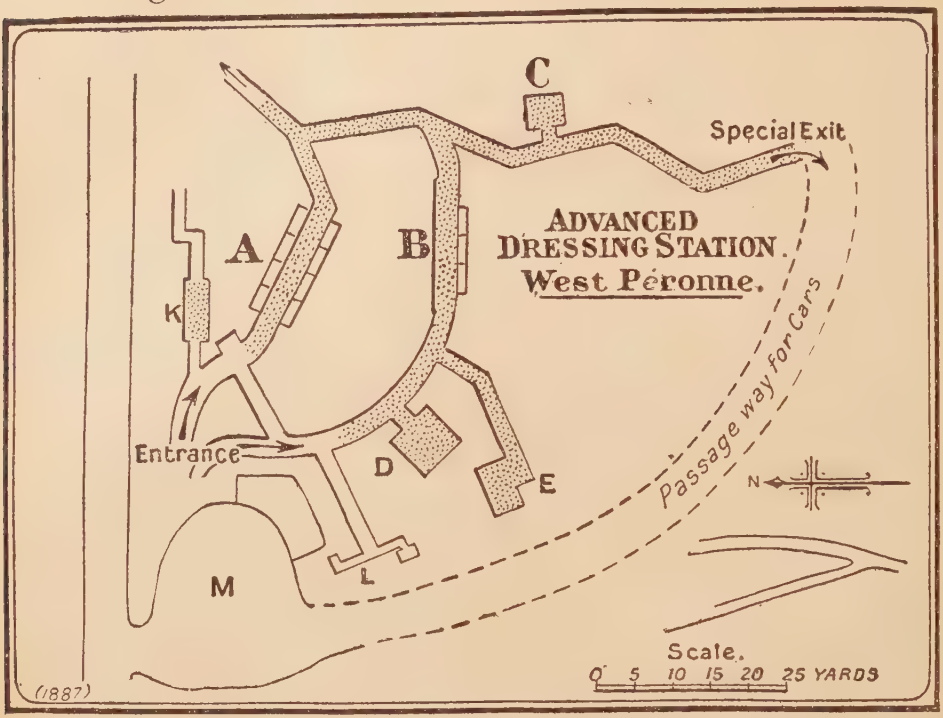
Owing to the heavy enemy shell fire what I soon found to be an underground maze—a plan of which I print herewith—had become completely blocked with wounded men lying in the dark on their stretchers, the passageways dug out of the clayish earth being just the width of a stretcher handle and no more. We trod gently from stretcher handle to stretcher handle over the silent men, some of them asleep with the blessed morphia in their brains, others cheerily smiling, others staring as wounded men do. All who could move a hand had a cigarette—now admitted to be the first need of all but the very dangerously wounded.

Shells Falling Overhead

Passing on, and using our electric torch as little as possible, so as not to disturb the sleepers, we came to the main dressing room. Remember it was all under ground, all dark, and that the oncoming wail of approaching shells, with immediate subsequent explosions, was continuous.

In this main dressing room the doctors, all young men, some of them subalterns of the Royal Army Medical Corps, were washing and bandaging with the care and speed that can be seen in the Somme film. I counted twenty-four patients in that small chamber. We crept onward and came to another room where there

Underground Trench Hospital on Firing Line



(A) Main dressing room, 18 yards long, 4 bays on each side for 3 stretchers each; (B) second dressing room, 20 yards long, 3 bays on south side for 3 stretchers each, both about 5 feet under ground; (C) new dugout for 4 special cases; (D) and (E) (office and mess room) covered against shrapnel only; (K) kitchen; (L) lavatory; (M) turning place and standing ground for cars.

were nine cases, and again to a smaller one where lay the more dangerously wounded.

These dressing rooms were protected by some four or five feet of earth above them. There was a small officers' mess and a medical storeroom, which were merely shielded by corrugated iron from shrapnel splinters, a kitchen, an office, and that was about all. An operation for tracheotomy was taking place in one of the dressing rooms.

In my many experiences abroad I have never seen a more touching sight than this little underground gathering of some seventy men, devoted doctors and assistants, waiting amid the incessant shelling until the overcrowded maze could be evacuated. Let those who take their ease on a Sunday afternoon, or any other afternoon, realize that this same scene never ceases. Let those who consider they are amply doing their "bit" by keeping things going at home be grateful that their "bit" is not as these young men's.

One or two of the patients were shell-shock victims, and it was piteous to note their tremor at the approaching shell wails and subsequent thuds just outside our little catacomb.

The plan above gives a suggestion of the ingenuity with which the Royal Army Medical Corps officers have converted a bit of an old German trenchwork to the purposes of an underground hospital and home for the doctors and their assistants.

The shelling increased in intensity. It became obvious that we had to remain concealed till the storm had stopped. In the interval we discussed things about wounded men. We learned that quite a considerable proportion of them had dressed their own wounds with the little

first field dressing that is sewn into the tunic of every soldier. Others had got along well enough with the medical help of regimental stretcher bearers. The rest had been tended at the regimental aid posts to which I referred.

With the Walking Wounded

Presently the Germans diverted the attention of their gunners to another point of the line, and we were able to emerge into daylight once more and join a small company of lightly wounded and stretcher bearers on their way to a walking wounded collecting station. I name all these distinct stages in the progress of the wounded man in order to show how carefully the system has been thought out and organized. It is a tribute to the foresight of our medical authorities that all this vast scheme had been arranged before the war.

On our way rearward to the walking wounded collecting station we were passed by some horse ambulances which, summoned by telephone, were proceeding to the underground hospital we had just left. On our way we escaped the only enemy aeroplane attack that came to my notice during this visit to the front. An officer and a few men were wounded. It speaks eloquently for the celerity with which our casualties are cleared when I tell you that on that same evening, many miles away in the rear, I saw this particular wounded officer sitting in bed nonchalantly enjoying his dinner. By the next day, I was told, he would probably be in England.

The walking wounded collecting station consisted of marquees in which a considerable number of Tommies of all dialects were partaking of a hearty meal. As each arrived his name and regimental number were entered, with particulars of his case. Where necessary his dressings were rearranged, and in every case a cigarette was offered. Prodigious quantities of tea, cocoa, soup, bread, butter, and jam were disappearing. Despite the bandaged heads and arms of some and the limping of others, they were a merry, if tired, party. Eagerly and in vigorous and unprintable Anglo-Saxon one of them said: "I want to have another smack at the —— Allemans." In a tent was a wounded officer, famous in the world of big game, (scarred as the result of a miraculous escape from an African elephant,) who, though covered with blood, had only one anxiety, and that was to have his wound dressed, get a bath, and return to his men in time for the next "stunt"—to use an abominable Americanism which has grown weedlike into our war language. Two days before, this walking wounded collecting station had been shelled by the enemy. By a strange stroke of fortune the only victims were a large number of German prisoners.

Casualty Clearing Houses

We shared the soldiers' meals, listened to their stories—each one of them a full adventure, in peace time—and continued baseward, accompanied by motor ambulances in which sitting cases were carried, to a great corps collecting station, a veritable Clapham Junction of the evacuating system.

To prevent mistakes, each man's label is checked at every point he arrives at with as much care as a registered letter on its way through the post. There is no red tape, and nothing is left to chance. There is no lost time. It is never forgotten that pain is ever present and that saving time may mean saving life. But even though we have not yet come to that link in the chain—the hospital which is kept neat and burnished by the hand of woman—all is well arranged and spotlessly clean. Many dressings were being re-examined and many wounds again attended to.

Here I saw the field operating theatre nearest to the battle. It was in a spotless tent with a table, a powerful acetylene lamp, chloroform, and instruments—all ready. Operations in the field are a rare exception in the British Army. The matter of their necessity has been discussed and rediscussed. There are arguments for and against. But Sir Arthur Sloggett, General Macpherson, and the famous surgeons we have at the front, with Sir Alfred Keogh at home, may be relied upon to know their business to the tips of their fingers.

Resuming our journey with the ambulances, we came, after an hour's halting

journey through the dust and the A. S. C. convoys, to a casualty clearing station—the first hospital of a kind visualized by the general public.

One of these clearing stations was a large old water mill, which had been transformed into a most beautiful hospital. I reached it in time to witness the arrival of the ambulances. Out of them came all manner of wounded, British and German. Friend and foe were treated alike. They were just wounded men—that was all. Such as could walk by themselves, or with the help of orderlies, came out dazed into the sunlight from the ambulances. The Germans, who had for days been trenchbound by our barrage, were, as a rule, horribly dirty and impossible to approach for physical reasons. Later, at another hospital, I saw gently born V. A. D. nurses washing great unbathed wounded Prussians and Bavarians.

Here, in this mill casualty clearing station, the broken soldiers came for the first time under the influence and gentle touch and consoling smile of women nurses. Many of the men had been in and about the firing line for weeks, several of the Germans for longer than that. I talked with some of the enemy who had arrived a day or two before in what must have seemed a fairy palace. Some spoke of the care, kindness, good food, flowers, and music (the gramophone never stops) which were provided. As a rule they are grateful—at any rate at first. Some are very grateful. One officer used the word "lovingly," (liebvoll,) and "lovingly" it must seem, for nothing is more marked in inspecting German hospitals, even such an establishment as the Rudolf Virchow Hospital in Berlin, than to notice the roughness of the surgery, the callousness shown in making remarks before patients, and the inferiority of the undertrained nurses.

Nurses Toil Night and Day

It is impossible to convey in words the amazing, tireless activity of the nurses and doctors. I did not know that human beings could work so many hours without sleep at the most anxious kind of work the world provides. No wonder that the women sometimes break down and require hostels and rest homes. Yet during a number of war visits I have met with not one complaint from any member of any medical staff in the field or elsewhere. There is, on the other hand, the same continuous enthusiasm throughout the medical service as one sees in the great boot factory at Calais, or the vast motor repair shop in Paris, or our transport from Havre to the front. The stimulus of war seems to double the energy of every human being as soon as he lands in France.

At this great casualty clearing station by the railway the hospital trains were collecting. When we had been shown through the cool tents and had talked with men we happened to know, we went on to the newly made railway platform where the stretchers were being assembled. It was a scene almost of gayety.

I do not know whether any one has written an account of these trains, the doctors and nurses who live in them year in and year out, traveling thousands of miles in the course of a twelvemonth, but some one should do so. My own information is as yet so scanty as to be little worth reading. Of the wonderful hospital barges, too, which, whenever possible, are used on the wide French rivers and canals to carry cases that cannot stand any shaking, not enough has been said.

Miles of Hospital Huts

On a later day I saw the arrival of one such train at one of those hospitals which look out on the sea and are situated on the Northern French coast, which long before the war was recognized as a great healing place. The medical journals tell their readers in their own language of these wonderful hospitals—converted casinos and hotels and miles of perfectly equipped huts. Our hospitals in France are a world of their own. I do not know how many women and men they employ, but I should say more than 100,000. In the Etaples district alone there are 35,000 beds. Canada, Australia, New Zealand,

Newfoundland, India, and the whole of the empire have given with both hands.

Those of the wounded who can be made well quickly enough—and they are, of course, the immense majority—go back to their war duties at the front, some eagerly, all without murmuring. As they lie there in these wonderful huts, in which every provision for speedy convalescence, for happiness, and reasonable amusement are afforded, tended as they are by the best surgeons and physicians of the English-speaking world, and by ladies simply and gently born, they all tell you the same story—they would like to get a glimpse of "Blighty" (Britain) before going back again to fight.

I went on board one of the white hospital ships, marked against submarines on each side with a huge red cross, to see them going home. Arriving on the quay in the British Red Cross and St. John ambulances, and gently carried, with the peculiar, slightly swaying walk of the trained stretcher bearer, they pass on to the ship and descend in lifts to the particular deck on which is their cot or bed. There can be nothing of the kind in the world better than these speedy, perfectly lit and ventilated vessels.

As I watched the swift ship and saw her speeding away to England at well over twenty knots, I wondered if people and politicians at home are beginning to understand that the bravery and camaraderie of the officers and men in the field have broken down all class feeling; that our millions of men abroad are changed communities of whose thoughts and aims we know but little.

Just as Grant's soldiers, the Grand Army of the Republic, dominated the elections in the United States for a quarter of a century, so will the men I have seen in the trenches and the ambulances come home and demand by their votes the reward of a very changed England—an England they will fashion and share; an England that is likely to be as much a surprise to the present owners of capital and leaders of labor as it may be to the owners of the land.

German Trench Villages Forty Feet Under Ground

Since the Anglo-French drive on the Somme has burst through the entire system of original German trench fortifications there has been revealed the most elaborate method of housing active troops ever evolved in the history of warfare. Twenty, thirty, even forty feet below the surface of the ground the allied soldiers have found these villages, lighted with electricity, and with spacious quarters for officers and men. The appended article and sketches are by British engineering officers at the Picardy front.

ALONG many miles of the western front, as it was till the end of June, you can now do what seems to trench dwellers almost the utmost reach of impossibility. You can stand at your ease in the middle of No Man's Land and look at a German front trench on your right and a French or British front trench on your left. As soon as you do so you feel that the outward face of each wears a quite different expression.

It is not merely an accident that the Allies' wire is only cut across by neat lanes or gangways at convenient intervals, while the German wire lies in a trampled mess on the ground. The difference goes much further. For one thing, the Allies support their barbed wire mainly with wooden stakes; the Germans do it with iron. For another, the Allies' parapet owes much more of its strength to visible sandbags. The Germans build with sandbags, too, but not so much nor so openly. Their parapet makes more show of rough clay or chalk, even where a light layer of this covers two or more feet of reinforced concrete placed like a shrapnel helmet on the head of a dugout or a gun emplacement.

If you now leave your first standpoint and explore the two trenches in turn, and also the support and communication trenches behind each of them, you find that the difference goes, in more than one sense, deeper still. The allied trench looks in every way like the work of men who hoped and meant to move on before long; the German trench looks

German Trench Village Deep Under Ground

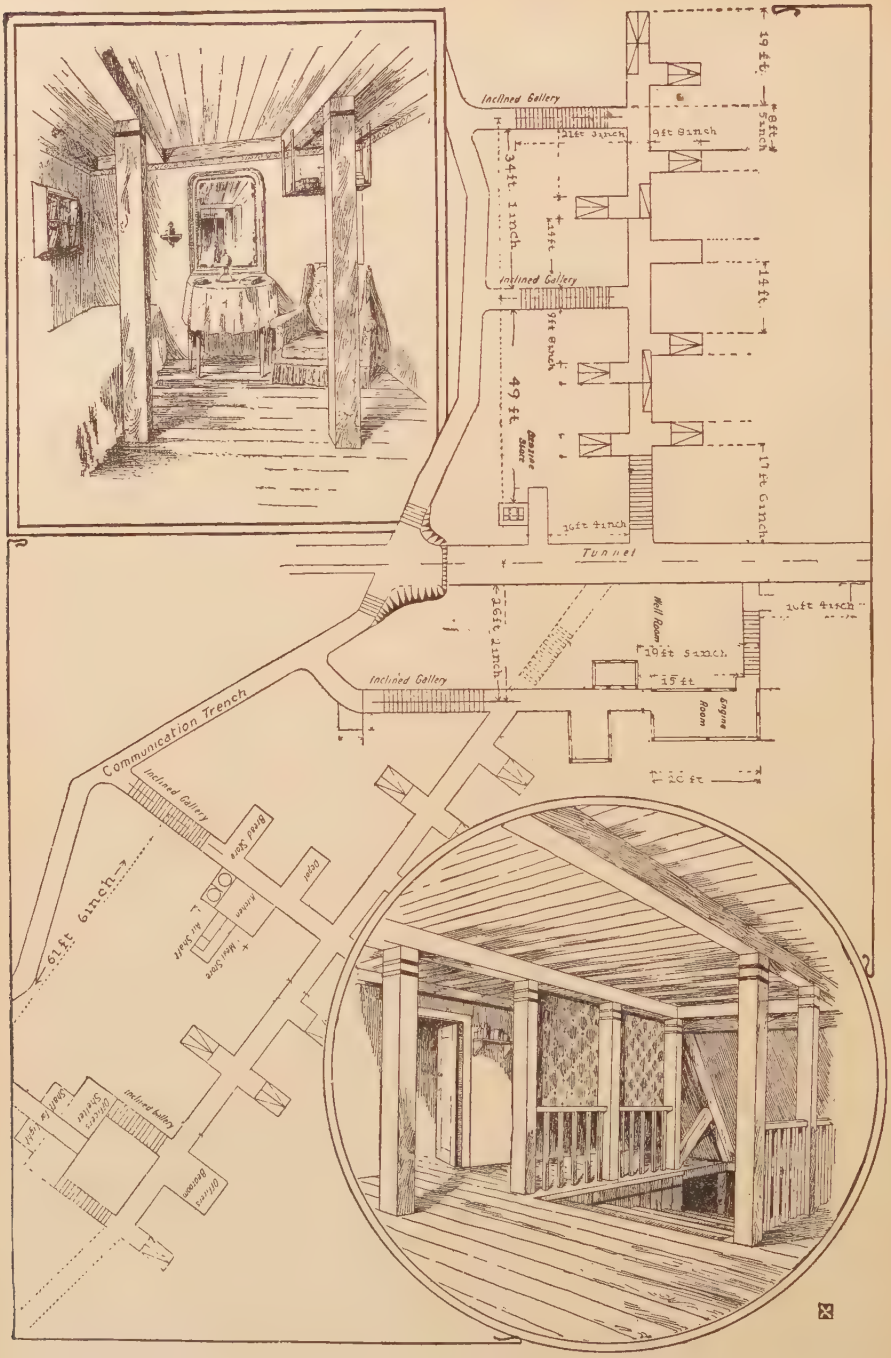


DIAGRAM OF SUBTERRANEAN VILLAGE CAPTURED ON THE SOMME FRONT. UPPER CORNER: AN OFFICER'S ROOM. LOWER CORNER: HOSPITAL 30 OR 40 FEET UNDER GROUND

like the work of men who hoped, or feared, that they would be in it for years. Our trench housing has been much more of a makeshift, a sort of camping out, with some ingenious provisions for shelter and comfort, but not more than the least that would serve. Most of our dugouts are just roughly delved holes in the earth with only enough props and rafters to hold the roofs up; their floors are bare ground, with a little straw on it; their doors, if they have any, are a few odd pieces of plank with a couple of other pieces nailed across; often the floor is on the trench level, to save burrowing. Lighting is done with candles, mostly bought at the canteen, and if any one owns an armchair or a two-foot-high mirror it is the jest of the platoon.

The whole German idea of trench life is different. The German front in the west is like one huge straggling village, built of wood, and strung out along a road 300 miles long. Of course, the houses are all under ground. Still, they are houses, of one or two floors, built to certain official designs, drawn out in section and plan. The main entrance from the trench level is, sometimes at any rate, through a steel door of a pattern apparently standardized, so that hundreds may come from the factory on one order and missing parts be easily replaced. The profusely timbered doorway is made to their measure. Outside this front door you may find a perforated sheet of metal, to serve as a doormat or scraper.

Inside, a flight of from twelve to thirty-six stairs leads down at an easy angle. The treads of the stairs and the descending roof of the staircase are formed of mining frames of stout timber, with double top sills; the walls are of thick planks notched at the top and bottom to fit the frames, and strengthened with iron tie-rods running from top to bottom of the stairs and with thick wooden struts at right angles to these. At the foot of the stairs a tunneled corridor runs straight forward, perhaps up to fifty yards, and out of this open rooms and minor passages on each side. In many dugouts a second staircase or two staircases lead to a lower floor, which may be thirty or forty feet below the trench level.

All these staircases, passages, and rooms are, in the best specimens, completely lined with wood and as fully strengthened with it as the entrance staircase already described. In one typical dugout each section of a platoon had its allotted places for messing and sleeping, its own place for parade in a passage, and its own emergency exit to the trench. In another, used as a dressing station, there are beds for thirty-two patients and a fair-sized operating room. A third, near Mametz, was designed to house a whole company of 300 men, with the needful kitchens, provision, and munition store rooms, a well, a forge riveted with sheets of cast iron, an engine room and a motor room.

Many of the captured dugouts were thus lighted by electricity. In the officers' quarters there have been found full-length mirrors, comfortable bedsteads, cushioned armchairs, and some pictures. One room is lined with glazed " sanitary " wallpaper, and the present English occupant is convinced by circumstantial evidence that his predecessor lived there with his wife and child. Clearly there was no expectation of an early removal.

Nobody who reads this should leap to the conclusion that, simply because German trench work is more elaborate than ours, it is a better means to its end—the winning of the war. No doubt the size and the overhead strength of German dugouts keep down casualties under bombardment and sometimes enable the Germans to bring up unsuspected forces to harass our troops in the rear with machine gun and rifle fire when a charge has carried our men past an uncleared dugout of the kind. On the other hand, if our advance is made good, every German left in such a dugout will be either a dead man or a prisoner.

No doubt, again, the German dugouts give more protection from very bad weather than ours. But they also remove men more from the open air, and there is nothing to show that the half-buried German army gains more by relative immunity from rheumatism and bronchitis than it loses in the way of general health.

A Spaniard's Life in German Prisons

The first half of this narrative of the prison experiences of Valentin Torras y Closa, which appeared in the November issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, related how he, a native of Spain, was made prisoner by the Germans in Northern France; how they confiscated his property and identification papers, carried him to Germany, and treated him as a Portuguese. After his escape he told his story to the Madrid correspondent of The London Telegraph, who wrote it in English for that newspaper. The concluding installments, somewhat condensed, are here reproduced.

ON Dec. 18, 1914, the Commandant received an order to send 1,000 peasants who were in the camp to Chemnitz. In Zossen civilian and military prisoners had been living together. The civilians were Belgians and French from the north and the east. A list was drawn up in which my name was included. With tears in my eyes I bade farewell to my two good friends who had assisted me so greatly in my captivity, and joined a group of those who were leaving, assembled in one corner of the camp. We were marched to the station, and on the following day we took train for Chemnitz.

Our destination was an enormous artillery barracks that was just approaching completion. We had previously been divided into companies. We were received—certainly not with any kindness, but this detail did not surprise me—by an old German Captain, who told us that we had to give up immediately any weapons that we might be carrying in our pockets. Weapons, indeed! * * *

On Jan. 6 or 7—I do not remember the exact date—I was summoned and taken to an office. A German officer with the French name of d'Avignon received me. He was sitting at a table. He was very well known to the prisoners who spent any time at Chemnitz. In precise words he inquired who I was, to what country I belonged, my name, the name of my parents, my age, and so forth. Suddenly he became angry, and I suspected that his anger was feigned. No doubt he wanted to frighten me. But my sufferings at Zossen had cured me of fear.

"You are a Portuguese fraud!" he shouted, in a voice of thunder. "Your name is not what you say!"

"I, a Portuguese!" I exclaimed, in astonishment. He was in the stronger position, but I was still hopeful. "You are mistaken," I insisted. "I am a Spaniard, a Catalan, a native of Manresa. Allow me to write to the Spanish Embassy in Berlin. The whole matter will be cleared up. Permit me also to write to my relatives, who must be very much alarmed."

A Vicious Attack

But d'Avignon had a plan. Without paying any attention to my requests he drew from a case a document in German, partly printed and partly written by hand. It was complete except for my signature; even the date had been filled in.

"Sign this," he ordered.

"I do not sign what I do not understand."

"I will translate it to you." And in bad French, stopping many times to search for a word, he read the papers to me. The upshot of it all was that I was not Valentin Torras, Spaniard, born at Manresa, but the Portuguese subject named Tonio Antuan, to whom I have previously referred. I became extremely alarmed. If they manufactured a civil status for me at their pleasure I should be irremediably lost. I decided to die rather than sign that tissue of falsehoods, which would certainly be my ruin.

"I am not Tonio Antuan, but Valentin Torras," I said firmly. "I am not a Portuguese, but a Spaniard."

"You are a Portuguese, and you are going to sign this at once!" he shouted, and taking up a fountain pen he held it out to me, rising from his chair. I jumped backward, and stood with my back to the wall, looking around in search

of a weapon of some kind. The officer watched me, and called for a soldier, who ran up with fixed bayonet. Quite calmly he stepped toward me, the pen in one hand and a revolver in the other.

"Sign this, or I will have you shot," he cried. The veins stood out on his neck, and his face was red.

"Kill me if you like," I replied.

"No; sign," he responded.

It was one of the most anxious moments of my life; I would have given anything to be out of that office. D'Avignon threw the pen upon the table, and said a word in German to the soldier. I do not know what he said, but the soldier turned round like an automaton and thrust at my throat with his bayonet. I moved slightly; the weapon struck me in the neck, and a torrent of blood flowed from the wound. I moved away from the wall, shouting. I do not know what I said, and, in any case, they could not understand me, because I was cursing them in Catalan.

In Prison Again

D'Avignon went away without saying anything. The soldier seized me roughly by the shoulders and dragged me to a cell where there was a pile of straw. With a violent shove he threw me on the straw and shut the door, leaving me alone in darkness. The blood continued to flow over my chest and shoulders, and I thought that every moment would be my last. Soon I felt a violent pricking sensation in the wound, my eyes became clouded, and I lost consciousness. How long I remained in this condition I do not know. Gradually I returned to my senses. The first thing that I was conscious of was the pain of the wound. I touched it, and found that the blood had ceased to flow. I tried to move my head, but found it very painful, and the whole of my neck was very much swollen. I had a burning thirst. I tried to speak, but only inarticulate sounds came from my throat. After one or two unsuccessful efforts, I managed to rise to my feet. I approached the door and listened. The slow steps of a sentry resounded on the floor of what was apparently a wide passage. I banged at the door, but nobody came. Then I threw myself once more upon the straw, which was red with my blood, and gave way to despair. "They want me to bleed to death, and die here like a dog," I said to myself. "My end is only a question of hours."

Night came and I no longer heard the steps of the sentry. I fell asleep, but my rest was disturbed by horrible dreams, until I was aroused by my intense thirst. I was not hungry, but had a consuming desire to drink something cold. My tongue stuck to my palate. During my captivity in Germany I have endured the two torments of thirst and hunger, and I am convinced that thirst is the more insupportable, especially if one is wounded, as I was then.

Dragging myself along the ground, for I was unable to walk, I reached the door, which I struck with hands and feet. After some time a bolt was drawn and a soldier entered. He gave me a look of surprise, said something which I did not understand, and went out, again carefully bolting the door. Once more the door opened and the soldier laid on the straw a plate containing some sort of cold soup and a piece of black bread. "Water, water, water!" I implored, speaking in German, as I knew the word. He went out and came back shortly afterward with a small jug half full of water. I seized it and drank greedily. The water was turbid, but to me it seemed pure, fresh, crystalline. It certainly put new life into me. I regained my strength and stood up. My swollen neck and the wound caused me much pain, but I thought to myself that since they had given me water, bread, and soup, they did not want me to die just yet. I devoured the bread and the soup.

I spent four days in that cell. Each morning a soldier entered with my allowance of food, and after he had left the door was not opened again until the following morning. As my neck became more and more painful I feared that gangrene would set in, and I thought of making as much noise as was possible, and even of attacking the soldier, so that I could get out of that place. In the afternoon of the fourth day a noncommissioned officer entered the cell, ordered

me to follow him, and took me to a room in which some of my former companions were. I begged to be allowed to enter the infirmary, but either because he did not understand French or because he was acting on instructions, the man only said "Nein, nein," and marched away without turning his head. My companions surrounded me and asked what had happened during my absence. I told them my adventures, and they congratulated me on having escaped with my life. A Frenchman who understood something of medicine, although he was not a doctor, said he would do what he could for me. He went to the infirmary and asked for dressings and tincture of iodine. He dressed my wound every morning, and gradually the swelling subsided. The wound closed, and today the only trace of it is an ineffaceable scar.

Life in Chemnitz

I will now say something about our life in the prisoners' camp at Chemnitz. The barracks had some immense rooms. There were vast galleries divided into compartments by partitions of wood and brick. Each compartment, which was originally intended to accommodate four horses, was occupied by sixteen men. When we arrived there were already about 4,000 prisoners, all Frenchmen, who slept upon straw that was ground almost to dust and full of parasites. That straw was a first-class source of infection, but we could not get it changed. To all our appeals the old Captain answered that the straw was too good for a pack of immoral Frenchmen such as we were. In the opinion of that officer all Frenchmen were "apaches." He did not only say so, but I believe he was absolutely convinced of it. In the course of time about 1,000 Russians arrived. They came from the Carpathians, and some of them who were able to speak a few words of French told us that during the journey, which lasted fifteen days, they had been given food no more than three times.

Our food consisted of 300 grams of bread that was mostly bran, coffee sweetened with sugar or honey, and a plate of some indefinable kind of stew, the very recollection of which turns my stomach even now. It was a mixture of rice, half-rotten potatoes, pieces of carrot, and fish. But the strangest thing was that inside the pieces of carrot we found lumps of sugar, figs, and grapes. I have no idea how the stew was made; I only know that it smelled very badly and was altogether horrible. Those of us who had money could buy food in the canteen, where jam could be procured. In the morning we were given coffee and bread; at midday some of the stew which I have attempted to describe; and at night another cup of coffee, sweetened with honey.

The poor Russians, none of whom had any money, were always hungry. Sometimes when the helping of stew was smaller than usual each prisoner was given a herring. Nearly all the Frenchmen threw away the heads of the fish, and we noticed that they were picked up and eaten by the Russians. Not a few of the Frenchmen who procured food from the canteen also demanded their rations, which they gave secretly to the Russians. It was not possible to do this openly. A contractor had undertaken to feed us at so much per head, and he always endeavored to serve out the smallest possible number of rations.

Epidemic of Typhus

As at Zossen, there was a scarcity of water at Chemnitz. Cleanliness therefore was out of the question. Our hands and faces were always dirty, and we were covered with vermin. Thinking as little as possible of my sufferings, I gave all my attention to trying to find some means of getting back to Spain. It seemed to be an extremely difficult matter, especially after the episode of the bayonet wound. But I did not lose hope.

In February a terrible epidemic broke out. In a short time 700 Russians and 300 Frenchmen (these figures are approximate) died of it, and there were heartbreaking scenes in the rooms. The sufferers died with terrible rapidity. The seizure began with shivering, which was followed by a very high fever. The faces of the men were covered with dark blotches, and they died without any one

being able to help them. Every morning dozens of corpses were taken off the straw. Whenever an unfortunate man began shivering, he summoned a friend in whom he had confidence, and intrusted him with the carrying out of his last wishes. But, as not infrequently this friend also perished, some of those who were stricken took the precaution of summoning two or three friends at the same time, so it is probable that the families of those who have died will eventually know what happened.

The Germans laid the blame for the epidemic upon the Russians. They said that we were dying of typhus, and that the disease had been brought into the camp by the Russian prisoners. This is possible, but I believe that more men would have been able to recover if they had not been weakened by hunger.

Persecution of Russians

The German doctors intrusted with the medical service in our camp adopted an extraordinary system of diagnosis in dealing with the Russians. Every morning a noncommissioned officer went through the rooms in which the unfortunate Russians were herded, and said that those who felt unwell should go to another large room with doors opening on an enormous courtyard. Here, between 7 and 8 o'clock, the invalid Russian prisoners had to undress, and when completely naked, in spite of the terrible cold, they were compelled to go out into the courtyard. The noncommissioned officer, without getting too close to the prisoners, made them fall into a line, and thus they stood waiting for twenty or thirty minutes. Then from a door at the other end of the courtyard a German military doctor appeared, sat on a chair, and took out a fieldglass. With the aid of the glass, at a distance of about fifteen yards, he examined the naked Russians. He asked no questions, and, in fact, very few of the Russians would have understood him. After a very brief examination he sent them to the infirmary. Naturally, those who did not die from typhus died, as a result of that examination, from pneumonia or bronchitis.

At the beginning of May the doctors declared that the epidemic was over. We were removed from the barracks and placed in some large huts. The rooms were disinfected and the straw was burned, some not very comfortable mattresses replacing it. At the same time they took away all our clothes and burned them. We were fumigated and given some clothes that had been sent by the Swiss Red Cross.

In May all the prisoners, civilian as well as military, were told that they could write to their families through the Swiss Red Cross. I wrote several letters, but they were not allowed to pass. I protested, and asked the reason of this exceptional treatment, which was very prejudicial to me, and was bluntly told that, being a Portuguese, I could not write to any other Government but that of Lisbon.

Question of Identity

In September arrangements were made for drawing up a list giving the personal particulars of each prisoner at Chemnitz. I do not know if the same thing was done in the other camps. The list was alphabetical, and gave the name, age, nationality, and personal description. When they came to the letter "T," and I found that I was not called, I complained that I had been overlooked. I was told that I was the Portuguese, Tonio Antuan. I replied that my name was Valentin Torras. A Sergeant brought the document which I had refused to sign. It contained a description of the Portuguese. The Sergeant read the description in German, and translated it into French.

"Now, you can see," I exclaimed, "that the description does not belong to me." He looked at me and then at the paper. Shrugging his shoulders, he said, "You are right; this is not a description of you. But my superiors affirm that it is, and I must be silent and obey. Therefore, I put you on the list as Tonio Antuan, a Portuguese subject, taken prisoner at Valenciennes."

"But this is absurd," I cried, exasperated.

"Perfectly absurd," the Sergeant

agreed; "but I must not judge of the conduct of those above me. When they state that you are a Portuguese, they know why they do so."

Gross-Poritsch Prison

On Oct. 14 1,000 civilians, I being among them, were selected to be sent to Gross-Poritsch, near the Austrian frontier. I have no idea why this was done. Some of those who were chosen inquired the reason at the Commandant's office, but were told to mind their own business and obey orders. I was not sorry to leave Chemnitz; I had had so many disagreeable experiences that I was not afraid of being made more unhappy at any other place in Germany. The journey, which naturally was done in cattle trucks, lasted from 5 o'clock in the morning until 6 in the evening. As is usual in such cases we were not given a drop of water throughout the day. Nobody protested, because it would have been useless.

Night was falling when we entered the new camp. It consisted of rows of wooden huts, erected on an arid plain about a mile from the town of Gross-Poritsch. It was surrounded by high fences of barbed wire and guarded by old soldiers, all of them gray haired, and the majority wearing spectacles. In the camp there were about 3,500 French and Belgians, many Russian officers and soldiers, a few civilians from Russian Poland, and, if I remember rightly, two English civilians. Each hut accommodated 250 men, who had scarcely room to breathe. The camp would have been fairly healthy if there had been a greater number of huts.

The feeding arrangements were simply infernal. We were given potatoes boiled in water, salt, and fat, and small pieces of "K. K." bread. It was impossible to get any other food from the canteen, where only tobacco, paper, and lemonade were sold. We were told that the food had been steadily getting worse. I fought on the one hand with my hunger, which commanded me to eat the nauseous food, and on the other with my palate, which rebelled against it; sometimes the stomach won and sometimes the palate. Fortunately, after a short time I became friendly with some Frenchmen who regularly received parcels of bread, jam, and chocolate from their families, and who fed upon these things exclusively. These charitable men came to my assistance nearly every day. It is certain that I owe my life to their help.

Barbaric Punishments

It was in Gross-Poritsch that I began the efforts to regain my liberty. They were long, complicated, and dramatic. For the present I will confine myself to a description of what I experienced and saw at Gross-Poritsch. What I remember better than anything else is the punishments that were inflicted. Each camp had its peculiar forms of chastisement, according to the genius or character of the commander. I will describe some of them.

In the first place, there was the punishment of the knapsack, which was carried out in the following manner: A knapsack was filled with sand or bricks and then tied to the back of the prisoner who was to undergo the punishment. He then had to throw himself on the ground backward and rise again with a jump. A noncommissioned officer armed with a stick or whip struck him whenever the double movement was not carried out with the desired rapidity. After a few minutes of this the unhappy man felt as if his back was broken; perspiration poured from him, and he could only breathe with difficulty. If he stopped for a moment the implacable stick came down on him. And this torture lasted until it pleased the noncommissioned officer to put an end to it. Of course, everything in Germany is done by word of command, and it was usual to say to the noncommissioned officer: "This man has to be punished. Make him lie down and rise again with the knapsack fifty times." The person in charge of the punishment scrupulously counted every movement, not omitting one. In justice to him it may be stated that he never increased the number. He was a slave to the word of command, and obeyed like a machine.

On one occasion a French Sergeant had to undergo the punishment of the knap-

sack. He was a man of very strong character and obstinate, who always protested whenever he thought that he was being made the victim of an exceptional injustice. He spoke German, and disputed with the guards in that language, and the guards had a special grudge against him. He was sentenced to fall and rise 250 times with the knapsack full of bricks on his back. The punishment was witnessed by many of the prisoners, I being among them. We murmured and asked for clemency for the unfortunate man, but the latter and his executioner were separated from us by a wall of soldiers armed with rifles.

The Sergeant rebelled against the punishment, and blows were showered upon him. One noncommissioned officer became tired and handed his whip to another. The second man succeeded in making the Sergeant carry out the movement 214 times, and then he also was tired out, so handed the whip to a third. But the latter was unable to begin his duties because the Sergeant was done for. Blood was pouring from his mouth. He lay on the ground with his arms extended, an inert mass. He was taken to the infirmary, which he soon left for the cemetery. And yet he had been a strong, healthy man, who might have lived for a century.

Atrocious Torture

Another of the punishments consisted in tying a prisoner's wrists and attaching him to an iron bar, having previously stood him on two or three bricks. When he was fixed to the bar the bricks were knocked away and the poor man had to support himself as best he could on tiptoe. So he remained for anything up to three or four hours. When he was released he was half dead, and his wrists were cut and bleeding.

The punishment of the cage, as its name indicates, consisted in inclosing a prisoner in a circle formed of six posts united together by barbed wire. The cage was left out in the open, guarded by a sentry, and there the prisoner remained from three to six days without being able to move, because the cage was very small and the points of the barbed wire were carefully turned inside. The prisoner was fed there, but had no protection from the sun, rain, or snow. He was unable to sleep because, if he was overcome by fatigue and fell to one side or the other, he was aroused by the points of the wire penetrating his flesh.

The most frequent punishment was what I may call that of the post. In this case a post was planted firmly in the ground, and the prisoner who had incurred the penalty was tied to it by cords around his neck, breast, abdomen, and feet. His arms were tied to his body. The cords were drawn so tightly that they cut into the flesh, and thus the man remained motionless for twelve and even twenty-four hours.

The German soldiers who acted as our guards were quite unmoved by these punishments, and all the more so because they had themselves to endure them. It was only the punishment of the knapsack which had been specially invented for our benefit; the others were part of the répertoire of the noncommissioned officers. I have seen many of the men who guarded us punished with the cage or the post for some act of carelessness. They suffered in silence; their obedience was extraordinary. I remember that one day a man over forty years of age, fat and ruddy, with a large nose and gold-rimmed spectacles, who was said by the other Germans to be very rich, was put in the cage. I do not know for what reason. When he was taken out after six hours he went away to eat his rations as if nothing had happened. I was watching him, and did not see the least display of anger or even a glance of hatred at the noncommissioned officer who had humiliated him in this manner.

The civilians were punished by being attached to the post very frequently, but were rarely put in the cage, and never tortured by the knapsack. It must not be supposed that these punishments were inflicted upon the prisoners, civilian or military, for serious offenses. In the ordinary way one was punished for raising his voice when an officer was within hearing, for smoking inside the huts, approaching too near to the barbed

wire, or not saluting with sufficient alacrity.

The Russians and the English had the worst time in the prisoners' camp. The former received no money and no parcels of food, and as for the English, they were the objects of a terrible hatred. The famous "Gott strafe England!" constantly resounded in our huts in a most disastrous manner for the subjects of King George. The German soldiers regarded the French with a certain sympathy, the Belgians with indifference, the Russians with repugnance, and the English with abhorrence.

At Chemnitz groups were formed of twenty-five Russians, who were harnessed together by ropes and made to plow the fields. This humiliating labor was not imposed upon the French, English, or Belgians. The camp authorities would not have dared to compel the English to drag a plow, because they said they would rather allow themselves to be killed. But the poor Russians obeyed like sheep.

Secret Correspondence

One day a prisoner in Gross-Poritsch received a letter from his wife. The letter came by a special channel, which I cannot describe, but of which I afterward availed myself in order that it might be known in Spain what was happening to a Catalan subject of Don Alfonso XIII. In the prisoners' camps in Germany one has to be very ingenious if one wants to communicate with the outside world. Ordinary letters are allowed with certain restrictions, but at the beginning of the war even these did not reach their destination. The French prisoner to whom I have referred believed that the letter came from Roubaix, where he had lived before the war. Imagine his surprise and anxiety when he saw that the letter was dated from Cologne. His wife informed him that she had been forcibly removed from Roubaix, together with several other women, to work in Germany; she refused, and was then sent to a civil prison. The poor Frenchman was desperate; he wanted to dash his head against a wall, and we had the greatest difficulty in calming him.

Fight for Freedom

I will now describe as succinctly as possible the efforts which I made to secure my liberty. This portion of my experiences, I think, is very interesting, as it throws much light on various aspects of the real condition of the prisoners of war in the German camps.

On Dec. 22, 1915, I wrote to Paris to the Marqués de Villa-Urrutia, who, as I believed, was still the Spanish Ambassador in the capital of the French Republic. These letters, as well as some others, were sent by a special channel, which for various reasons I cannot reveal, principally because it is frequently used by the prisoners in Gross-Poritsch when they do not wish their letters to be read by the German censorship. Moreover, if I were to tell all I know in this respect it is probable that some persons would be punished. The letter was received by the new Ambassador, the Marqués de Valtierra, who immediately sent it on to the Spanish Government. I suppose that the latter sent a complaint to Berlin, and I also suppose that the Germans replied that I was a Portuguese, and that I was lying when I claimed to have been born in Spain.

One day, when reading a copy of Le Matin—we had many French papers in the camp, paying a very high price for them—I saw that Señor Leon y Castillo had been appointed Spanish Ambassador in Paris. I accordingly wrote to him, relating all that had happened to me, and asking him to interest himself on my behalf. Moreover, I sent another letter to the Franco-Belgian Red Cross at Geneva. In reply the latter advised me to address myself to Señor Polo de Bernabé, the representative of Spain in Berlin. I answered, saying that I was not allowed to communicate with my Ambassador and begging the Red Cross to report my misfortunes to the Spanish Minister in Berne. This the Red Cross did, and the Spanish Minister in Berne wrote to Señor Polo.

In Touch with Diplomacy

All these efforts occupied more than three months. In the end, on March 25, I received an official letter from Señor

GENERALS FOCH AND FAYOLLE

General Ferdinand Foch (at Left) and General Marie Emile Fayolle, Who Collaborate on the Somme, the Latter Consolidating What the Former Wins.

AMIENS CATHEDRAL IN ARMOR

An Armor of Sandbags Protects the Historic Portals and All the Carved Interior Walls of Amiens Cathedral, Near the French Front.

(Photo by Paul Thompson.)

Polo de Bernabé. It stated that the Ambassador had my affair in hand, and inclosed the sum of 10 marks. I was requested to send two receipts for the money, which I did immediately, through the ordinary channel. Naturally, I desired to use all possible means for securing my liberation, so I wrote also to M. Bernard of the Catholic Committee for Prisoners of War in Geneva. He replied, saying that he had written to the Superior of the Sisters of Charity in Barcelona, (I had told him in my letter that my father was employed in the prison of that town,) asking them to advise the poor old man that I was alive. On Feb. 4 my father went to Manresa and secured a copy of my certificate of baptism. This document was legalized and countersigned on Feb. 28 by the German Consul in Barcelona. I received it in April, and then decided to make a supreme effort.

Armed with the official letter from the Spanish Embassy in Berlin and the certificate of baptism, I went to the Kommandantur and asked for an interview with the chief of the camp. He received me with a very bad grace. I told him that the Ambassador's letter and the baptismal certificate proved that I was a Spaniard, and I begged him to set me at liberty as quickly as possible. He examined the certificate, and then said, "It is false."

"If it is false," I exclaimed, "why is it countersigned by the German Consul in Barcelona?"

He was nonplused, for the argument was a strong one. Not knowing what to reply, he decided in favor of having me thrust unceremoniously out of his office. * * *

One day, much to my surprise, I received a letter from Algeria. A Señorita Lopes wrote to me in French from Philippeville, inquiring who I was, as she had seen my name and address in one of the bulletins of the Red Cross. I answered her through the normal post, and shortly afterward she sent me two parcels of provisions.

On July 16, employing the secret channel, which was only available from time to time, I wrote once more to Señor Polo de Bernabé. He received the letter, and decided to send Señor Ferraches, the doctor of the embassy, to Gross-Poritsch. This was my salvation. Señor Ferraches arrived in the camp on June 20. I knew of it, and determined to use the opportunity, even if it should cost me my life. As soon as I saw the doctor I left the circle of prisoners and approached him rapidly.

"Pardon me," I began, "but I am—"

I was unable to continue. The German Commandant, who accompanied Señor Ferraches, pulled the latter violently by the arm. Then he threw himself on me, and with a brutal shove caused me to fall into the none too affectionate arms of a Captain who was hurrying up on seeing my daring. This Captain caught me roughly, looked me threateningly in the eyes, and said, "follow me!"

"No, no," I shouted. "I am a Spaniard. I must be released."

The Captain summoned a couple of soldiers, who seized me by the arms. I was desperate; I turned my face toward Señor Ferraches, who, with a look of surprise, was watching us a few steps away, and shouted in Spanish as loudly as I could: "See, Señor, how a Spaniard of Catalonia is treated by the Germans in the camp of Gross-Poritsch!"

The doctor made a sign showing that he had understood, and said in a low voice, "follow him."

I obeyed then, and they took me off to the Kommandantur. I had a violent altercation in French with the Captain. I asked to be allowed to speak with the Spanish delegate, but the Captain refused, repeating the eternal refrain, "You are a Portuguese; you are a Portuguese." * * *

In the evening an interpreter took me to the Commandant's office. Señor Ferraches, seeing me enter with the interpreter, asked to be permitted to speak to me alone, and his request was granted, although very reluctantly. He submitted me to a regular examination in Castilian. I was suspicious. He seemed to be a Spaniard.

But suppose he was not? He perceived my doubts, and said, "Explain yourself clearly. What do you fear?"

With Catalan frankness I answered resolutely, "I fear that you may be a German who speaks Spanish. I cannot trust these people."

Without being offended by my brusque remark, he replied, good-naturedly:

"You are a Catalan. I am a Valencian, but know your language. Let us talk in Catalan."

Hearing him express himself correctly in Catalan, all my doubts vanished, and I gave him a detailed account of my long trials. It happened that Señor Ferraches knew the town of Jubia, three kilometers from El Ferrol, where I had lived for seven years, my father having been employed there. I gave him details of the place, and of the important people there; this confirmed him in the opinion that I had been the victim of an outrage.

Freedom in Sight

"I am completely convinced," he said, "that you are Valentin Torras, native of Manresa, and not Tonio Antuan, a Portuguese subject. I had instructions to speak with you at all costs. I wanted to do so this morning, but, seeing the anger of the chief of the camp, and being opposed to all violence, I decided to wait until he was pacified. So I have waited seven hours. Be calm; you will soon regain your liberty."

I had in my possession two receipts from the camp authorities, one for a notebook in which I had copied the letters I had written during my captivity and the other for the certificate of baptism sent by my father. They had asked me for these things, but I would not give them up without a receipt. I gave Señor Ferraches both receipts, asking him to deposit them at the embassy, because I feared they might be taken from me when I was released. Señor Ferraches took the receipts, gave me a note for 20 marks, said a very friendly farewell, and went. I am grateful to him for his goodness. He showed great energy and diplomacy, and would not allow himself to be deceived or intimidated.

[Here follow details of an official attempt to make the prisoner sign a paper admitting that his imprisonment was due to his own fault, and renouncing all claims of indemnity.]

But my liberation was at hand. Two days later, on June 30, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I was taken to the Kommandantur, and told to prepare to quit the camp on the following day at 5:30 in the morning, as orders had been given for my release. My papers were handed to me. Imagine my emotion! I was to leave the camp. I was to leave Germany. Soon I should be in Switzerland, and then in Spain! I ran off like a madman and entered my quarters shouting and gesticulating. My companions, alarmed, surrounded me. They believed I had lost my reason.

At 6:30 I went in search of one of the camp barbers. I was seated on a stool enduring the necessary torture to which the barber submitted me when the Captain of my company, to whom I was indebted for so many hard supplementary torments, approached, and inquired: "So you are going tomorrow?"

"Yes," I replied, surprised that he did not address me as usual in the second person singular.

He smiled, and his face assumed an expression of innocent cordiality, which left me stupefied. "Adieu, Torras," he said. "Pleasant journey. I hope you will not carry away any gloomy recollections of us, and that when in Spain you will not speak badly of the Germans or of your treatment in the camp of Gross-Poritsch."

I did not reply. Such cynicism astounded me.

I bade farewell to my friends. Some of them intrusted me with commissions for their families, which I promised scrupulously to fulfill. They looked at me with eyes of envy. I was going, but they remained, subject to an iron discipline, with the prospect of further hardships, lashes, blows, kicks, curses, and the various camp punishments.

[The rest of the narrative relates the details of the prisoner's return to Spain. He was escorted under guard through Dresden, Munich, and Lindau, where he crossed Lake Constance into Switzerland and became again a free man.]

Italy, Prussia, and Austria, 1866-1916

ALFREDO COMANDINI IN ILLUSTRAZIONE ITALIANA

Why did Italy wait until Aug. 28, 1916, to declare war against Germany, though she had been fighting Germany's ally for fifteen months? One answer to this question is given in the appended article, translated from the Italian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THERE could have been no finer commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Custoza (June 24, 1866) by the Italians than that which they are now making — fighting again with armed might against the same enemy. Only those who saw and lived through those days can realize the impatience, the inquietude, the anxieties that filled Italian hearts, that, to the glorious annexations of 1859 and 1860, (beginning the formation of the Kingdom of Italy, which was proclaimed at Turin on March 14, 1861,) Venice and Rome might also be added.

The question of Rome had been frankly laid before the Italian Parliament by Cavour in 1861—Rome must become the capital of the new Kingdom of Italy—but the decisive moment for the "Roman question" was fated to be postponed to a later date.

More urgent, and sooner to be solved, was the question of Venice; and as, because of the youth of the new kingdom, her army and her spirit were not sufficient for the difficult enterprise, the great Count Cavour, in the last months of his brilliant life, turned his thoughts toward the natural ally of the new Italy—Prussia.

In fact, when, in January, 1861, he who afterward became Emperor William I. of Germany ascended the kingly throne of Prussia, Cavour persuaded King Victor Emmanuel II. to send to Berlin General Alfonso Lamarmora on a special mission to the new King of Prussia, "in testimony of respect for him and of sympathy for the noble Germanic Nation," and the great Italian Minister gave precise instructions to General Lamarmora to "form closer relations between the Cabinets of Turin and Berlin, and to prepare the ground for a future alliance between Italy and Prussia against Austria."

In February of the same year, 1861, Giuseppe Mazzini, in "a letter to a German," said to the German people: "Let us complete our unity and found yours. To be a nation we need Rome and Venice; help us, by a unanimous expression of opinion, to liberate Rome; separate yourselves from Austria in the inevitable contest between her and us for Venice. You need, in order to conquer your unity, to free yourselves from the dualism represented by the monarchies of Austria and Prussia, and to base yourselves on the people, the sole unitary and truly German element. We shall help you to free yourselves from Austria. We have a common enemy. Let us fight him together!"

In that same February, 1861, (on Feb. 5,) George von Wincke proposed to the Prussian Chamber, which, in spite of the opposition of the Prussian Government, approved it by 159 votes to 146, that "we should not regard it as being the interest of Prussia or of the Germans to oppose the progress of the consolidation of Italy."

These were the germs of the Italo-Prussian alliance which, after many vicissitudes, came to maturity through the evident identity of interests between the two countries. Thus, when, in December, 1862, Otto von Bismarck, who for three months had been President of the Prussian Ministry, caused the question to be put to the new Italian Government (the new Farini-Pasolini Ministry) "what would be the position of Italy in a war between Prussia and Austria?" he naturally received the reply that "it could not be doubted that Italy would be found on the side of the enemies of Austria."

It is impossible, within the limits of this brief commemorative article, to tell the whole story of the intricate diplomatic relations throughout five years, which may be summed up thus:

1. Italy's effort to gain, in any way, whether solely by diplomatic action or also by force of arms, possession of Venice.

2. The assiduous efforts of the French Emperor, Napoleon III., to gain Venice for Italy, while avoiding war, if possible, but by creating discord between Prussia and Austria.

3. Bismarck's effort to arouse in Austria the fear of Italy in order to gain possession for Prussia of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and other concessions from Austria.

4. Austria's efforts to bring about an understanding with Italy and to prevent Italy from coming to an understanding with Prussia.

Schleswig and Holstein had been taken from Denmark by the combined military action of Prussia and Austria in 1864, and, by treaty, were then occupied by mixed Prussian and Austrian garrisons, from which cause arose ceaseless strife between the two joint rulers, this friction having increased to such a degree that in June, 1865, war had already been considered by the Prussian Government, and Count Usedom, the Prussian Minister to the Italian Government, asked the Italian Prime Minister and General Lamarmora, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whether "if hostilities broke out between Prussia and Austria Italy would seize the occasion to take the field for the liberation of Venice."

Lamarmora had come into power in 1864, and had found negotiations with Prussia already begun for a commercial treaty, which was concluded in March, 1865, and included all the States of the Germanic Confederation, including Saxony and Bavaria, which, up to that time, had not recognized the new Kingdom of Italy. This commercial treaty marked a long step toward the Italo-Prussian understanding; in view of which Prime Minister Lamarmora, in reply to the question of Count Usedom, whether Italy would take up arms against Austria if Prussia went to war with Austria, felt much perplexity in answering, (in part sincerely, in part by calculation,) "in spite of the inner satisfaction which he would feel at an event so favorable to the destinies of Italy."

In reality, Lamarmora distrusted Bismarck, who, in his instinctive trickery, was brutally sincere. Lamarmora was afraid of displeasing Napoleon III., not understanding that Italy's ally of 1859, (France in the campaign of Magenta and Solferino,) identifying himself with the interests of France, was not then greatly preoccupied over the eventual rupture between the Teutonic monarchies. Napoleon was possessed by the idea that Venice might be restored to Italy without a war.

Lamarmora continued to hold the same view, but in March, 1866, he sent to Berlin, at Bismarck's request, General Govone, as assistant to the Italian Minister Plenipotentiary Barral, to treat definitely with Prussia for a convention, if not for a treaty.

Lamarmora was a simple soul, an intellectual mediocrity of limited culture, of loyal heart, very honest, instinctively recoiling from the subtle arts and inevitable trickery of diplomacy—in which Cavour had been so great a master, and Bismarck not much behind him—whence it is easy to understand how he shrank from everything that might look like deceit, and was always afraid of trickery.

Barral, the Italian Minister at Berlin, was not strong enough to hold his own against Bismarck, or to make his own authority prevail with Lamarmora. Lamarmora had two clear-sighted, accomplished, and conscientious informants — General Joseph Govone at Berlin and Constantine Nigra at Paris; they at last succeeded in overcoming the hesitations of the honest soldier, who had no large vision of genius, and only somewhat late realized that it was the indubitable wish of Napoleon III. that an accord might be brought about between Italy and Prussia, an accord for which Bismarck was working determinedly, so much so that he had already used to King William of Prussia—who was opposed to an alliance between Prussia and Italy—the characteristic phrase, repeated later to Nigra: "If Italy had not existed, it would have been necessary to invent her!"

There are voluminous records of these slow, laborious, and uncertain negotiations, in which the Trentino "from the

crest of the Alps" was first included, on the insistence of Barral, Lamarmora, General Govone, and his assistant, Colonel Driquet, among the territories which Italy was to get from Austria; and was later excluded, when Count Barral accepted the Prussian claim that the Trentino, because it formed a part of the Germanic Confederation, could not be ceded to Italy at that time; but what could not be done before the war might be done during, or after, the war, especially after an appeal to the population of the Trentino.

Finally, according to God's will, an "offensive and defensive treaty of alliance" was signed in Berlin on April 8, 1866, in accordance with which Italy, following the initiative of Prussia, should declare war on Austria as soon as she was notified by Prussia; the war to be carried on with all her forces; and that Prussia and Italy should make no peace or armistice except by mutual consent, which should only be given after Austria had agreed to cede "The kingdom of Lombardy-Venezia" (thus officially styled by Austria, even after 1859) to Italy; and to Prussia, territories equivalent in population (two and one-half millions) to the said realm. The treaty was to lapse in three months (that is, on July 8) from the date of signature, if, during that period Prussia had not declared war on Austria. The treaty remained secret; it was definitively ratified by the two sovereigns on April 20, and on April 21 Bismarck presented to the German Diet the explosive proposal for "the federal reform of the Teutonic Parliament," from which he promised himself the war with Austria, which neither his sovereign, King William, nor the upper classes nor the German masses desired; while in Italy Lamarmora, for many and not vain reasons, would have preferred to obtain Venice without a war.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Bismarck's proposal was for a new German Confederation, from which Austria should be excluded. The Diet rejected the proposal, and prepared to make war against Prussia, as the wanton disturber of national peace. On June 14, 1866, war between Austria and Prussia began. As a result of the decisive battle of Sadowa in Bohemia (also called Koeniggraetz) on July 4, Austria was defeated, and Prussia annexed Hesse, Hanover, Nassau, the former free city of Frankfort, besides the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, with the magnificent harbor of Kiel. These annexations increased the area and population of Prussia one-half; before the war she had a population of 20,000,000; after it her population was 30,000,000.

Thus, largely through the help of Italy, modern Prussia came into being; Italy, on her part, had won the battle of Custoza on June 24; as a result, through her alliance with Prussia, she regained the province of Venetia, with its capital, Venice, but not the ardently desired Trentino.

Signor Comandini does not say so explicitly, but he allows it to be inferred that, because of the service rendered by Prussia to Victor Emmanuel II. in 1866, Victor Emmanuel III., in 1916, though at war with Austria, refrained as long as possible from declaring war against Germany.

Austrian Red Book on Rumania's Entrance Into the War

THE Foreign Ministry of Austria-Hungary issued a Red Book on Oct. 11 dealing with the diplomatic relations between that monarchy and Rumania from the beginning of the war to Aug. 27, when Rumania threw in her lot with the Entente. The book contains 111 documents, mostly reports of Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Bucharest, to Baron Burian, the Foreign Minister of the Dual Monarchy, and all of a nature intended to clear these officials from the charge of being responsible for the country's being taken by surprise. The responsibility for this is thrown upon the military authorities of Austria-Hungary. The Red Book also charges Rumanian high officials with frequent and deliberate lying.

It begins with a document which reveals that Count Berchtold on July 22, 1914, instructed the Austro-Hungarian

Minister at Bucharest to inform the King of Rumania (King Carol) and the Premier that he intended to send a note to Serbia. This seems to have been done. Four days later another telegram was sent to Count Czernin, in which Count Berchtold, then Foreign Minister of the monarchy, instructed him to make it clear to the King and Government of Rumania that in the case of Serbia he expected strict neutrality from Rumania, and, should Russia prove hostile, a loyal co-operation on the part of that country. Two days later Count Czernin telegraphed to Count Berchtold, saying that the King of Rumania declared that in the conflict with Serbia the monarchy could rely on the strict neutrality of Rumania, but that in case Russia should intervene Rumania could not take an active part on the side of the monarchy. At the same time the King declared "that no power on earth could persuade him to attack the monarchy or join the monarchy's enemies."

Count Czernin quoted Prince Ferdinand (the present King) as saying in the Fall of 1914 that he would regard himself as a "miserable wretch" if he entertained any intentions of aggression toward Austria-Hungary. The passing of King Carol, however, changed the situation. On Oct. 6 Count Czernin reported: "I have again spoken with King Carol. He was weeping, and said that he has only one wish: to die and put an end to everything." He died on Oct. 10, 1914, and by Dec. 2 the Austrian Minister was writing to his superior: "All the signs point to the fact that during the Spring of next year Rumania will intervene on the side of the Entente." M. Bratiano, the Rumanian Premier, gave signs of leaning in that direction, and King Ferdinand made evasive answers to queries on the subject.

Rumanian Mobilization

About the beginning of June strong Rumanian forces were sent to guard the Austro-Hungarian border. On Sept. 24 Count Czernin warned M. Bratiano that if the Rumanian mobilization continued his Government would demand an explanation. A day later he received instructions from Baron Burian as follows: "I instruct your Excellency to remind M. Bratiano that the object which Rumania would achieve by joining the Central Empires would be to build a mighty wall against Russian ambitions in Central Europe and the Balkans; that Bulgaria is about to free herself from that danger, and that the time has come for Rumania also to do her utmost in the direction suggested by her history, her interests, and her own common sense."

This did not seem to have any effect on M. Bratiano, for on Nov. 3, 1915, Count Czernin received further instructions from Vienna, in which it was said: "The Imperial and Royal Government has received reliable information to the effect that large Russian forces have been concentrated on the Rumanian frontier. M. Bratiano should be asked what he proposes to do if permission should be asked for the passage of Russian troops through Rumanian territory." It was suggested, however, that the question should be put in a friendly manner. M. Bratiano assured Vienna that he would not allow such a thing, and the King gave the same assurance.

On May 12, 1916, after months of correspondence on the same lines, M. Bratiano is alleged to have said that "in his opinion peace would shortly come on basis of status quo, and that Rumania would then be fortunate in not having intervened. The utter annihilation of any of the belligerent groups could only be effected at a distant date, and Rumania could not endure a long war." "Nevertheless, M. Bratiano made me understand," continued Count Czernin's report, "that he believed the annihilation of the forces of the Dual Monarchy was very probable, while that of the Russian forces was impossible, and that in consequence the permanent possession of Transylvania was possible, but that of Bessarabia was impossible."

King Ferdinand spoke to Count Czernin on May 26 in terms of admiration with egard to the Austro-Hungarian offensive against Italy, but declared that co-operation with the monarchy was unimaginable. Two weeks later the Minister reported that news of the suc-

cesses of the Russians had created great excitement in Rumania. On July 19 the dispatches of Count Czernin already struck a note of despair. "Whatever we could do," he writes, "to bring about a postponement of Rumanian intervention has been done. The work of diplomacy might help to delay the rupture for hours, but it cannot altogether prevent it. The factors in this case are the guns. These have the last word, and the situation will develop according to their success or failure." No doubt by this he meant to impress upon Vienna that unless the Austro-Hungarian armies could hold the Russians everything was lost. A week later, after another interview with King Ferdinand, he telegraphed: "I am quite convinced that Rumania is negotiating with the Entente, and any further Russian victories may create a very dangerous situation here."

Terms Offered by Allies

On July 28 he wrote to say he was in possession of terms on which Rumania was to join the Allies. These were:

1. A general offensive by the Entente.
2. A further advance of the Russians in the Carpathians.
3. An allied force for defense against Bulgaria.
4. The cession to Rumania of Transylvania, the Banat, and Bukowina.
5. Rumania only to declare war against the monarchy.
6. Artillery and munitions to be supplied to the Rumanian forces.

Count Czernin added in this dispatch that he was also aware that Rumania would join the Entente during the latter half of August. "M. Bratiano made no secret of his opinion that the war was nearing its end and that the man power of the Central Empires was exhausted, while that of the Entente Powers, especially Russia, was inexhaustible."

On July 28 he told Baron Burian that it would do no harm to caution the King of Rumania of the "bad moral effect of a breach of the kind contemplated." He received instructions to this effect, but the King declared to him that the conditions were quite different from what they were early in the war, and that the promises or statements made by his uncle (King Carol) could not bind him. He saw M. Bratiano also, who said: "He wants to be in it when the war is at an end, as the defeat of the monarchy is absolutely certain."

On Aug. 8 Count Czernin wrote: "Bratiano in the course of a long conversation told me that we might achieve a prolongation of Rumanian neutrality by the cession of Bukowina. This I refused to discuss, as I knew the views of Baron Burian on the subject, and I also knew that, even if we made such a promise when, as he thinks, we are on the road to defeat, Rumania would attack us nevertheless." A few days later Count Czernin telegraphed that great numbers of troops were being called up and equipped by night, and quoted the King as having declared that he would probably get over the crisis.

On Aug. 12 Baron Burian wrote to Bucharest instructing Count Czernin to inform the King, "with all necessary precautions," that M. Bratiano was still negotiating with the Entente behind the King's back, and informing him when it was too late of his activities. This again produced no effect, for on Aug. 22 Count Czernin again reported that, while the Hungarian frontier was swarming with men, the Russian frontier was quite undefended, and he made "friendly allusions" to this subject to the Premier.

The last time Count Czernin saw the King was a day before the declaration of war, on Aug. 26, when he told the King that "the warlike preparations demand on our part definite steps, and unless we get satisfactory assurances energetic steps will be taken. The King answered, in his usual feeble manner, that he believed his army could not oppose the Russians if they chose to enter Rumania." M. Bratiano on the same day said that the Crown Council next day would have to decide, and added that he feared an attack on the part of the Bulgarians.

The last document in the book is the declaration of war.

The Hungarian papers, commenting on the Red Book, say it seems clear that Baron Burian was informed even of the date of intervention, and yet no precautions were taken to defend the frontiers.

The Invasion of Turkey

By James B. Macdonald

The author of this article is a traveled Briton who has formerly resided in the East.

THE Turkish Empire at the period of its greatest expansion was the main thoroughfare from the West to the East, and today it is one of the alternate routes capable of great development by means of railways. In former days, Constantinople was the most important strategic site in the world, and, as the Ottoman power weakened, nations fought and schemed for its acquisition. It was the gateway to the East when Napoleon desired it, and Russia first sought it, and when Britain opposed both. The cutting of the Suez Canal and its passing with Egypt into the de facto possession of the world's strongest naval power moved the strategic values in favor of the British Empire.

Britain and Russia in modern times were and are the two greatest Asiatic powers, rivals during the period of their growing expansion, and at all times intolerant of any other European power coming within the sphere of their influence in the East. Into this scenario steps the present German Emperor upon his advent to the throne, intent, like another young Emperor in the year 1807, upon stepping over the British in India to a larger "place in the sun."

The Czar Alexander met Napoleon at Tilist in June, 1807, and, full of youthful enthusiasm and inexperience, thought he could give ear to proposals for a joint conquest of India and subjection of the British and yet be able to subordinate the mature mind of the world's greatest adventurer to his will. Thus arose differences between Britain and Russia, which, fanned into bitterness by the Crimean war—an extension of the same quarrel—took 100 years to mollify; yet that estrangement of the past is as nothing compared to the resentment felt today by the British against the Kaiser and his people, and it is partly due to the same cause.

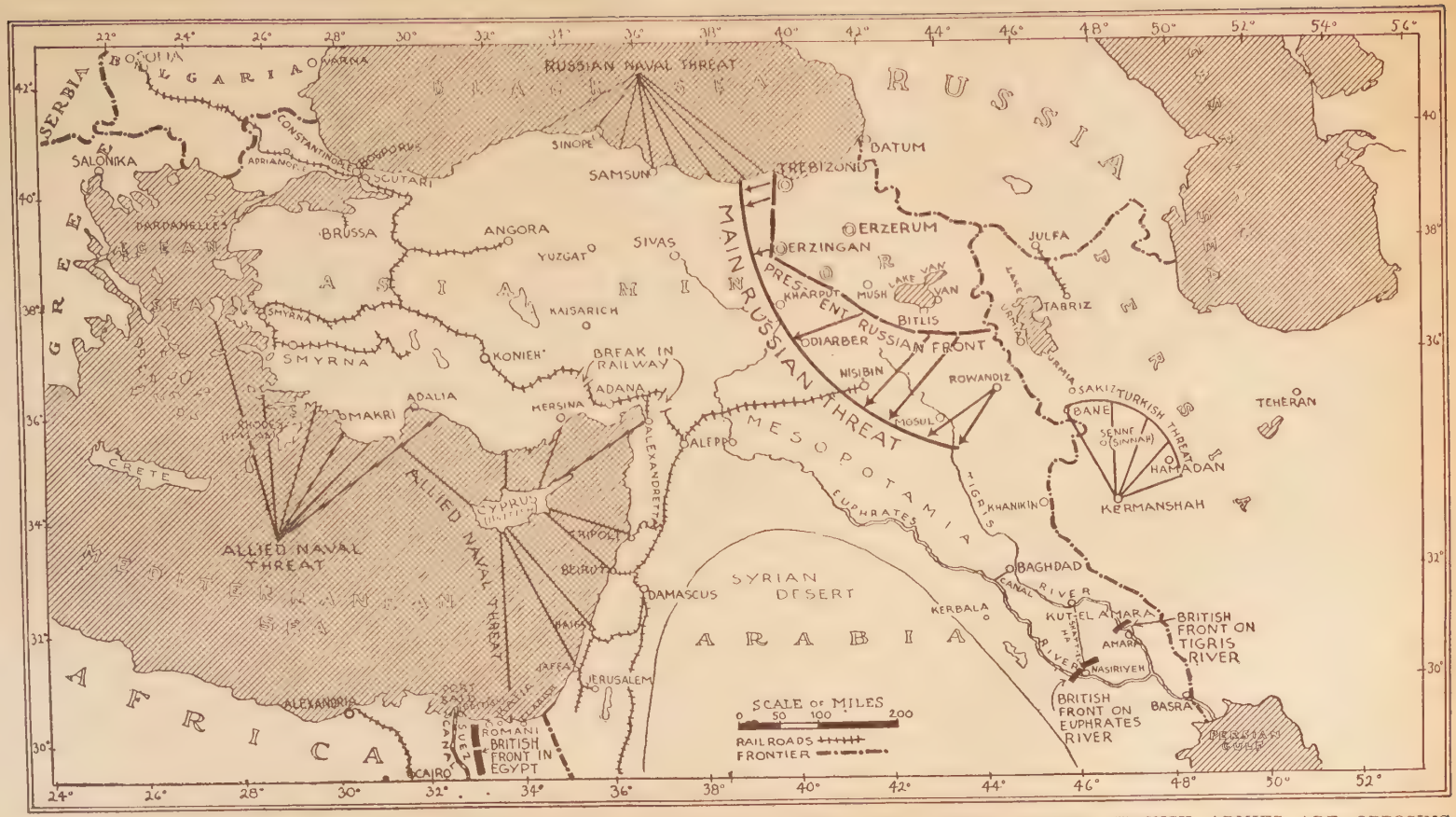
During a previous world war, Britain gained her great Indian empire, but lost at the same time her young New England colonies. India has been the foundation of British wealth, and still is the keystone of the British Empire; but if the British people have gained much from India it has not been without great sacrifices, and India has gained still more in security, prosperity, and civilization. The administration of India is the glory of the British, and they have given of their best in making it what it is today.

He then who strikes at India and Britain's sea supremacy strikes at what is fundamental in Britain's worldwide power, because with India and Egypt in other hands, and the nation's sea power minimized, Australia and New Zealand could neither maintain their connection with Great Britain nor yet remain independent.

Germany in Eastern Politics

The present Kaiser, throwing aside the policies and traditions of Bismarck, tried his 'prentice hand at Asiatic politics with ulterior ends. His first diplomatic move was to impress upon Russia that in China lay her natural field of expansion, that Germany was her friend, and Britain her foe. In this way he sought to divert the attention of political Russia from European politics, and more particularly from those of the Near East, to which he himself intended to devote primary consideration.

The war with Japan brought disillusionment to Russia, and henceforth the contest of wits in the Balkans became more acute because all parties were now wide awake to what the issues were. In the meantime, the Prussian General, Baron von der Goltz, was sent to Turkey to reorganize its army, and ever since the German people have been educated to the belief that their destinies lay in the East, and that what used to be called



TURKEY'S FIGHT FOR LIFE: ALL THE FRONTS—FROM THE BALKANS TO EGYPT AND PERSIA—WHERE TURKISH ARMIES ARE OPPOSING ENTENTE FORCES

the "Near Eastern question" must be settled in favor of Germany by war or otherwise.

To further this great scheme of "Eastward Ho!" from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf, an elaborate system of canals has been developed throughout Germany, until today vessels of 1,000 tons can steam through these inland waters to the Black Sea, since the Rivers Rhine, Elbe, and Danube are now linked up. It was principally by means of this route that war matériel was exported from Germany to Bulgaria and Turkey, and return cargoes obtained of grain and fodder from Bulgaria, and copper, cotton, wool, and tobacco from Turkey; but this has now been stopped by the entry of Rumania into the war and the consequent closing of the Danube.

German Railway Projects

The fulcrum, however, which moved Germany into the East was the acquisition of State-pushed railway monopolies, the ousting of the earlier British and French individual financiers, and the appropriation of their schemes. The first railway built in Asiatic Turkey was the short line from the Bosporus, opposite Constantinople, to Nicomedia, on the Sea of Marmora. This and the Smyrna-Aïdan line were financed by British capital, while French financiers built the Syrian railways.

The Bagdad railway was conceived by Sir William Andrew, a distinguished Anglo-Indian railway official, surveyed by Sir John MacNeill and General Chesney in 1857, and favorably reported on by a select committee of the House of Commons in 1872; but no support was forthcoming from the British Government.

In 1889 the Kaiser astonished Europe by his visit to the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and his visit was pregnant with railway schemes. Shortly afterward it was announced that a German company had taken over the Nicomedia railway and obtained concessions to prolong it eastward to Angora and southward to Konia. These projects completely blocked any prolongation of the Smyrna-Aïdan line.

Subsequent developments were the so-called pilgrim railway to Medina, in Arabia, and the Bagdad railway, both of which were constructed primarily with a view to military considerations. The pilgrim railway was carried along the fringe of the desert to the east of the Syrian hills, and so was less exposed to an invasion from the sea, but at the same time further away from the populated areas of Syria and Palestine. The railway to Bagdad, instead of running direct to that town down the Euphrates Valley, as commercial interests would dictate, was projected across a barren country to Mosul, whence it could be carried alongside the Tigris River to the head of the Persian Gulf and into Northern Persia also, if political developments permitted these extensions.

The Teutons hoped by means of these railways to divert much of the traffic which passes through the Suez Canal and to lessen the political importance of the latter, but as they are yet unfinished one cannot say to what extent this would have been the case. It is, however, clear that they were conceived more as a menace to British power in the East than as a vehicle of commerce.

Britain was quick to see the danger to her empire and to the civilization she had built up in the East; and Russia, also, perceived the possibilities of the case, which endangered the richest portion of her empire and its most vulnerable part. Moreover, the success of German aims meant the absolute defeat of Russia's traditional ambition to occupy Constantinople—a situation which would make an appeal to arms inevitable.

Politics of the Near East

For the last fifteen years diplomacy has been handling these combustibles, which at any moment might ignite. Unless Germany, either directly or through the instrumentality of Austria, could control the Balkan States, there was no immediate danger, and the struggle centred on this issue.

Following the disclosure of Russia's temporary weakness through the war with Japan, Austria took advantage of the situation to annex Bosnia and Herze-

govina in breach of the treaty of Berlin, and so drove in the first wedge.

Russia waited her opportunity, and in due course brought about the first Balkan war to thwart Austria's aims. The Teutonic powers responded with the second Balkan war, which, however, went contrary to their hopes; but German domination of Turkey stabilized the situation, or at least gave time to ameliorate it.

In 1914 the moment seemed propitious, and, notwithstanding Italy's warning, Germany urged Austria on to embark in the present war—nominally to prejudge and avenge the assassination of the heir to the throne, but actually to drive a further wedge through Serbia and open the way to the East.

Austria's objective throughout was Saloniki, while Germany was bent on obtaining through communication with Turkey. It was easy to start such a war, but another matter to confine it within Balkan limits, as statesmen had foreseen all along, because the balance of power in Europe cannot be arbitrarily altered without a great upheaval.

The issue now lies with the god of war, but should the Teutonic powers lose the hazard, as seems probable, then Turkey—the latent cause of all the trouble—will be carved up according to the wishes of Britain and Russia, while Germany will have no further interest in Asia or Africa. Turkey for her part will fight to the death rather than give up Constantinople and the Dardanelles, but this has been decreed by the Allies, whose dissensions alone in the past have maintained her so long in Europe. Britain had given her guarantee to Turkey since 1879 that she would maintain her in possession of Asia Minor against all enemies, but never contemplated that a Turkish Government would by an underhand agreement place their country and its resources at the disposal of Germany or any other third party. Confronted with a common danger in the East, Britain and Russia cannot let go until they have carried the war to a successful issue and vindicated the prestige upon which their Asiatic empires have been built up.

The East does not regard these matters from the same viewpoint as the Western World, and no European power having dominion in Asia can overlook this.

What India Really Thinks

Britain even more than Russia dominates the East by her prestige, because she has in normal times only 80,000 white troops to represent her immense power, while that of Russia is more manifest. Prestige in this case simply means the belief of the people of India and their neighbors that Britain is invincible—that it is folly to oppose her will. So far as their experience goes, Britain has never been beaten in warfare, even although she has frequently met with reverses during the opening stages.

What is the real opinion of the people of India about this war?

1. They see that Germany for the last decade has been preparing to challenge the great British Raj, (power,) and that Turkey has fortuitously become her tool.

2. The doctrine that what Germany wants in the East, Germany must have is rejected by India, who advances in her own right a more substantial claim to " a place in the sun " for her overcrowded 320,000,000 people than the illusory pretensions of Germany.

3. Mesopotamia is the counterpart of India climatically, ethnically, and in the character of the country. It can therefore never be a white man's country, but is well adapted for Asiatic settlement.

4. Anglo-Indian interests in the Persian Gulf and lower Mesopotamia were predominant up to the outbreak of war, and historically are antecedent to the advent of either Turk or Teuton in these parts.

5. If it is a question, as it is, of finding a successor to the Turk in Mesopotamia, who has never been in beneficial occupation, that successor must be India, not Germany.

6. India has both the means and the power to make good her contentions in this respect by force of arms, and the people are unanimous that nothing be left undone to this end.

As regards the issue of the war, the fact that Britain and her great rival of the past, Russia, are fighting on the same side has more significance to the

native mind than anything else. In their opinion these are the two strongest fighting powers in the world, and the fate of Germany and Turkey is written on the wall. Mohammedan India has been told by its spiritual head that "such mighty sovereigns as the King-Emperor and the Czar can never be defeated," and all India believes this.

There are phases of the relationship between a European State and its great Eastern dependency which one cannot touch upon in war time. It will suffice to say that British rule in India depends upon her prestige being vindicated, and India demands that Germany be driven out of the East.

When Germany deliberately challenged the might of Britain and Russia in Asia, she presumably counted the cost—one side or the other has to submit to political eclipse. There is no middle course. Had the war been a purely European one, as so many on this side considered it, it might have been capable of adjustment, but it is a different story when Europe is fighting today because the Kaiser desired to become an Eastern potentate and his people have joined in his folly.

Turkey's Technical Base

Turkey depends for her matériel upon the workshops of Germany, and should her means of transportation through the Balkans be severed then nothing remains to her but unconditional surrender. The entry of Rumania into the war has closed the Danube route, which is no longer available to either Bulgaria or Turkey. This leaves only the single railway through Belgrade, Sophia, and Adrianople. Is it equal to meeting the requirements of both countries—even if it can be successfully guarded against the allied attacks on either side? We doubt it. Once existing stores are used up, the position of Bulgaria and Turkey will become acute.

The least of Turkey's transportation troubles is in bringing the war material to Constantinople. The real difficulty begins when it is ferried across the Bosporus. Rail facilities are available only part of the way to the different fronts in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and the Egyptian Desert; and prior to the war there was practically no motor transport in the country. To land war stores, therefore, at Sivas, Kharput, Nisibin, Mosul, Bagdad, and Beersheba must be a colossal undertaking.

Control of the Black Sea

Turkey is unable to use the Black Sea because of the vigilance of the superior naval forces of Russia. In 1914 she had two superdreadnought battleships building in private yards in Great Britain, and on their completion was contemplating war with Greece. These were the Sultan Osman I. and the Reshadieh, of which the former mounted fourteen 12-inch guns and the latter ten 13.5-inch guns. On the eve of hostilities these ships were commandeered by the British Navy, and are now in commission as the Agincourt and the Erin.

It is a well understood principle that private yards in Great Britain are only permitted to build warships for foreign Governments on the understanding that in case of need the Government may take them over at contract price.

This left Turkey with a hopelessly inadequate navy, until the German battle cruiser Goeben and the light cruiser Breslau escaped into the Dardanelles in August, 1914. The former on her trial trip did over 28 knots an hour, and the latter apparently could keep up with her at full speed while both were escaping. It was these vessels, flying the Sultan's flag, which brought on hostilities between Russia and Turkey by shelling the harbor of Odessa before a declaration of war.

Russia had nothing in the Black Sea to match the Goeben for armament or speed until in 1915 she launched three battleships, each of which carries heavier guns than the Goeben, but is slower in speed. These were the Ekaterina II., built by an Anglo-Italian syndicate, and the Imperatritza Maria and the Imperator Alexander III., both built under the supervision of the Clyde shipbuilding firm of John Brown & Co. Each carried twelve 12-inch guns, and twenty 5.1-inch guns, with a displacement of 22,500 tons, and a speed of 21 knots. These ves-

sels had to be built in the Crimea, because, under the treaty of Berlin, Russia was not permitted to send war vessels through the Dardanelles, and for the same reason their coal capacity was less than is usual to their class.

After a game of tortoise and hare, the Russian fleet at length brought the Goeben and Breslau to action and damaged them so severely that they are now practically useless, as there are no dry docks or repairing facilities at Constantinople where they could be patched up.

By gaining command of the Black Sea, the Euxine fleet made possible the brilliant success of the Grand Duke's armies in Armenia, and restricted the Turks to the long and difficult communication by land.

The Russian Campaign

The seesaw of the last two months' operations in Arménia and Kurdistan has left this front much as it was six months ago, with the exception that the Russians have occupied Erzingan and established road communication from there to Trebizond on the coast. These two points represent the most westerly advance, and leave the armies of the Czar in a favorable position to continue toward Sivas and Samsun when the southern sector is brought more into line.

From Erzingan the front runs to Oghnat, and thence south of the road running through Mush, Bitlis, and Van to the Persian border at or near Dier. The Russian left wing is across the Turkish border in the neighborhood of Rivanduz, and their line of advance is along the caravan route from Tabriz to Mosul. In this sector a battle was fought which resulted in the defeat of the Fourth Turkish Division and the capture of two of their regiments.

The Turks have repeatedly tried to break through the Russian lines at Mush and Bitlis, and on each occasion have been thrown back. A recent venture occurred about a fortnight after the capture of Erzingan. It was planned by Major Gen. Gressman, a young German officer, who conceived the ambitious project of driving a wedge through the Russian centre to a point east of Erzerum, compelling the evacuation of that fortress and Erzingan, and the withdrawal of the Russian left wing. The Czar's troops had to yield Mush and Bitlis at the first onslaught, but came back, and the positions remain "as you were."

The Turks fully recognize that if their opponents reach Harput, Diarbekir, the railhead at Nisibin, and the City of Mosul, it will most seriously compromise their military situation. Here in Kurdistan, between Oghnat and Rivanduz, we may look for the next hard-hitting offensive when the Grand Duke Nicholas passes the word to General Yudénitch.

The Allies are in complete possession of Persia, save only that portion of the caravan route from Khanikin to Hamadan and the northern road from Kermanshah to Sakiz. The Turkish incursion into Persia was primarily intended to prevent a junction between the British in Mesopotamia and the Russians in Persia. The latter were advancing on Bagdad, not in sufficient numbers to take it by themselves, but rather with the object of co-operating with their allies, when they were held up by the Ottoman frontier force midway between Khanikin and Kirind, and driven back on Kermanshah and later beyond Hamadan. They had reached the most difficult part of their journey, and, as it will have to be fought over again, we may quote a description of the road given by W. B. Harris, who traveled it some years ago:

> Sunrise found us at Mian-Lek, at an altitude of over 4,000 feet above the sea, showing that we had already during the night descended some 1,200 to 1,300 feet from Kirind. * * * So we did not rest at Mian-Lek, but continued our road among sparsely grown woods until, reaching the head of the pass—the Gate of Zagros—we commenced the long descent. The road winds down first along the head of the valley and then on its northern face, turning and twisting so as to render as easy as possible for traffic the descent of 1,000 feet. For the greater part of the way the road is roughly paved, a memorial of the vast work of early days, when the very path existing today formed the great highway from Media into Babylonia. How many great armies and great Kings of the olden times have passed up and down it would be impossible to enumerate.

When the Summer heat made fighting impossible on the Babylonian plain, the

Turks availed themselves of the occasion to organize a drive of their own amid these hills with the troops set free from the siege of Kut-el-Amara and Kurdish auxiliaries from the neighborhood. Moving on a wide front through the Kurd country, as well as along the caravan route described above, they forced the Russians out of Kermanshah and pressed them back to Hamadan, and sixty miles beyond it toward Kasbin. At the same time they cleared the northern road from Kermanshah to Tabriz as far as Sakiz, which is about half way.

Although this region is not of military importance to Russia at the moment, still the Turks have gained a large measure of success here, which was designed to distract the Grand Duke's attention from their main attack at Mush and Bitlis. The Grand Duke, however, dispatched a force from Tabriz early in September that drove in the Ottoman left wing and sent it flying through Bana back into the Kurd hills, while the Turkish right sympathetically retired on Hamadan. Should this pressure be continued, the Turks must withdraw the way they came or be cut off when the Cossacks reach Kermanshah.

Turkish Military Problems

The great obstacle to the rapid conquest of Asiatic Turkey is the enormous territory to be covered, with the paucity of communications. The Ottoman high command in entering upon the war gambled upon the chance that no enemy could progress rapidly in the invasion of their country, and that, given time, their ally, Germany, would win the battles of Europe and come to their assistance. With this hope deferred, the military problem before them is a difficult one, because the Russian capture of Erzerum, Trebizond, and Erzingan turned the defenses of the Taurus Mountains and left the way clear to the invader for a march through the interior of Anatolia to Scutari on the Bosporus, opposite Constantinople.

The Anglo-Indian invasion of Lower Mesopotamia was no less disquieting to Turkey than to her Teutonic partner, whose schemes it jeopardized and sought to nullify, because both were well aware of the immense resources of India and that the surrender of General Townshend, with 3,000 British and 6,000 native Indian troops, was a very small incident in the military outlook and would not by any means end the adventure. The revolt of the Arabs in Arabia, which achieved success through the friendly aid of the British, relieved the vast Mohammedan world in India, Africa, and Central Asia from any religious or political allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey and stultified the declaration of a holy war. It also resulted in a tremendous loss of prestige to Turkey in the neighboring countries.

Attack on Suez Canal

The second attempt by the Turks, on Aug. 4, to attack the Suez Canal was a greater failure than its predecessor, on Feb. 3, 1915. The desert to the east of Suez is probably the hottest place on earth, and in July and August the heat is unbearable, yet Turk and Briton advanced to meet each other and a battle ensued at Romani, some twenty-three miles east of the canal.

In that open terrain, rifle and machine gun fire was even more effective than shell fire, although monitors were playing on the enemy from the Bay of Tineh.

The Turkish force, 14,000 strong, under General von Kressenstein, attacked on a seven or eight mile front, but were routed by British territorials and Australian cavalry with the loss of 3,920 prisoners, 1,251 killed, and about 4,000 wounded.

Their army on each occasion consisted of a division, which would appear to be the maximum force that they can provide with water during the passage of the desert, and to attempt to carry the defenses of the Suez Canal with such meagre numbers is ludicrous in the extreme. We are inclined to accept the official explanation from Stamboul that it was merely a reconnoissance in force. The probabilities are that the Turks were more afraid of their own country being invaded from across the desert than hopeful of seizing the Suez Canal. If such were the case, the obvious course was to push a reconnoissance in force, with a

view to ascertain what strength the enemy disposed, and if he really intended an invasion of Palestine by land, to disconcert his plans.

British cavalry and camelry later reconnoitred as far as Bir-el-nazar, sixty-five miles east of the canal, and on Sept. 6 drove in the Turkish outposts in that locality. Another force on Oct. 15 cleared the Turks out of the Moghara hills, which lie midway across the desert by the central route. British warships command every seaport on the coast—Mersina, Alexandretta, Beirut, Haifa, and Jaffa—and they possess the Island of Cyprus, a few hours distant from the mainland, as an admirable base. One of their seaplane squadrons bombarded Homs, forty-five miles inland, which was intended to interfere with the forwarding of supplies to the Turkish armies in the south. It is obvious, therefore, that the British threat of an invasion of the Levant is a very real danger, since it is well known that they have considerable forces available in Egypt, and for that reason the Turks dare not weaken their army in Syria or in the Adana vilayet.

But this does not end the worries of the Turkish leaders. They suspect that the Allies have designs on the important seaport of Smyrna. With that as a base, the Allies would menace the main railway line which serves all the Ottoman armies in Asiatic Turkey. An indirect attack on Smyrna is quite feasible, although the probabilities are that this may be deferred to a later stage of the campaign. The allied fleets command the coast from Smyrna to Adalia, and can effect a landing in this region whenever they wish. The French demonstrated this by seizing the Island of Castellorizo and landing a force on the mainland at Makri.

The Italians possess the Island of Rhodes, lying off the mainland, and retain a large force there; the French hold large colonial reserves in Algiers; the British likewise in Egypt, and even the allied base at Saloniki can yield its quota when Winter closes down operations in the Balkans.

All these matters are pertinent to the disposition of the Ottoman forces and militate against the effectiveness of any blow they may attempt in Armenia or Mesopotamia.

Successive onslaughts to gain the initiative against the Russian left flank have ended in failure, and the net result now is that the Ottoman forces everywhere are on the defensive.

British in Mesopotamia

With the advent of the cold weather the British are able to renew their campaign in Mesopotamia. To this end they made great preparations when the tremendous heat of the Babylonian plain made military operations there quite out of the question.

The Superintendent of Rangoon Harbor was put in charge of the erection of suitable landing facilities at the sea base, and dredging operations were undertaken at the bar of the river, so that the largest laden transports may now ascend to Basra. A railway has been constructed from the coast to the Tigris front, and a great flotilla of shallow-draft river steamers and craft of all kinds has been specially built in Great Britain, with a view to the coming riverine warfare.

Being no longer tied down by the urgent necessity of relieving General Townshend, an enlargement of the theatre of operations may develop, and this may take the form of a second expedition ascending the Euphrates River, with Bagdad also as its objective. Between Nasiriyeh, where this flotilla would start, and Kut-el-Amara is an old irrigation canal called the Shatt-el-Hai. It would be dangerous for any army to ascend the Euphrates without providing against the possibility of a second descent by the Turks upon Nasiriyeh by this route.

Coming events in this theatre promise to be of a particularly interesting nature.

Turkish Foreign Minister's Defense of Armenian Massacres

The Turkish Foreign Minister, Halil Bey, in an interview with The Associated Press representative at Vienna, Oct. 25, attempted to throw the blame of his Government's massacres of Armenian men, women, and children upon the Armenians themselves, on the ground that they had risen in revolt when the Russians invaded the country. He said:

THE Young Turks have always looked upon the Armenians as a valuable asset to the Turkish Empire. The fact is, we needed them. The country's commerce was largely in their hands, and as farmers the Armenians have a great value. We did not look upon them as valuable chattels, however. We were willing to give them an equal share in the Government, which we did, as is shown by the fact that before the outbreak of the war we had a large number of Armenians in the Chamber of Deputies and also several Senators and a Minister. Nearly all the Vice Ministers were Armenians, because we recognized the ability of the Armenians and were ready to give them their political rights in the tenancy of a proportionate number of public offices.

After the revolution all went well for a time, and the Young Turks hoped they had finally found a solution to the problem which had vexed the old régime in Turkey for many years and had retarded the progress of the country. The Balkan war, however, caused the Armenians to again take up their separatistic ideals. Committees formed an organization with the intention of securing for the Armenians an autonomous government.

I think I would be the last man to deny a people self-government, but the case of the Armenians is one where this must be done. The Armenians, spread throughout Asia Minor and Southern Russia, are merely a majority in the districts usually designated as Armenian. Armenian autonomy, therefore, would lead to the loss of the independence of the other Ottoman races. Under these conditions even the Young Turks were opposed to the Armenian plan, but in justice they wanted to give the Armenians a fuller share in the Government, which was done, and even our worst traducers cannot deny that.

When the war broke out we knew exactly what the Armenians were doing. More bombs, rifles, ammunition, and money had been brought into the country, and their organization was made even more perfect. I was then President of the Chamber of Deputies and was very fond of the Armenian members, as I had always been a friend of that race. So I called the Armenian representatives together and asked what they intended doing. At the end of the conversation I told them I could sympathize with their ideals and had always done so as long as they were not entirely separatistic.

"Gentlemen," I said, "I fully understand your position and hope that you understand ours. We have engaged in a war in which we may go down. That will be your opportunity to make arrangements with the Entente, but bear in mind that the Ottoman Government will apply the most severe measures if you act against the Turks before you know we are conquered. Make your plans so that you can meet the Entente Powers with clean hands, which you can do by supporting us so far and no further than the law demands. I think the Entente statesmen will see the correctness of such conduct and will recognize your claim to autonomy. You can then take up the work where we left off and in which I wish you every success, but bear in mind that we are not gone yet, and that the slightest false move on your part will bring trouble to all Armenians. Sit quiet and let us try this issue. When you are sure we have lost, go over to the Entente and get from them all you can."

[Enver Pasha, the leader of the Young Turks, Halil Bey said, called in the Ar-

menian patriarch one day and told him the same thing, but despite this, he said, the Armenians rose when the Russians invaded Asia Minor, and the Turkish Government took the measures which had been outlined to the Armenian leaders beforehand. The Turkish Foreign Minister said that the Armenian organization made it impossible to confine the steps taken against the Armenians to a single locality in rebellion, because the organization was so perfect that only a sweeping measure at the first hint of an uprising could meet the situation. Halil Bey continued:]

I will say that the loss to the Ottoman Empire through the deportation of the Armenians has been immense. The Armenian is able and industrious, and, therefore, valuable in the economic scheme, but what could be done? We were at war and obliged, therefore, to employ every means to make secure our own position, which was betrayed so basely through our confidence. * * * We stand or fall with the Central Powers, and at present there is nothing to indicate that any of our troops will fail—not so long as we have Germany to head the combination.

The Germans cannot be beaten in this war, because with the spirit to win they combine an unusually high ability as organizers. Germany's will to win and her organization are for Turkey every guarantee for success and victory. A people of 70,000,000 imbued with such a spirit is unconquerable. * * *

We in Turkey are one with the Central Governments in the determination to defend our national integrity. Though we have been shorn in recent years of much of our territory, there remains enough of the empire in point of extent and wealth of soil to build up a prosperous State, in which opportunity will come to all. That is the program of our Party of Union and Progress.

Siege and Surrender of Kut-el-Amara

Official Report of General Sir Percy Lake

THE British War Office published on Oct. 12 the following dispatch from General Sir Percy Lake describing officially for the first time the operations in Mesopotamia from Jan. 19 to April 30, 1916, during which he, as successor of General Nixon, attempted in vain to relieve General Townshend's besieged force at Kut-el-Amara. In connection with General Nixon's report, summarized in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, the present dispatch completes the story of the ill-fated Anglo-Indian expeditions to seize Bagdad.

General Lake's report covers three phases, all failures: (1) The fight to force the Hannah defile, Lieut. Gen. Aylmer commanding. (2) The attempt to flank the Turkish right at Dujailah redoubt, also led by General Aylmer. (3) March 11 to April 30 the capture of the Hannah and Felahieh positions, and the failure to force the Sanna-i-Yat position, resulting in the fall of Kut; commander, Lieut. Gen. Sir G. F. Gorringe.

Operations at Hannah

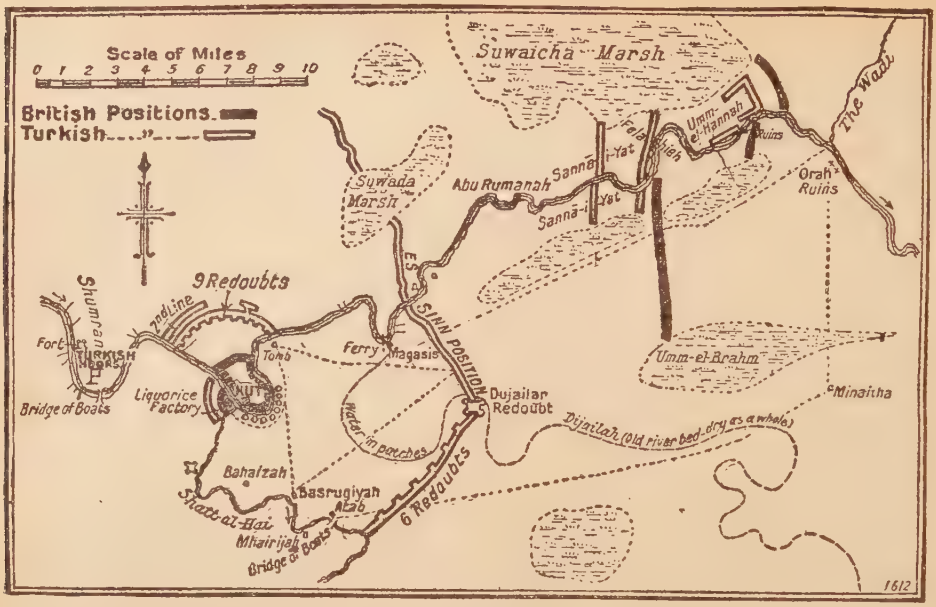
After describing the comparative smallness of this relief force and the difficulties of terrain, General Lake thus tells the story of the first phase, Jan. 19-23:

After the battle of Wadi River General Aylmer's leading troops had followed the retreating Turks to the Umm-el-Hannah position, and intrenched themselves at the mouth of the defile, so as to shut the enemy in and limit his power of taking the offensive.

The weather at this period was extraordinarily unfavorable. Heavy rains caused the river to come down in flood and overflow its banks, and converted the ground on either bank into a veritable bog.

Our bridge across the Wadi was washed away several times, while the boisterous winds greatly interfered with the construction of a bridge across the Tigris, here some 400 yards in width.

It was essential to establish artillery on the right bank of the Tigris so as to support,



SCENE OF UNSUCCESSFUL BRITISH ATTEMPTS TO RELIEVE KUT-EL-AMARA

by enfilading fire, the attack of our infantry against the Hannah position.

Guns and troops were ferried across with difficulty, owing to the high wind and heavy squalls of rain, but by the 19th all troops allotted to the right bank had crossed over and were established in the positions from which they were required to co-operate with the main force on the left bank.

Meanwhile, the leading infantry brigades on the left bank had pushed nearer the enemy. Jan. 20 was devoted to a systematic bombardment of his position, and during the night the infantry pushed forward their advanced line to within 200 yards of the enemy's trenches.

The First Repulse

On the morning of the 21st, under cover of an intensive artillery bombardment, our infantry moved to the attack.

On our right the troops got to within 100 yards of the enemy's line, but were unable to advance further. Our left column, consisting of the Black Watch, Sixth Jats, and Forty-first Dogras, penetrated the front line with a rush, capturing trenches, which they held for about an hour and a half. Supports were sent forward, but, losing direction and coming under heavy fire, failed to reach them. Thus, left unsupported, our previously successful troops, when Turkish counterattacks developed, were overwhelmed by numbers and forced to retire.

Heavy rain now began to fall and continued throughout the day. Telephone communication broke down, and communication by orderly became slow and uncertain.

After further artillery bombardment the attack was renewed at 1 P. M., but by this time the heavy rain had converted the ground into a sea of mud, rendering rapid movement impossible. The enemy's fire was heavy and effective, inflicting severe losses, and though every effort was made, the assault failed.

Our troops maintained their position until dark and then slowly withdrew to the main trenches which had been previously occupied, some 1,300 yards from those of the enemy.

As far as possible all the wounded were brought in during the withdrawal, but their sufferings and hardships were acute under the existing climatic conditions, when vehicles and stretcher bearers could scarcely move in the deep mud.

To renew the attack on the 22d was not practicable. The losses on the 21st had been heavy, the ground was still a quagmire and the troops exhausted. A six hours' armistice was arranged in order to bury the dead and remove the wounded to shelter.

I cannot sufficiently express my admiration for the courage and dogged determination of the force engaged. For days they bivouacked in driving rain on soaked and sodden ground. Three times they were called upon to advance over a perfectly flat country, deep in mud, and absolutely devoid of cover, against well-constructed and well-planned trenches, manned by a brave and stubborn enemy approximately their equal in numbers. They showed a spirit of endurance and self-sacrifice of which their country may well be proud.

Attempt on Right Bank

A period of reorganization followed the repulse at Hannah. It was decided

next to attack the Turkish position on the other bank of the Tigris, at Dujailah redoubt, so as to get through and relieve Kut before the arrival of the flood season in March. This phase of the operations extended from Jan. 4 to March 10. General Lake says:

On the afternoon of March 7 General Aylmer assembled his subordinate commanders and gave his final instructions, laying particular stress on the fact that the operation was designed to effect a surprise; and that, to prevent the enemy forestalling us, it was essential that the first phase of the operation —i. e., the capture of the Dujailah redoubt— should be pushed through with the utmost vigor.

His dispositions were briefly as follows: The greater part of a division under General Younghusband, assisted by naval gunboats, contained the enemy on the left bank. The remaining troops were formed into two columns, under General Kemball and General Keary, respectively, a reserve of infantry, and the cavalry brigade being held at the corps commander's own disposal. Kemball's column, covered on the outer flank by the cavalry brigade, was to make a turning movement to attack the Dujailah redoubt from the south, supported by the remainder of the force operating from a position to the east of the redoubt.

The night march by this large force, which led across the enemy's front to a position on his right flank, was a difficult operation, entailing movement over unknown ground and requiring most careful arrangements to attain success. Thanks to excellent staff work and good march discipline, the troops reached their allotted positions apparently undiscovered by the enemy, but while Keary's column was in position at daybreak ready to support Kemball's attack, the latter's command did not reach the point selected for its deployment, in the Dujailah depression, until more than an hour later. This delay was highly prejudicial to the success of the operation.

In spite of their late arrival the presence of so large a force seems to have been quite unexpected by the Turks, as Dujailah redoubt was apparently lightly held when our columns reached their allotted positions. Prompt and energetic action would probably have forestalled the enemy's reinforcements. But time was lost by waiting for the guns to register and to carry out reconnoissances, and when, nearly three hours later, Kemball's troops advanced to the attack, they were strongly opposed by the enemy from trenches cleverly concealed in the brushwood, and were unable to make further ground for some time, though assisted by Keary's attack upon the redoubt from the east.

The southern attack was now reinforced, and by 1 P. M. had pushed forward to within 500 yards of the redoubt, but concealed trenches again stopped further progress, and the Turks made several counterattacks with reinforcements which had by now arrived from the direction of Magasis.

It was about this time that the corps commander received from his engineer officers the unwelcome news that the water supply contained in rainwater pools in the Dujailah depression, upon which he had reckoned, was insufficient, and could not be increased by digging. It was clear therefore that unless the Dujailah redoubt could be carried that day the scarcity of water would of itself compel our troops to fall back.

Turks Again Victorious

Preparations were accordingly made for a further assault on the redoubt, and at 5:15 P. M. attacks were launched from the south and east under cover of a heavy bombardment. The Ninth and Twenty-eighth Infantry Brigades got within 200 yards of the southern face, where they were held up by heavy fire, although reinforced. Meanwhile the Eighth Infantry Brigade, supported by the Thirty-seventh, had assaulted from the east; the two leading battalions of the former, the Manchesters and Fifty-ninth Rifles, and some of the Thirty-seventh Infantry Brigade, succeeded in gaining a foothold in the redoubt. But here they were heavily counterattacked by large enemy reinforcements, and, being subjected to an extremely rapid and accurate shrapnel fire from concealed guns in the vicinity of Sinn Aftar, they were forced to fall back to the position from which they started.

The troops, who had been under arms for some thirty hours, including a long night march, were now much exhausted, and General Aylmer considered that a renewal of the assault during the night March 8-9 could not be made with any prospect of success. Next morning the enemy's position was found to be unchanged, and General Aylmer, finding himself faced with the deficiency of water already referred to, decided upon the immediate withdrawal of his force to Wadi, which was reached the same night.

The evacuation of our wounded had preceded our retirement. The first parties of wounded reached Wadi at 4 P. M. on March 9, and the last wounded man was attended to in hospital at that place at 2 A. M., March 10. The corps commander speaks in high terms of the gallantry and devotion displayed by officers and subordinates of the Medical Service and Army Bearer Corps during the fighting. They collected and attended to the wounded under heavy fire in a manner which called forth the admiration of the whole force.

Fighting Against Floods

The next month was a period of desperate struggle against the Tigris floods, which at times threatened to cover the whole region, and which necessitated enduring the enemy's fire in a sea of mud.

By April 4 the ground had sufficiently dried to carry through a new and successful attack upon Hannah, which was executed by General Maude and the Thirteenth Division. The enemy's position was a maze of deep trenches occupying a frontage of 1,300 yards between the Tigris and the Suwaicha Marsh, and extending 2,600 yards from front to rear. About the same time the Abu Roman mounds on the right bank were taken.

On the night of April 8-9 an assault was attempted upon the Turkish position at Sanna-i-Yat; but the enemy discovered and repulsed it with heavy artillery fire. The British dug themselves in at a distance of 300 to 500 yards from the Turkish line. It was then decided to make another attempt to force the Turkish right at the Sinn Aftar redoubt. On the morning of April 17 the Beit Aiessa position was attacked. The General continues:

Under cover of an intense bombardment the Seventh and Ninth Infantry Brigades advanced at 6:45 A. M., and actually reached the Turkish trenches before our artillery fire lifted. When the bombardment ceased they leaped into the trenches, bayonetted numbers of the enemy, and the Beit Aiessa position was soon in our hands. The enemy left 200 to 300 dead in the trenches, and 180 prisoners were captured.

These operations, culminating in the capture of Beit Aiessa, reflect great credit on Major General Keary and the troops under his command. Steady and consistent progress was made day after day in spite of most difficult conditions and often with a shortage of rations, which the transport was heavily strained to bring forward.

At 5 P. M. the enemy's artillery commenced to bombard Beit Aiessa and to establish a barrage in rear of the Third Division, sweeping the passage through the swamps along which its communications lay. An hour later a very strong counterattack came from the southwest. In spite of heavy shelling from our guns the attack was pressed home against the Ninth Infantry Brigade, from which a double company had been pushed forward to guard two captured guns which could not be brought in during daylight. In retiring the double company masked our fire; the Ninth Infantry Brigade was pressed and gave ground, exposing the left of the Seventh Infantry Brigade, which was also forced back. Our troops rallied on the Eighth Infantry Brigade, which was holding its ground firmly on the left of the line, and on a portion of the Seventh Infantry Brigade.

Reinforcements from the Thirteenth Division were already moving forward, but owing to the darkness and boggy ground they were delayed, and some hours elapsed before they arrived.

The attack, which commenced at 6 P. M., was followed by a series of heavy attacks throughout the night, the Eighth Infantry Brigade on the left repelling as many as six such attacks. But our line held firm, and the enemy retreated at dawn, having suffered losses estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 men.

Although the enemy had suffered heavy losses and had failed to obtain any success after their initial rush, they had checked our advance and regained that portion of Beit Aiessa nearest the river which included the bunds controlling the inundations. Its recapture was essential.

During the succeeding days some progress in this direction was made by trench fighting, and by consolidating positions pushed out toward Sinn Aftar. The boggy nature of the ground made movement difficult, and many of the troops were worn out with fatigue. * * *

Sanna-i-Yat Proves Impregnable

Throughout the 20th and 21st the Sanna-i-Yat position was bombarded. Arrangements were made for the assault to take place next morning, on a front which eventually had to be reduced to that of one brigade, the extreme width of passable ground being only 300 yards. After preliminary bombardment the Seventh Division advanced, the Nineteenth Infantry Brigade leading. Besides our artillery on both banks, massed machine guns on the right bank covered our advance. The leading troops carried the enemy's first and second lines in their immediate front, several of the trenches being flooded, but only a few men were able to reach the third line.

Large Turkish reinforcements now came up. They delivered a strong counterattack, which was repulsed. A second counterattack, however, succeeded in forcing our troops back, as many men were unable to use their rifles, which had become choked with mud in crossing the flooded trenches, and so were unable to reply to the enemy's fire. By 8:40 A. M. our men were back in their own trenches.

By mutual consent parties went out, under the Red Cross and Red Crescent flags, to collect their respective wounded. The Turkish casualties appear to have been heavy as they were evacuating wounded until nightfall. Our casualties amounted to about 1,300.

Persistent and repeated attempts on both banks had thus failed, and it was known that at the outside not more than six days' supplies remained to the Kut garrison. General Gorringe's troops were nearly worn out. The same troops had advanced time and again to assault positions strong by art and held by a determined enemy. For eighteen consecutive days they had done all that men could do to overcome, not only the enemy, but also exceptional climatic and physical obstacles—and this on a scale of rations

which was far from being sufficient, in view of the exertions they had undergone, but which the shortage of river transport had made it impossible to augment. The need for rest was imperative.

General Lake's report closes with the narrative of a final attempt to get food to General Townshend's starving men in Kut-el-Amara. The fastest river steamer on the Tigris, the Julnar, was sent to try to break through the blockade on the night of April 24, but a burst of heavy Turkish firing told the story of the gallant failure. Eight tons of supplies were dropped into the besieged city by aeroplanes, but the situation could not be materially altered by that method, and on April 29 General Townshend surrendered to the Turkish commander, Major General Khalil Pasha. "I need not enlarge upon the bitter disappointment felt by all ranks on the Tigris line," adds General Lake, "at the failure of their attempt to relieve their comrades in Kut."

A German Cartoon on the British Loss of Kut-el-Amara

—© *Continental Times, Berlin.*

The "Sick Man of Europe" as lion tamer.

Activities of the Japanese Navy

[*An official statement prepared for The London Times by the Japanese Admiralty*]

AT the outbreak of the terrible hostilities between the great powers of Europe the action of Germany had compelled our ally, Great Britain, to declare war against that country. Even at Kiao-Chau (Tsing-tao) Germany's leased colony in China, all possible warlike preparations had arduously been made by the Germans. The incessant movements of her warships in all parts of the Eastern Seas had become a menace to the international trade of Japan and other friendly powers. Free and frank consultation took place between Japan and Great Britain, with the result that the two powers agreed to take such measures as were essential to the protection of their joint interests, in accordance with the provisions of their alliance.

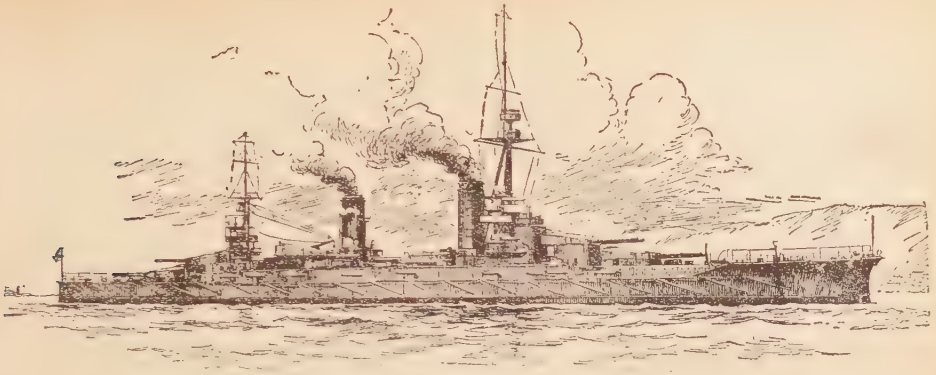
First, the Japanese Government approached the German Government with moderate advice. On the refusal of the latter Japan found herself unavoidably involved in the present war under the terms of her treaty of alliance with Great Britain. The sole ground of Japan's participation in this terrific war being that already mentioned, the plan of operations of the Japanese Navy was arrived at in consultation with the chief of the British Navy. Consequently, the general movements of our fleet were, and still are, whenever necessary, carried out in conjunction with the British Navy.

I.—Battle at Kiao-Chau

Directly after the declaration of war by Japan the main force of the First Japanese Fleet was dispatched to the region extending from the Yellow Sea to the northern part of the Eastern Sea for the purpose of searching for and warding off any attack by the hostile squadron. Meanwhile, the Second Japanese Fleet hastened simultaneously to the open sea outside Tsing-tao and began the attack on that German stronghold. The British battleship Triumph and the destroyer Usk were both placed under the command of the Second Japanese Fleet, and thus took part in the operation.

At this time the main body of the enemy's Eastern Fleet was playing hide-and-seek among the South Sea Islands, while the rest of their vessels sought safety under the guns of the Tsing-tao fortress—not daring to steam out of port. In presence of this situation the Japanese Navy steadily and watchfully awaited the further development of the chances of war. At the end of August, 1914, the first transport of the Japanese besieging army started for Tsing-tao, the First Japanese Fleet securely convoying it in conjunction with a portion of the Second Fleet, which took upon itself the duty of safeguarding navigation in the direction of the Yellow Sea. Either directly or indirectly the navy assisted the army transports to reach their destination without any hitch. Subsequently a part of the Second Fleet assisted the landing of the besieging army at a certain point in the vicinity of Tsing-tao.

Meanwhile the Second Japanese Fleet, accompanied by another force, and strengthened by torpedo and destroyer flotillas, as well as a specially commissioned flotilla, were all concentrated in the direction of Kiao-Chau, and kept the strictest watch over the enemy by day and night. Having forced the main body of the German fleet deep within the port, a force was dispatched to sea, notwithstanding the greatest risk of terrific storms, to clear the way for the transport of the second part of the besieging army by clearing the seas of mines, &c. Furthermore, the Japanese aeronautical squadron was sent up repeatedly and hovered above the danger zone of the hostile fortifications. The Takachibo, the specially commissioned boat, had succeeded in cutting the enemy's maritime



JAPANESE BATTLESHIP FUSOH, 30,600 TONS, 40,000 HORSE POWER, LAUNCHED IN 1914

cables which connected them with the outside world.

In the middle of September, 1914, when the second transportation of the Japanese troops took place, the first fleet had again resumed the task of convoying it. The main force of the second fleet had, from Sept. 28 onward, together with its mine-sweepng work, co-operated with the besieging army in the repeated bombardments of the German forts. At the same time it assisted in rendering the blockade more and more effective. The naval heavy guns section, which had already joined the besieging army in the neighborhood of Tsing-tao, had successfully commenced the bombardment of the hostile squadron, bottled up inside the port since Oct. 14—a bombardment which seriously handicapped the preconceived plans of the German warships. Subsequently it gave substantial help, in cooperation with the army, in the tremendous attacks against the very strong German positions.

On the completion of the preparations about the end of October, 1914, for the attack on the Tsing-tao fortresses the Second Japanese Fleet began a severe cannonade from the 29th against the German forts and camps and joined in the general assault of the besieging army which commenced on Oct. 31. Upon the surrender of the enemy on Nov. 7, 1914, *en bloc*, the blockade was raised by a proclamation of Nov. 10, thereby bringing to a conclusion the Japanese operations in this direction. In these operations the Japanese Navy lost the following vessels: The cruiser Takachibo, Sirataye, a destroyer, torpedo boat No. 33, the specially commissioned steamers the Chohmon-Maru III. and VI., as well as the Kohyoh-Maru. The following enemy warships were either sunk or severely damaged: The cruiser Kaiserin Elisabeth, five gunboats, and two destroyers.

II.—Eastern and China Seas

Directly after the outbreak of the war the Third Japanese Squadron was intrusted with the protection of seaborne commerce in the region extending from the southern part of the Eastern Sea to the China Sea. As the war developed it extended its vigil as far as the east of the Philippine Islands, and at the same time it undertook the maintenance of communications between the different operating squadrons. But, as the enemy warships were completely driven from the Eastern Seas by the beginning of November, 1914, the Third Japanese Squadron was after that date given the task of keeping watch over the German vessels.

Meanwhile during February, 1915, a serious disturbance had taken place among the Indian troops in Singapore. At the request of the Commander in Chief of the British Eastern Fleet, the Commander of the Third Japanese Squadron landed marine troops at Singapore and thus rendered special help in suppressing the disturbances. Part of this squadron is now performing other duties. Its sphere of action has since

JAPANESE BATTLE CRUISER HIYEI, 27,500 TONS, 64,000 HORSE POWER, LAUNCHED IN 1911

been extended in the direction of the Indian Ocean.

III.—The Indian Ocean

A division of the Japanese squadron dispatched to the South Seas, led by Captain Kwanji Kato, commander of the Ibuki, had proceeded to Singapore on Aug. 26, 1914, and joined the British Eastern Squadron. At that time the allied squadrons assumed a waiting attitude while exercising a strict watch over the adjacent seas. On Sept. 10, 1914, one of the enemy warships, the Emden, appeared in the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Seas. The Japanese division, largely increased in numbers, exerted the best of its power to hunt down such enemy warships, while another part of the Japanese fleet convoyed the transports carrying the Australian and New Zealand contingents. The enemy warships continued their activities, thereby rendering navigation in the Indian Ocean dangerous. The result was that on Oct. 15, 1914, another Japanese division was dispatched to co-operate with the British squadron. On Nov. 9 the Emden attacked the Cocos Island, when she was destroyed by the Sydney, thus putting an end to the operations in those waters. Subsequently the Ibuki had, either independently or in conjunction with the British warships, convoyed the great fleet of transports from the British oversea dominions, and thus carried the footprints of Japan as far as Aden. At present the sphere of action undertaken by the Japanese Navy is extended over the length and breadth of the Indian Ocean.

IV.—The Pacific

At the beginning of the war a division of the German fleet was operating off the North American coast and in the vicinity of Hawaii. There was much uncertainty as to the whereabouts of the main body of the German fleet previously cruising around the South Sea Islands, together with those German and Austrian warships which escaped from their eastern basis in Tsing-tao before the Japanese declaration of war. Consequently, the moment war was declared by the Mikado the Japanese Navy dispatched a fighting division of its First Fleet to the Pacific, with a view to safeguarding the international trade routes as well as searching for these German and Austrian vessels. Soon afterward another body of the First Japanese Fleet was dispatched to the South Seas. Its object was to protect the Australian trade routes and to search for German vessels. The two naval divisions were able in co-operation to do splendid work.

The enemy, however, tried strenuously to evade our ships, so that the Japanese vessels occupied all his important strategical positions scattered throughout the South Seas and thereby deprived him of all his naval bases. At the same time, all the natives of the possessions thus occupied were treated with the greatest con-

sideration by the Japanese Navy, being allowed to continue their daily life perfectly unmolested and undisturbed. The measures thus taken have not only consolidated and confirmed the safety of those places, but have also contributed very considerably toward the progress and success of our subsequent operations. Meanwhile these Japanese squadrons in the South Seas exercised enormous pressure, either directly or from afar, upon the remnant of the enemy warships scattred all over the high seas, as well as upon the main body of the German fleet cruising off the Chilean coasts.

V.—West Coast of America

Before this the Japanese Government had been compelled, in consequence of the disturbances in Mexico, to send out at the end of the year 1913 a man-of-war, the Izumo, (commanded by Captain Keijiroh Moriyama,) in order to protect their own people in that country. Then followed the great European war in 1914. Thereupon the Japanese Navy commissioned the Izumo to insure the safety of the trade routes along the western coasts of America. Simultaneously two other warships were dispatched from Japan to join Captain Moriyama's vessel for the purpose of engaging in the warlike operations against any hostile vessels in those waters. This has come to be known as "The division dispatched to America" which consisted of the Izumo, Hizen, and Asama. Subsequently Captain Moriyama was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral and was made the Commander in Chief of this division. The British warship the Newcastle, and the Rainbow of the Canadian Navy, were also attached to the command of Rear Admiral Moriyama in those waters.

Events developed very favorably for the Japanese Navy, and on Oct. 15, 1914, one of the German warships, the Geiel, while entering Honolulu Harbor, Hawaii, escorting some transport steamers, was discovered by a portion of the Japanese division which was cruising in that vicinity. Thereupon the Japanese vessels put on speed to get outside the harbor and kept a close watch on the German ships in order to prevent their escape. On Nov. 7, 1914, these enemy vessels were at length interned by the American authorities in Hawaii. Later, the main body of the German fleet appeared off the coast of Chile, and it became fairly plain that nearly all of the enemy vessels, which had thus far been scattered on all seas, had succeeded in reuniting. This reunion of the hostile ships constituted an entirely new phase of the operations of the Japanese Navy in the Pacific.

At this time the British Australian squadron happened to be cruising along the western coast of America. The Moriyama squadron acted in concert with this British force, both bringing pressure to bear upon the German fleet by cruising down to the south. In taking this course they supplemented the vigorous action of another British squadron from a different direction. The joint plan of operations was continued for some time, until at length, on Dec. 9, 1914, a severe defeat was inflicted upon the German fleet by the British squadron off the Falkland Islands, when the great majority of the enemy ships were destroyed.

Apart from the Japanese division already mentioned dispatched to the American coast, the Japanese Navy sent a further division to those waters with a view to dealing with the remnant of the German warships as well as to protecting the trade of Japan and other friendly countries. On March 10, 1915, however, one of the hostile warships, the Prince Eitel Friedrich, escaped into a United States port and was there disarmed. Four days later another enemy warship, the Dresden, was also successfully destroyed off Juan Fernandez by some British men-of-war. Thus the operations in these waters were brought to a satisfactory close.

VI.—Naval Construction

We now propose to furnish an outline of the developments of the Japanese Imperial Navy during the past six years. Parliament has approved of the expenditure on naval reinforcements of $113,965,527 for the period between April 1, 1911, and March 31, 1919, in addition to $82,975,529, the balance left on March 31, 1911. Since 1910 four battleships, four

battle cruisers, three second-class cruisers, two second-class coast defense boats, and two second-class gunboats have been added to the navy, while two battleships, each of 30,800 tons, are under construction. In the same period two battleships, three second-class cruisers, one third-class cruiser, two first-class coast defense boats, three third-class coast defense boats, one second-class gunboat, and four dispatch boats were struck off the register. Thus, deducting the sixteen warships withdrawn from service, the Japanese Navy has, during the period in question, added one ship to its force, including the two under construction. In addition fifteen destroyers have already been launched and nine are under construction, including four of 1,227 tons displacement, one of 955 tons displacement, and four of 835 tons. But twelve old ones have been struck off the register, and thus the net increase during the last six years has been twelve. The number at present is sixty, with a total displacement of 27,666 tons. In the same period forty-two torpedo boats were withdrawn from service, and no new ones have thus far been built to replace them, the number at present existing being twenty-seven, with a total displacement of 3,317 tons. Some submarines have also been constructed, the total now being seventeen.

The following figures give the personnel of the Japanese Navy on Jan. 1, 1916: Commissioned officers of all ranks and cadets, 7,236; noncommissioned officers and men, 82,172. Total, 89,408. There were also 1,069 civil officials in the navy on April 1, 1916.

The expenditure on the Japanese Navy for 1916, according to the budget estimate, is $50,968,597, of which $23,178,338 is for ordinary expenditure and $27,790,258 for special expenditure. The cost of the navy represents 16.99 per cent. of the total national expenditure.

Lord Rosebery on "Immediate Peace"

Lord Rosebery, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, said in a speech delivered at Edinburgh on Nov. 1:

In some irresponsible quarters I hear some babble of immediate peace, a sort of "as you were" peace, which would enable the Prussians to remain much as they are, ready and prepared with the experience they had gained and with resources not much impaired, to begin again at the earliest opportunity their fiendish antagonism against civilians.

Is it really supposed that we have shed our dearest blood by hundreds of thousands, that we have been paying over £5,000,000 a day and shall continue to do so as long as it is necessary, in order to leave Prussia the devilish power she has been in the past?

Why, I venture to say this (I cannot, of course, speak on behalf of the dominions): If there were a Minister (and thank God there is not) so cowardly, shortsighted, and imbecile as to conclude a peace of that kind, I am afraid our dominions and our Britons beyond the seas would say that "a country so governed is not a country to adhere to; we had better find some better statesmen of our own."

Look at Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, five small kingdoms, every one of them outraged by the German power. We are fighting for them, for Norway, greatly outraged at this moment by the massacre of her merchant seamen on high seas. We are fighting for Sweden, who at any moment may find herself in the same position. We are fighting for every neutral nation. We are fighting for one that is not weak, the United States, for if we were vanquished, which Heaven forbid, the United States would be the next to suffer from the aggressive and unscrupulous power of Prussia.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

The English Offensive Clock

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

It runs five minutes, then stops again; but the alarm goes off all the louder then, and can be heard all the way to America.

[English Cartoon]

A "Tense" Situation

—*From The Sketch, London.*

FRITZ: "Vos ve vinning, Heinrich?"
HEINRICH: "Ya! I tink ve *vos!*"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Ladder

—From L'Asino, Rome.

"You must climb to the top, my boys!"

[German Cartoon]

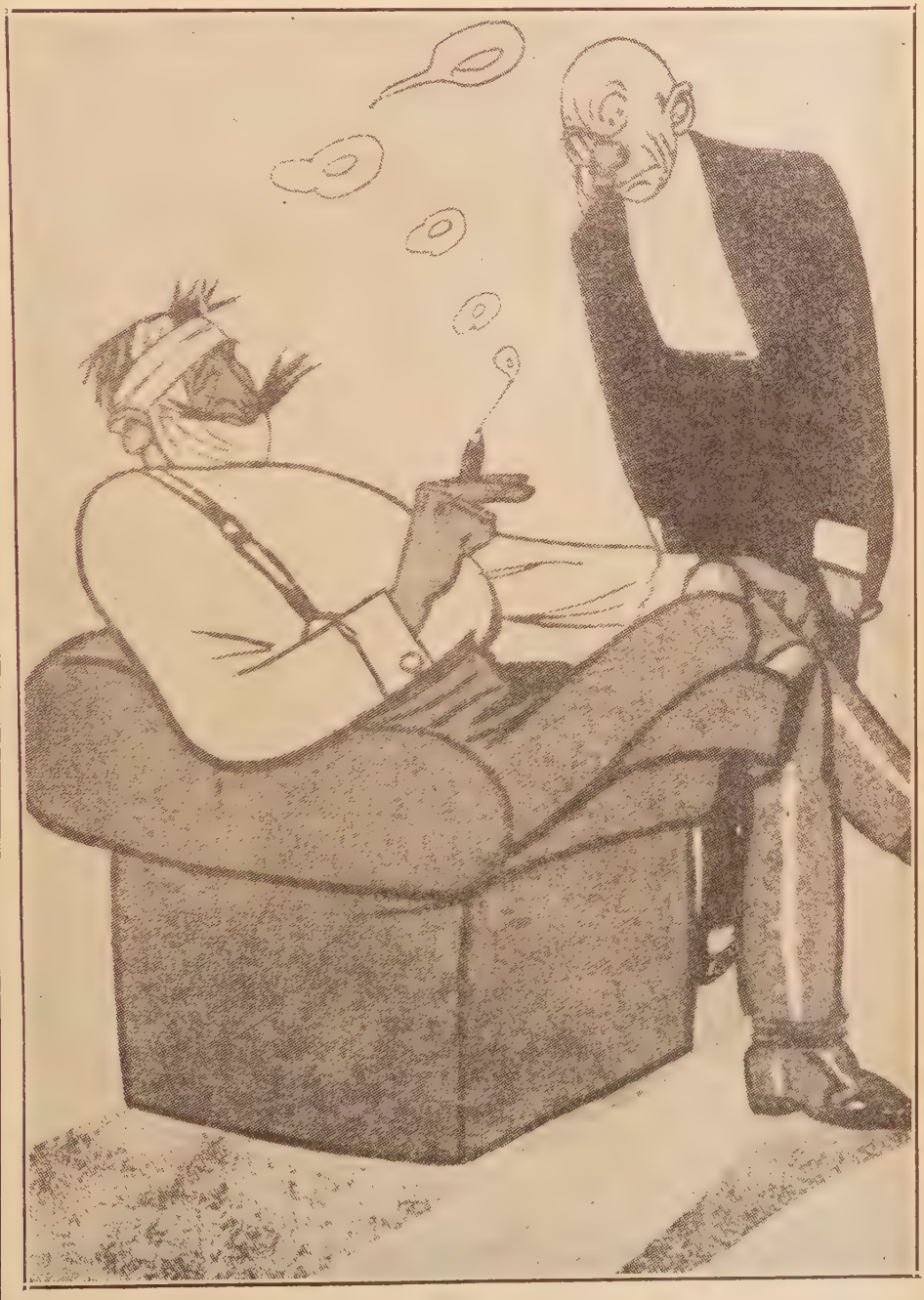
Progress of the Allied Offensive

—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

"What do you think, brother; shall we soon be at the Rhine?"

[Russian Cartoon]

Diplomatically Stated



—*Victoroff in Boudilnik, Moscow.*

DIPLOMAT (to Kaiser): "You well deserve your rest, Sire, after your Verdun victories."

[Australian Cartoon]

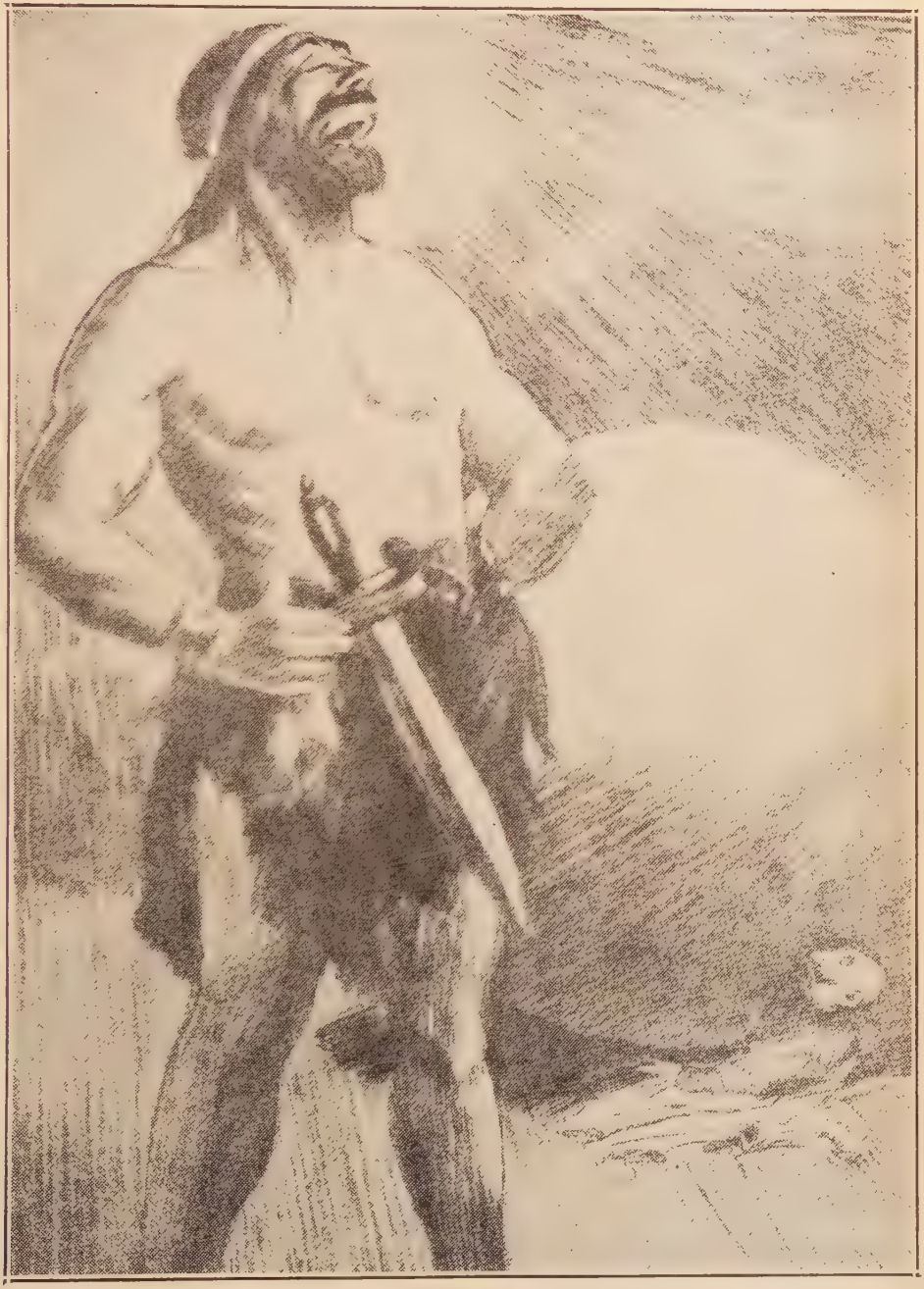
The Egomaniac Aspires

—*Flanagan in The Sydney Bulletin.*

WILLIAM HOHENZOLLERN: "My dear Atlas, I shall now endeavor to relieve you."

[Australian Cartoon]

The Egomaniac Perspires



—*Minns in The Sydney Bulletin.*

ATLAS: "There you are, my lad; you WOULD have it."

[German Cartoon]

The Laurel Crop

—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

The German soldier's homecoming.

[English Cartoon]

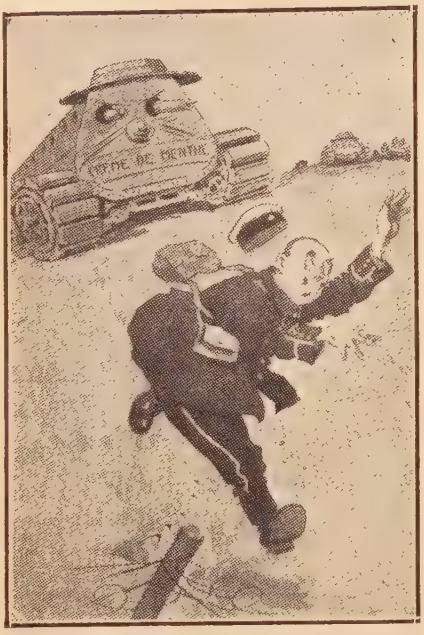
The Sup(p)er-Zeppelin

—*From The Sketch, London.*

Mrs. Parkins (returning from birthday party): "Great Pemberton! No more lobster suppers for me!"

[English Cartoon]

Liqueur, Sir?

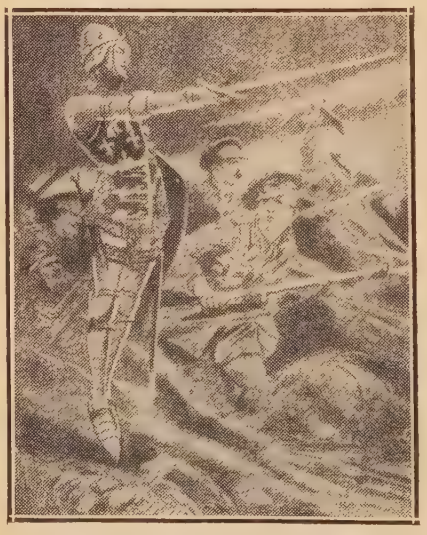


—From The Sketch, London.

FRITZ: "No Tanks!"

[English Cartoon]

The Black Prince of Picardy



—T. H. Robinson in Today, London.

British manhood once more maintains the traditions of valor on the battlefields of the Black Prince.

[Dutch Cartoon]

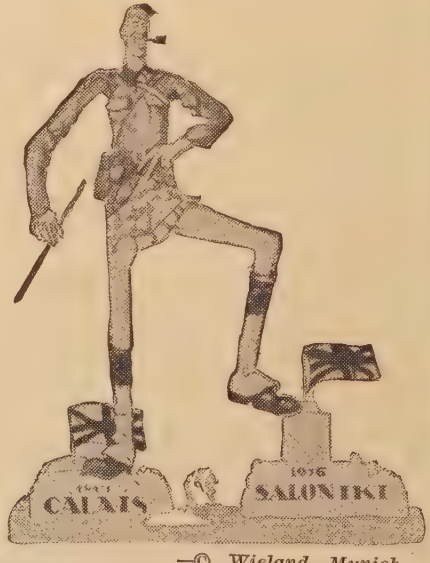
The Modern Aladdin

—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer.

The Central Powers have let loose the spirit of war, but how can they get it back into the bottle?

[German Cartoon]

Two British Victories



—© Wieland, Munich.

"If we cannot conquer our enemies, at least we can win from our friends."

[Italian Cartoon]

The New Slave Dealers

In lands occupied by the enemy.—*From Il 420, Florence.*

[French Cartoon]

After the War Loan

GERMAN PEASANT: "The Kaiser hath given; the Kaiser hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Kaiser."

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

[Germany's war funds are raised almost entirely from the German people themselves]

[German Cartoon]

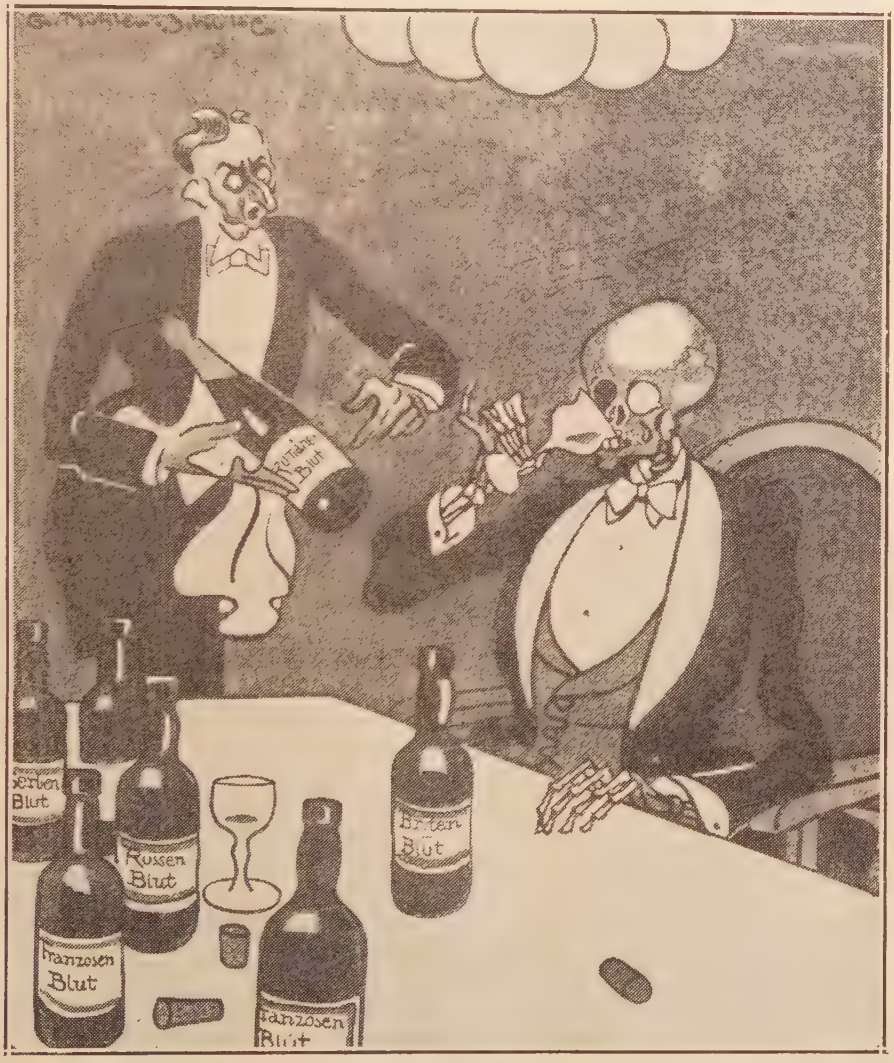
Our World-Master Hindenburg

—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

"So many against one! And he will checkmate them all."

[German Cartoon]

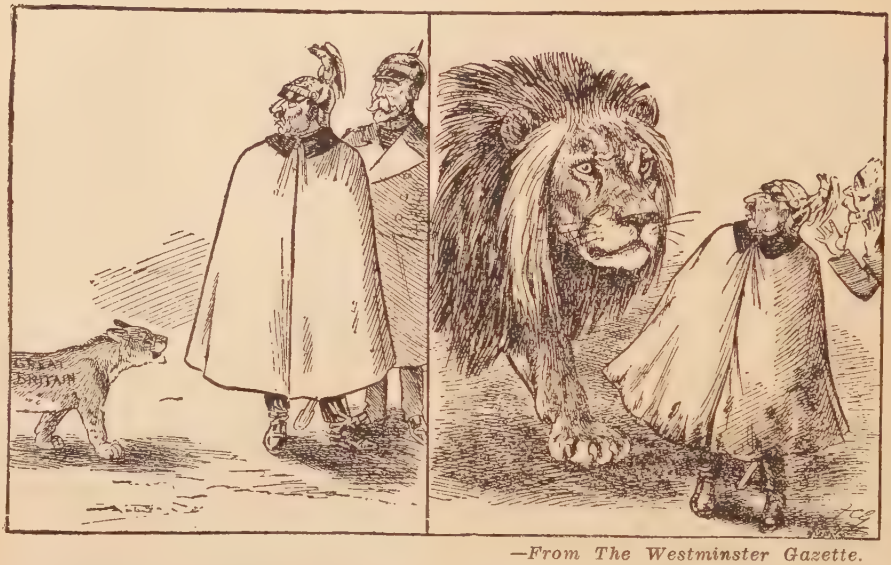
Rumania Must Bleed



—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

GREY (British Minister) TO DEATH: "Excuse me, Sir, but for fear you may not have enough, I have brought you this choice Rumanian vintage."

The Lion That Grew



—From The Westminster Gazette.

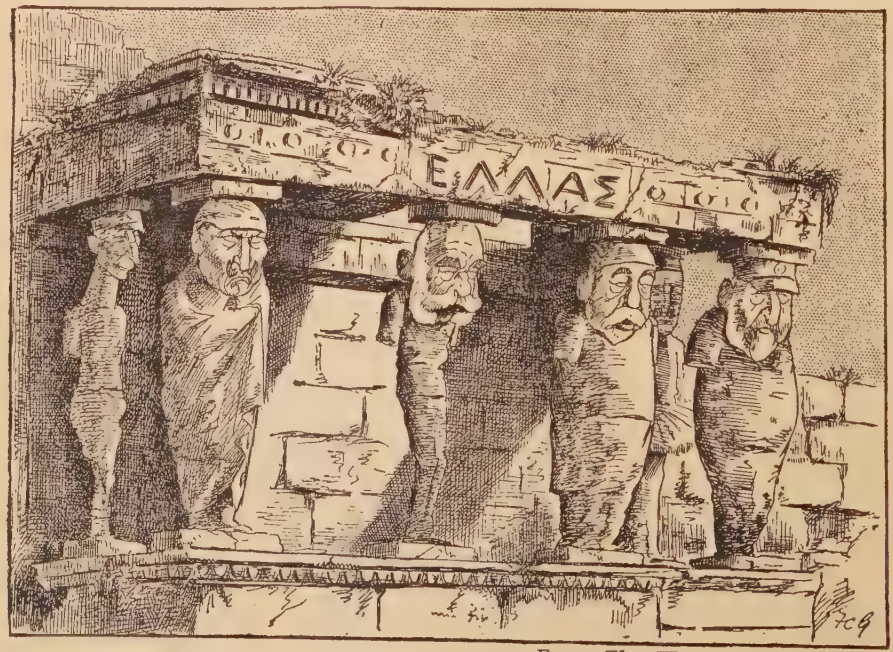
1914.

THE KAISER: "A contemptible little creature, my dear Bethmann Hollweg, not worth bothering about!"

1916.

— BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "What a dreadful menace to Europe!"

Hellas—Alas!



—From The Westminster Gazette.

The Greek Government and its pillars.

[German Cartoons]

The Boomerang

"One——

——two——

——almost hit!——

——Damnation!"

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

The Merchant Submarine

—© *Continental Times, Berlin.*

Mercury grows fins and breaks Britannia's paper "blockade."

[German Cartoon]

Hypnotism

—*Sascha Schneider in Cartoons Magazine.*

How the War God Lures the German Youth.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace Prospects

—*Louis Raemaekers, Dutch Cartoonist.*

Germania shows signs of weariness.

[French Cartoon]

The British Drive

—*Leandre in Les Annales, Paris.*

A French artist's tribute to Great Britain's work on the French front.

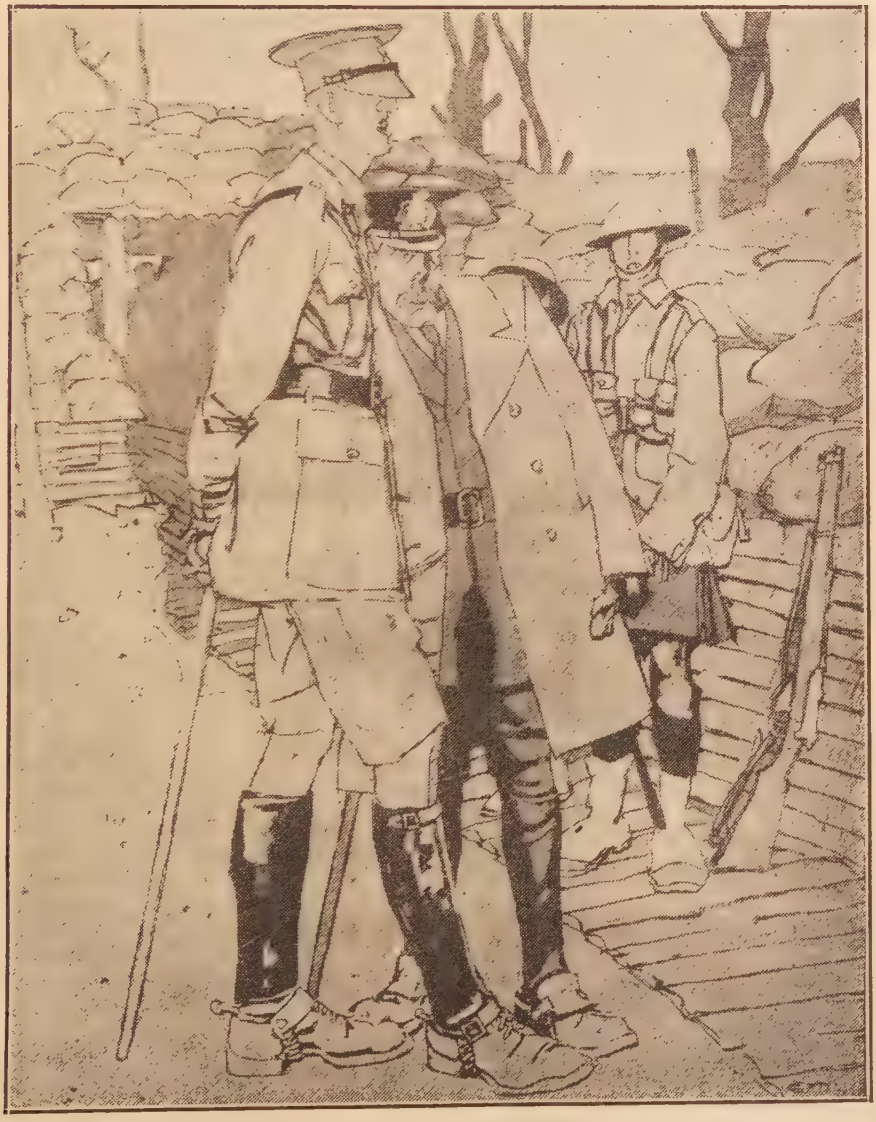
[French Cartoon]

Discouraging

"It's no fun being an Austrian General; if one is not made prisoner by the Russians or Italians, one is kicked by that Boche of a Hindenburg!"

[German Cartoon]

After the Great New Drive

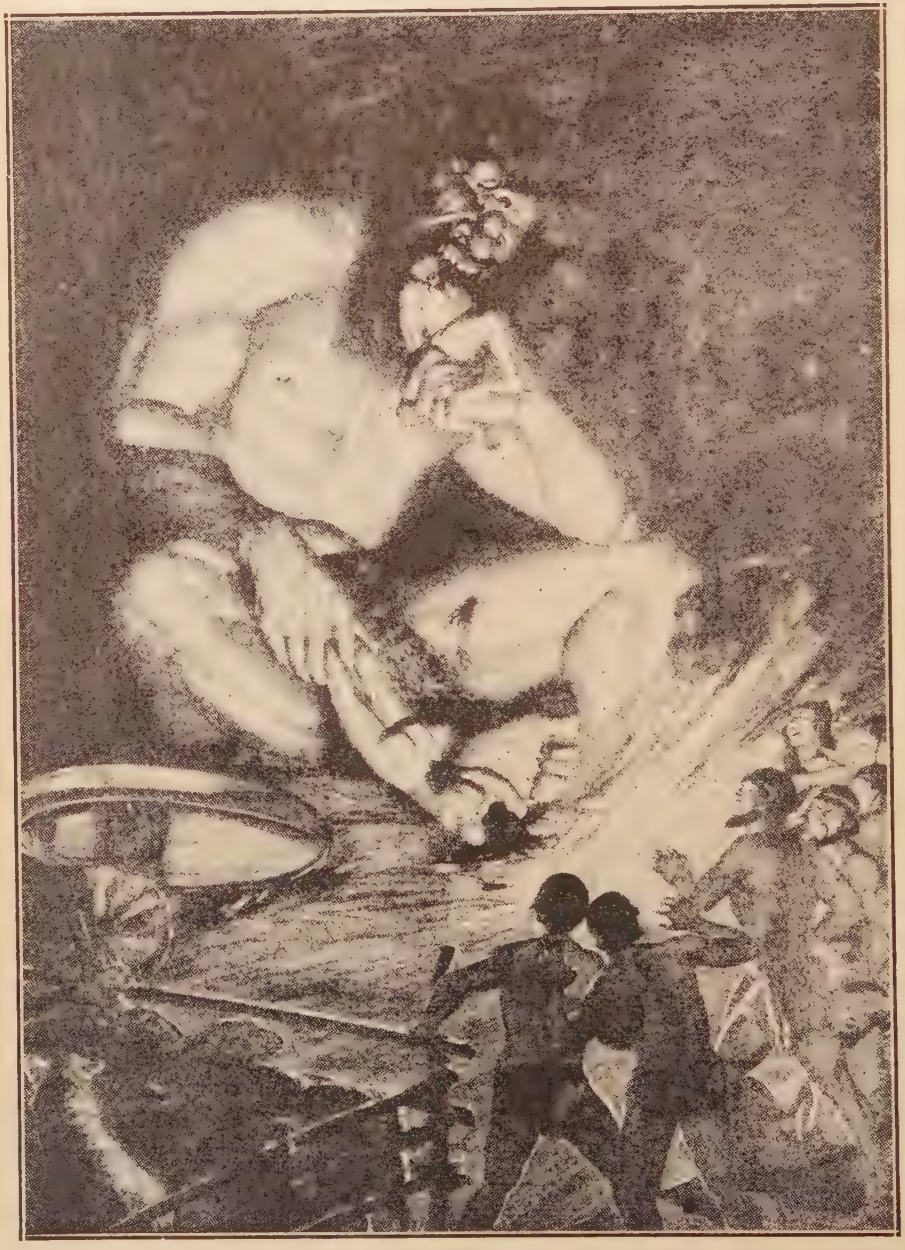


—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

"Yet another kilometer won! Perhaps our great-grandchildren may live to see the Germans thrown out!"

[Australian Cartoon]

The Modern Polyphemus



—Jack Flanagan in Cartoons Magazine.

Chief of the Cyclops as the Modern War God—He Eats 'Em Alive!

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From October 12, Up to and Including November 12, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Oct. 15—Russians storm Teuton trenches on the Vladimir-Volynski front in Volhynia; Rumanians fall back in the Kaliman mountain district of Transylvania.

Oct. 18—Rumanians drive Teutons back in the Predeal region, south of Kronstadt; frontal drive brings Russians to within three miles of Halicz.

Oct. 20—Teutons are driven back to the frontier in Transylvania, but capture important Russian positions on the west bank of the Narayuvka River.

Oct. 22—Russians defeated in Galicia southeast of Lemberg and driven across the Narayuvka River.

Oct. 23—Rumanians on Transylvanian front repulse invaders and recapture Mount Presacai.

Oct. 24—Germans take Predeal in Transylvania; Rumanians drive Teutons back in the Oituz sector.

Oct. 25—Teutons capture Vulkan Pass.

Oct. 26—Rumanians capture Mount Kerekharan, south of Bicaz; all Austro-German invaders driven from the province of Moldavia.

Oct. 27—Germans in Transylvania reach Campulung, twenty miles within the Rumanian border.

Oct. 29—Rumanians defeat Bavarian Alpine corps south of Vulkan Pass; Russians check Teuton invasion from Red Tower Pass.

Nov. 3—Rumanians drive Teuton forces across the Hungarian border at Table Butzi and attack in the Buzeu Valley, occupying Mount Siriul and Taturumio.

Nov. 4—Rumanians recapture Rosca, east of Predeal; Teutons retire rapidly in the Juil Valley; heavy fighting on the Alt.

Nov. 9—Teutons capture Surdolu in Rumania, sixteen miles from the Hungarian border.

Nov. 10—Rumanians driven back in the region west of the Buzeu Valley; Russians on the Stokhod forced back on two-and-a-half-mile front near Baranovichi.

Nov. 12—Rumanians assume the offensive in Transylvania; Russians penetrate the province to a distance of more than fifty miles below the Bukowina border.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Oct. 12—British on the Somme front advance between Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs.

Oct. 14—French troops take Genermont, near Ablaincourt.

Oct. 18—French force Germans out of Sailly-Saillisel, take dominating hills, and capture first German line west of Péronne.

Oct. 21—British on the Somme advance on a three-mile front from Schwaben to Le Sars.

Oct. 24—French break Verdun line on four-mile front and advance two miles, capturing the fort and village of Douaumont, La Caillette Wood, and advancing to the western outskirts of the village of Vaux.

Oct. 30—French take trenches northwest of Sailly, but cede ground south of the Somme between Biache and La Maisonnette region.

Nov. 2—Germans evacuate Fort Vaux; French advance northeast of Morval.

Nov. 3—French reoccupy Fort Vaux and reach the outskirts of the village.

Nov. 4—French capture western part of the village of Vaux.

Nov. 5—French capture greater part of Saillisel and the northern part of St. Pierre Wood; British secure dominating position near Waslencourt.

Nov. 7—French take German positions on front of two and a half miles south of the Somme, capturing the villages of Ablaincourt and Pressoire.

Nov. 12—French retake all of Saillisel.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Oct. 12—Serbs gain a foothold in the village of Brod, southeast of Monastir.

Oct. 16—Russians report Teutons in Dobrudja driven back to Dobric.

Oct. 18—Turks arrive on the Struma front.

Oct. 19—Serbs capture Brod.

Oct. 20—Serbs rout the Bulgars at the plateau and village of Velyeselo and turn the flank of the Kenali line; Italians, moving east from Avlona, occupy a village in Southern Albania.

Oct. 21—Bulgar-Turco-German army in Dobrudja under General Mackensen captures the town of Tuzla on the Black Sea coast.

Oct. 22—Rumanians retreat in Dobrudja as Mackensen's army occupies Teprai Sari and Cobadin.

Oct. 23—Mackensen captures Constanza and cuts the railroad to Cernavoda.

Oct. 24—Mackensen's forces capture Rashova on the Danube and the town of Medjidie on the Constanza railroad.

Oct. 25—Rumanian-Russian forces evacuate Cernavoda; Italian forces in Albania link up with the Entente forces on the Macedonian front.

Oct. 26—Rumanian-Russian forces blow up bridge over the Danube at Cernavoda to halt pursuit.

Oct. 27—Rumanian-Russian army in Dobrudja falls back to prepared line from Hirsova to Casapkeui.

Oct. 29.—French troops in the Monastir section capture the village of Gardilovo and a system of Bulgarian trenches between Kenali and the Cerna.

Oct. 30—Russian, Serbian, and Rumanian forces in Dobrudja assume the offensive.

Nov. 1—British capture Barakli-Azuma, Kumli, and Proserik on the Struma front.

Nov. 6—Russo-Rumanian army in Dobrudja drives Mackensen's army out of four villages north of the Cernavoda-Constanza railroad.

Nov. 7-9—Mackensen driven back twelve miles toward Cernavoda-Constanza line; his retreating army sets fire to the towns of Hirsova and Topal.

Nov. 10—Russians occupy Dunareav Station on the west side of the Danube, two miles from Cernavoda.

Nov. 11—Russians advance southward in Dobrudja and occupy the villages of Ghisdarechti and Topal; Russian fleet shells Constanza.

Nov.12—Serbs occupy the village of Polog and Culse Hill in the Cerna River section.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Oct. 13—Italians break Austrian lines at several points in drive toward Trieste and take strong Austrian positions between Sette Croci and Monte Roite.

Oct. 18—Italians take the summit of Mount Pasubio.

Oct. 21—Italian Alpini take strong Austrian position in the Boite Valley.

Oct. 27—Italians blow up Austrian ammunition depots on the Julian front.

Oct. 30—Italians win battle in the Cordevole Valley to the south of Settesasa.

Nov. 3—Italians take strong Austrian defenses east of Veliki Kribach and Mount Pecinka on the Julian front.

Nov. 4—Italians push forward in the Wippach Valley.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Oct. 18—Russian troops in Armenia drive off attacks by Turks and Kurds on Sudindag Mountain.

Oct. 26—Russians capture Bijar, in the Hamadan sector, Persia.

Oct. 30—Turks driven out of six villages near Hamadan.

Oct. 31—Russians disperse Turkish forces in the district of Gumuskhanah.

Nov. 7—Allies occupy the Island of Leros, off the coast of Asia Minor.

AERIAL RECORD

Aerial engagements on the western front have been notable for the number of machines that took part. Twenty-three machines were reported lost on Oct. 21. On Oct. 23 twenty aeroplanes were shot down in the Somme region. Of these the Allies lost eleven and the Germans nine. On Nov. 9 a fleet of thirty allied aeroplanes raided German bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge and in Northern France. The Germans lost thirteen machines and the Allies seventeen.

Forty allied aeroplanes raided the Mauser works at Obendorf on Oct. 13. Six German and nine allied machines were reported shot down.

Austrian seaplanes dropped bombs on Padua, Nov. 11, setting fire to several buildings.

NAVAL RECORD

The Cunard liner Alaunia was sunk by a mine in the English Channel.

In a raid made by German destroyers on the English Channel, Oct. 27, the British lost six drift-net boats, the torpedo-boat destroyer Flirt, and the transport Queen. Berlin denied the British assertion that two German destroyers were lost.

German submarines have been unusually active. The Greek steamer Angheliki, which was taking to Saloniki recruits of the volunteer movement, was torpedoed near Piraeus and about two hundred men were drowned. In the Mediterranean Sea, the American steamship Lanao, the French cruiser Rigel, the British transports Crosshill and Sedek, the Hawaiian liner Columbian, and the Peninsular and Oriental liner Arabia have been sunk. One American citizen was on board the Arabia. In the war zone thirty Norwegian, two Danish, one Rumanian, one Russian, four Swedish, three Greek, and eighteen British vessels, including the freighter Rowanmore and the horse transport Marina, have been sunk. Both the Rowanmore and the Marina had American citizens on board.

MISCELLANEOUS

On Nov. 5 Germany and Austria proclaimed the Kingdom of Poland. Austria-Hungary also granted autonomy to Galicia.

Greece has conceded further demands of the Allies, who have formally recognized the Provisional Government set up by Venizelos.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY

Hero of the Jutland Battle, Now Commander in Chief of All the British Fleets, Succeeding Sir John Jellicoe.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

DIRECTING ARTILLERY FIRE FROM AN UNDERGROUND ROOM

A French Military Telephone Exchange, Deep Underground, Where the Messages From Observation Posts Are Relayed to Artillery Batteries.

(Pach Photo News, Inc.)

SENTINELS OF THE SKY, GUARDING PARIS IN WAR TIME

This Beautiful Glimpse of Paris at Sunset, With the City Outlined Beneath, Shows Two War Balloons Watching Amid the Clouds for Hostile German Aircraft.

(Root Newspaper Association.)

PARLIAMENT CHAMBER USED BY CONQUERORS AS A DINING ROOM

Montenegro's Fate Is Strikingly Illustrated by This Photograph, Which Shows the Parliament House at Cettinje in Use by Hungarian Soldiers As Barracks.

(Universal Press Syndicate.)

FIGHTING IN THE RUINS OF A VILLAGE CHURCH IN PICARDY

French Soldiers Bringing a Machine Gun to Bear on the Enemy's Trenches, From Which a Counterattack Is Expected.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

WORLD WAR MAP SHOWING AT A GLANCE THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED

The Neutral Territory—in White—Is Vastly Overshadowed by the Portions of the Earth Engaged in the Great Conflict

(Drawn for The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial © 1916

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. V.—No. 4 January, 1917

25 Cents a Copy
$3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH	An Editorial Survey	579
GERMANY'S PEACE PROPOSAL:		
Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's Address to the Reichstag		585
Text of Peace Notes of the Central Powers		588
Official Comments of France, Russia, and Italy		590
Lloyd George's Historic Speech Regarding Peace		592
President Wilson's Note Requesting Peace Terms of All Belligerents		602
THE WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES:		
Conquest of Rumania and Its Effects: German View	By H. H. von Mellenthin	605
Military Developments of the Month: American View	By J. B. W. Gardiner	609
GENERAL ROBERT NIVELLE		613
THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME IN DETAIL. V.	French Official Record	615
INNER MEANING OF RECENT CABINET CHANGES		618
WAR FINANCES IN EUROPE	By a Banking Expert	624
Aspects of War Finance		630
Great Britain Spending $28,000,000 a Day		631
GREECE AND THE ENTENTE ULTIMATUM		632
BELGIUM AND GREECE	By Charles Johnston	635
NEW SUBMARINE COMPLICATIONS: The Arabia and Marina Cases		639
British Admiralty List of Violations of Submarine Pledge		640
GERMANY'S DRIVE IN RUMANIA	By a Former Officer of the German Army	642
Will Rumania's Downfall Prolong the War Indefinitely?		645
NAVAL POWER IN THE PRESENT WAR	By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill	648
THE POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN RUSSIA	By Isaac Don Levine	654
AUSTRIA'S CHANGE OF EMPERORS		661
PRIVATE SAVINGS AS A WAR WEAPON	By Alexandre Ribot	662
FRANCE AND THE NEW COMMANDMENTS	By Paul Deschanel	667
RHEIMS AS IT IS TODAY	By Edmund Gosse	670

Contents continued on next page

Copyright, 1916, by The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved. Entered at the Post Offices in New York and in Canada as second class matter.

CONTENTS—*Continued*

PAGE

BELGIUM'S AGONY: . . . . . Protests of Neutrals Against Deportations 674
Official Text of Belgium's Protest 676
An American Reply to General von Bissing . . . By James G. Whiteley 678
Robbing Belgium by Means of Fines 679

THE HEROIC BATTLE OF THE YSER: A Belgian Official Study . . . 681

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR:

PAGE

Touching Stories of the Wounded 684
By Lauchlan Maclean Watt.

King Alfonso's Aid for War Prisoners 686
By Mme. Gabrielle Réval.

A Canadian's Battle Picture . . 689
By Corporal J. A. Holland.

The Fatal Tower of Bovent . . 692
By a War Correspondent.

The Eagles of the Czar 694
By Ludovic H. Grondijs.

How German Soldiers View the War: A Chapter of Letters . . 696

A German Wife's Letter to Her Husband 699

Uncensored Austrian War Letters 700

HOME LIFE IN EUROPE UNDER THE SHADOW OF WAR 702
Hindenburg's Letter on the Food Situation in Germany 709

GERMANY UNDER CIVIL CONSCRIPTION: An Unprecedented War Measure . 710
German Organization at the Beginning of the War 713
French and British Food Economy Measures 715

CAP'N STORM-ALONG (Poem) . . . . . By Alfred Noyes 716

THE STORY OF THE MOEWE'S EXPLOITS . . By an Officer of the Moewe 717

SAZONOFF AND RUSSIAN IMPERIAL INTRIGUES . . By V. Vodovozoff 724

THE "SCRAP OF PAPER" EPISODE . . . . . By Richard Dobson 728
Was the War Forced Upon Germany? A Terse French Reply . . . 733
Who Began the War? An English Analysis 735

"BEFORE VERDUN" (Poem) . . . . . By Frances Fenwick Williams 736

THE MODERN MACHINE GUN . . . . . By Captain Henri Carre 737
Bullets That Travel Faster Than Sound . . . By Charles Nordmann 740

REMOVING PROJECTILES FROM THE BRAIN . . By Dr. Louis Rocher 742

NIGHT BLINDNESS AMONG SOLDIERS . . . . By Dr. L. Weekers 744

THE ENDLESS CHAIN OF MOTOR CARS THAT SAVED VERDUN . . . 745

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS. 25 Cartoons, All Nations 747

PROGRESS OF THE WAR. Chronology to Dec. 11 767

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty . *Frontis*
Directing Artillery Fire . . . "
Sentinels of the Sky . . . . . "
Parliament Chamber of Montenegro . . . . . "
Fighting in Picardy . . . . . "
Map of World at War 577
Members of New British Cabinet 592
Other New Cabinet Members . . . 593
Charles I. of Austria-Hungary . 608
Empress Zita of Austria-Hungary 609

PAGE

Dr. von Koerber, Austrian Premier 624
Gens. Mackensen and Falkenhayn 625
Germany's New Foreign Minister 656
General von Beseler 657
Pope Benedict XV. 672
Notable Italian Leaders 673
Vice Admiral d'Artige du Fournet 704
Interior of the Deutschland . . 705
Woods of Chaulnes After Battle 720
Village of Bovent in Ruins . . 721

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

JANUARY, 1917

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

Germany's Move for Peace

DECEMBER witnessed events fraught with momentous consequences affecting the war. Superseding all others in pregnant possibilities was the initiative taken by the Central Powers proposing peace. The details are given elsewhere. The proposal was made in circumstances to give full dramatic effect to the importance of the proposition and in arrogant terms such as a conqueror employs toward the vanquished. The news came with startling effect upon the entire world and made a deeper impression among all the nations than any event since the declarations of war in the historic days of midsummer, 1914.

The proposal was received with mingled feelings, varying from contemptuous disdain of what was regarded as insulting by the Hotspurs among the allied statesmen, press, and people, to a tolerant acceptance of the suggestion as meriting serious consideration by the pacifists. The dominant opinion in the most influential circles of England, France, and America construed the action as intended chiefly for influence in Germany and Austria rather than with any expectation that it might result in definite peace pourparlers. It was felt in the highest circles among the Allies that it was a shrewd diplomatic move to hearten the people of Germany and Austria with the conviction that if the war continues it is because the Allies refuse to entertain proposals of peace, hence the Central Powers are compelled to fight to save their Fatherland. The sincerity of the proposal is questioned because of its vagueness, there being no indication of what terms would be proposed.

All the Entente Allies indorse the declaration of Premier Lloyd George that they will demand an explicit statement of terms and a guarantee of good faith. In formulating their answer to the Central Powers the English Premier declared that their terms will require full restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees against repetition."

In forwarding Germany's notes to the Allied Powers the United States, the Vatican, and the other neutrals agreed that the situation did not require any comment on the part of neutral powers, and this course was pursued by all. There were some intimations that Germany hoped the neutrals might seize the occasion to urge intervention or mediation.

German opinion following the Premier's speech indicated optimism—a feeling that the door had not been flung shut in the face of the Central Powers, and that a way might yet be found for another exchange of notes. Opinion in the United States and among the chief neutrals tended to the view that Germany would not at this juncture meet the requirements of the Allies and that peace would be postponed until some more decisive result had been attained in the field. Pro-ally opinion asserts that Germany staged her proposals at the moment when it was at the full crest of victory in Rumania and in possession of a maximum area of hostile territory; but that she was keenly feeling the economic pressure and the weakening of her man power, realizing that victory was now or

never. The pro-Germans declare that she is sincere; that she is tired of slaughter and bloodshed; that she has convinced her enemies that she cannot be crushed, and in the hour of her victory really can afford to be magnanimous, but that, if her tender is refused, she is prepared to fight on more vigorously and will bring the Allies to their knees.

* * *

Outstanding Military Events

THE most important military event of the month was the triumphant march of the German legions under Mackensen and Falkenhayn through Rumania. The resistance of the Rumanians swiftly crumbled before the German guns. Bucharest fell, and the Germans were in possession of fully one-half the entire country on Dec. 20; they were continuing to advance and were daily making new captures. It is reported that the total number of prisoners taken exceeds 120,000, but the Rumanians assert that their army is still intact. The capital has been removed to Jassy, near the Russian border.

The only other important military event in December—at least up to this writing, Dec. 20—was the further advance of the French at Verdun. On Dec. 15 they delivered a heavy stroke, advancing two miles along six and a half miles of front, and taking more than 11,300 prisoners, 280 being officers, besides a considerable amount of military booty. This was the last blow struck by General Nivelle before taking over his new duties as Commander in Chief in place of General Joffre. The French now occupy at Verdun practically the same positions as before the German offensive last February.

There was no important engagement on the British, Italian, or Russian front. The army sent out from Saloniki by the Allies captured the strategic City of Monastir, but has made no important advance since.

* * *

Death of Francis Joseph

THE death of the aged Austrian Emperor late in November and the accession of his grandnephew to the throne caused no change in the situation, though it is understood that the new Emperor is not disposed to accept German hegemony as complacently as did his granduncle. There is political unrest in Austria; the Cabinet formed under Dr. von Koerber a few weeks ago resigned in December, but no facts are known as to the causes. It is generally believed that the economic and financial situation in Austria-Hungary is growing desperate. The fact that Austria insisted on a separate peace address to the neutrals is believed to indicate that the new Emperor is not so completely yoked to Germany as was Francis Joseph.

* * *

Important Cabinet Changes

DECEMBER will stand out in the war's annals as having brought complete changes of Government in France, Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, with important alterations in Germany. The meaning of these changes is treated elsewhere in this magazine. The new Cabinets foreshadow a firmer and more vigorous war policy in the three chief allied countries, and in themselves prove a singularly quick reply to the German peace movement, though the two things doubtless were determined upon independent of each other. In some quarters, however, the impression prevails that the strengthening of the allied Cabinets signifies a joint resolution to strike their heaviest blow in the Spring, and that it was the fear of this gigantic effort which moved the Central Powers to propose peace.

* * *

The Crisis in Greece

EARLY in December it seemed as though war between Greece and the Allies were inevitable, and the dethronement of Constantine seemed a certainty. Definite proof was discovered to show that Germany and the Greek royalists were in active communication. The Allies in self-protection delivered an ultimatum to Greece calling for the delivery of its arms and the cessation of movements of troops; a blockade of Athens was also declared. King Constantine was at first inclined to defy the Entente, but thought better of it and agreed to demobilize or intern his army and to re-

store the postal and telegraph lines to the Allies. If the King keeps his promises General Sarrail and the allied army at Saloniki may proceed to prosecute their Balkan plans without fear of a rear attack.

* * *

Germany's Staggering Taxes

IF the war ends by April, 1917, Germany, at the present rate of expenditure, will require an annual revenue of $3,250,000,000. The total taxable income of Germany is estimated at $9,750,000,000, distributed as follows:

Incomes up to $750	$6,500,000,000
Incomes of $750 to $2,500	1,425,000,000
Incomes of $2,500 to $7,500	750,000,000
Incomes of $7,500 to $25,000	550,000,000
Incomes above $25,000	575,000,000

If the whole revenue were raised by direct taxation this would equal one-third of the total national income, so that a family earning $750 a year ($15 a week) would have to reserve $260 of it for taxation; this would be impossible. Even with a tax graduated according to the amount of the income, the drain would be too heavy to be borne. The only recourse would be indirect taxation of extraordinary proportions, especially on all luxuries, and monumental taxes on imports other than articles of popular consumption, such as food, tobacco, and clothing.

* * *

British and German Losses

DURING November Great Britain lost in killed or died of wounds, missing and missing believed killed, 834 officers, 21,100 men; wounded, 1,473 officers, 50,343 men; prisoners, 6 officers, 212 men; total casualties, 2,312 officers, 72,479 men.

The figures for July, August, September, and October, respectively, were:

Officers	7,071	Men	52,001
Officers	4,693	Men	123,097
Officers	5,408	Men	113,780
Officers	4,366	Men	102,340

The British total for five months of the Somme offensive and on all other fronts was 23,850 officers, 463,697 men.

The German official lists for November, issued Dec. 12, show total German casualties for the month (excluding naval and Colonial services) to have been 166,176 officers and men, making the total German losses in killed, wounded and missing since August, 1914, 3,921,689.

* * *

France's War Ministers

SINCE August, 1914, when the German Army crossed the frontier of Belgium, France has had five War Ministers —two civilians and three soldiers. When the war broke out, M. Messimy was in office, a politician whose chief claim to fame is that he selected General Joffre to head the General Staff of France three years before the war, thus giving the victor of the Marne the opportunity to build up a strong defensive army for France. A few weeks later his place was taken by M. Alexandre Millerand, a much stronger man, who had worked with Joffre in strengthening and reorganizing the French Army. The late General Gallieni, organizer of Madagascar, who had displayed both genius and high valor in preparing the defense of Paris, succeeded Millerand, and a few days before his death was succeeded by General Roques, who now makes way for General Lyautey. These three soldiers all had their training in France's colonial empire; Gallieni and Roques in Tonkin as well as Africa, while General Lyautey proudly boasts that he is "one of Gallieni's pupils." Their colonial training made these men strong administrators as well as skillful soldiers.

* * *

Russia at Constantinople

THE new Russian Premier, M. Trepoff, has announced to the Duma that the Entente Powers, when fully victorious, will hand Constantinople over to Russia. Russia wants Constantinople for two reasons, one religious and the other economic and political. From Constantinople the Eastern Orthodox faith came to Russia, and the Church of St. Sophia (now a mosque) is the most venerated building in the history of the Orthodox Church, since it was built by Justinian in the sixth century. Therefore Russia wishes St. Sophia to become once more the first church of the Eastern rite, and seeks possession of Constantinople in

order to realize that wish. But Russia wants an open door for the vast wheat fields of her southern provinces, one of the granaries of the world; a door, also, by which she can import merchandise throughout the Winter, when the Baltic ports are obstructed and the White Sea ports are frozen. England has, for more than a century, steadily opposed Russia's wish, through fears concerning Egypt and India. England, as Russia's ally, has now cordially assented to Russia's wish.

* * *

The Taurus Tunnel on the Bagdad Railroad

FROM Amsterdam comes the report that the great tunnel piercing the Taurus Mountains on the Constantinople-Bagdad railroad has been completed; but, as the Taurus section requires several tunnels, eleven miles in all, it is not certain whether the report refers to one or all of them; probably the former. The tunnel is close to the Cilician Gates, a pass through the Taurus, famous since the campaign of Alexander the Great, who, like Julius Caesar, spent some time at Taurus, the capital of Cilicia. The new tunnels, if all are completed, make it possible to go by train from Tarsus to Haidar Pasha, and thence by ferry to Constantinople, a distance of about 650 miles; from Tarsus the railroad goes southeast to Aleppo, thence eastward to Nisibin, close to the Tigris; there is a further section down the Tigris Valley, immediately north of Bagdad. From Aleppo the Turkish Hejaz railroad runs down, somewhat eastward of the River Jordan, to Arabia and the recently revolted holy cities of Islam. It would be possible, therefore, if the report from Amsterdam refers to the whole system of tunnels under the Taurus, for the Sultan of Turkey to make the pilgrimage to Medina from Constantinople by train.

* * *

The Motto of the Hapsburgs

THE accession of the Emperor Charles I., by evoking historical notices of the House of Hapsburg, has brought to light a curious device invented by the Emperor Friedrich III. in the fourteenth century. This device consisted of the five vowels, A, E, I, O, U, which were, by his command, engraved on all the royal plate and carved on every article of palace furniture. The sovereign never explained their significance, which was an unsolved riddle until after his death, when the key was found on one of the leaves of his diary. It was an anagram, having essentially the same meaning in both Latin and German. The Latin version read: Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo; the German: Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich Unterthan. The literal translation of the Latin is: "To Austria it is given to rule the universe"; of the German: "Everything in the world is subject to Austria." The family name is abbreviated from Habichts-burg, "Hawk's fortress," in Switzerland, from which the early robber barons of the family used to swoop down upon the surrounding country.

* * *

Nerve-Destroying Aeroplanes

WE are accustomed to think, with entire justice, of the superb moral poise and iron nerve of the airmen of the war. Nevertheless, they are subject to nervous breakdown and sudden collapse. Even while outwardly in full physical vigor, they are piling up an accumulation of physical and moral shocks. The variations of arterial pressure and heart palpitations finish by undermining the strongest. An airman full of fire, who has given numberless proofs of daring, begins to deteriorate. He ought to rest, but, through amour propre, he insists on flying. Then comes the day when his nerves go; he misses his balance, upsets, falls. There is the constant moral anxiety; the danger of falling within the enemy's lines; the seemingly infinite distance of the home trenches. The man's mind begins to row, to row like a galley slave, endlessly, with a kind of interior despair. He thinks he is not gaining ground. He struggles against the air, against his fear, against the invisible resistance to his wings. No one has yet adequately written of the airman's psychology. Gabriele d'Annunzio could, perhaps, undertake the task successfully, since he has experienced both the triumph and the sufferings of the airman.

Tank Hunting and Tank Sickness

HERE is an entry from the diary of a young Australian who was wounded while serving with one of the new "tanks," as the English landships on the Somme front are called: "Strange sensation. Worse than being in a submarine. At first unable to see anything, but imagined a lot. Bullets began to rain like hailstones on a galvanized roof at first, then like a series of hammer blows. Suddenly we gave a terrible lurch. I thought we were booked through. Lookout said we were astride an enemy trench. 'Give them hell!' was the order. We gave them it. Our guns raked and swept trenches right and left. Got a peep at frightened Huns. It was grimly humorous. They tried to bolt like scared rabbits, but were shot down in bunches before getting to their burrows. Machine guns brought forward. Started vicious rattle on our 'hide.' Not the least impression was made. Shells began to burst. We moved on and overtook some more frightened Huns. Cut their ranks to ribbons with our fire. They ran like men possessed. Officer tried to rally them. They awaited our coming for a while. As soon as our guns began to spit at them they were off once more. Experience was not altogether pleasant at first. Tank sickness is as bad as seasickness until you get used to them."

* * *

"Narpoo" and "Blighty"

THERE have quite recently been entertaining comments on the new "French slang" which is being adopted by the British Army in France; and two words thus commented on are "narpoo" and "Blighty," the latter an oddly unattractive name for England. Now, while "narpoo" has some claim to a French origin, (as has, by the way, the better half of the English tongue,) being a corruption of the French phrase "Il n'y a plus," "there is no more of it," the second word is no more French than it is Choctaw. It is, indeed, a fairly good phonetic rendering of a Persian word, well known to all Anglo-Indians, and due, not to the presence of British armies in France, but to their presence in India, which is largely tinctured with Persian speech, the word Hindu, for example, being Persian. "Belait" is Persian for "a foreign land," and is used by Anglo-Indians for the distant land which they call home. It has a genitive or adjective form, "Belaiti," "of the foreign land," used in "Belaiti-pani," which means "soda water." Tommy Atkins, very incurious of Persian orthography, has turned Belaiti into Blighty, but it still means the land which he calls home.

* * *

Wonderful Treatment for Wounds

THE new treatment of sterilizing wounds as carried out in France by Dr. Carrel of the Rockefeller Institute is producing remarkable success. Dr. O'Neill Sherman reported to the Royal Society of Medicine at London that by this treatment the soldiers' stay in the hospitals was very appreciably shortened, many leaving in four or six weeks who would have required three to six months under former treatment; he stated that they were now doing one amputation where formerly twenty were necessary, and where there had been ten deaths there was now but one. The chief aim of the treatment was to prevent infection, as 75 per cent. of deaths after the first twenty-four hours were due to infection, and 80 per cent. of amputations were due to the same cause. The treatment consists in keeping the wound thoroughly filled, rather than irrigated, with a cleansing solution introduced every two hours, consisting of 0.45 to 0.50 per cent. hypochlorite and no boric acid, the former solution generally applied containing 0.5 to 0.6 per cent. sodium hypochlorite with boric acid. About 99 per cent. of wounds which had been sterilized by Dr. Carrel healed at once after being stitched.

* * *

No Peace Talk in Wales

THE profound determination of the masses of the United Kingdom to continue the war is revealed by the significant episode which recently occurred at Cardiff, the metropolis of Wales. A body called the National Council for Civil Liberties arranged to hold a conference for South Wales, under the Chairmanship of the President of the South Wales Miners' Association. The

delegates were appointed by trade unions in South Wales, principally the miners and railway workers.

Prior to the assembling of the conference a procession was formed on the outskirts of the town by the citizens at large, sailors, miners, laborers, clerks, small shopkeepers, &c., which soon assumed enormous proportions. There were violent scenes when the crowd collided with the conference, and the peace speakers were rushed out of the building, hooted out of the city, and pelted with mud by the crowd, being saved from bodily harm only by the interference of the police. The meeting hall was taken in charge by the crowd amid tumultuous cheering and shouts of "No Peace!" and "Down with the Traitors!" Belgian and British flags were waved, speeches were made, and resolutions of protest were telegraphed to the Home Secretary, the Prime Minister, and the Secretary of State for War, stating that, as "they did not see fit to prohibit the pacifist meeting, the people have taken the matter in their own hands and refuse to allow it to be held."

This incident provoked a sharp debate in Parliament, several members contending strongly that the authorities should have forbidden the meeting, others that the failure to protect the assemblage was a vital blow at liberty of speech. The Government explained that it took no steps so that there could be no just charge that it had connived at abridgment of personal rights.

* * *

IN the October CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in referring to the prize money awarded the British crews for the sinking of the German warships in the engagement off Falkland Islands, for which £5 was given for 2,432 enemy sailors, the impression left in the headline that the prize money was awarded for "each enemy sailor drowned" was misleading. Under the Naval Prize act of 1864 of Great Britain, Section V., Paragraph 42, it is provided in Prize Bounty Grants that "such of the officers and crew of any of her Majesty's ships of war as are actually present at the taking or destroying of any armed ship of any of her Majesty's enemies shall be entitled to have distributed among them as prize bounty a sum calculated at the rate of £5 for each person on board the enemy's ship at the beginning of the engagement."

* * *

THE birth rate in England and Wales showed a slight rise in the three months ended Sept. 30, 1916, being 21.7 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 19.5 a year previous; of 198,293 births recorded in the three months, 9,675 were illegitimate. The number of births in the last half of 1915 at Berlin were 25.1 per cent. less than in the same period of 1914; 30 per cent. less in Dresden; 34 per cent. in Hamburg; 44 per cent. decrease in Prague, and a decrease of over 50 per cent. at Vienna.

* * *

THE total number of men of military age at present in Ireland is 514,606, of whom 245,875 are considered indispensable, 107,492 physically unfit, leaving 161,239 yet available for service. The Irish enlistments since the outbreak of the war total 130,241, of whom only 33,221 have enlisted since August, 1915; of the total, 66,674 enlisted from Ulster, 21,412 from the Dublin area, 21,079 from Munster, 15,636 from Leinster, 5,440 from Connaught; since August, 1915, 14,922 have enlisted from Ulster and 18,299 from all the rest of Ireland, including Dublin.

* * *

AN interesting statement was made by Mr. Montague, Minister of Munitions of Great Britain, to the effect that the present actual expenditure for munitions is greater than the total annual expenditure for all purposes by the United Kingdom before the war.

GERMANY'S PEACE PROPOSAL

A Historic Address by the Chancellor, With Text of Notes Transmitted Through Neutral Powers

CHANCELLOR VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG convened the German Reichstag in special session Tuesday, Dec. 12, to announce that Germany and her allies had that day made a formal proposal to enter into peace negotiations with the enemy. The Chancellor earlier in the day received one after another the representatives of the United States, Spain, and Switzerland, the States protecting German interests in hostile foreign countries, and to each transmitted a note which he asked them to bring to the knowledge of the Governments at war with Germany, the contents of which were divulged soon afterward in his address to the Reichstag. The Government of Austria at the same time transmitted a note of similar import to the same representatives, and identical notes were transmitted by Turkey and Bulgaria. Notes of like nature were also communicated to the Vatican.

The momentous occasion was made the more dramatic by the manner in which the session was assembled. All the members of the Reichstag, even those in the fighting line, were summoned to Berlin by telegraph, and it was given out that the meeting would be "the most remarkable since the outbreak of the war, and of worldwide historical importance." The Imperial Chancellor the day before received the Ministers of all the Federated States and communicated to them the announcement that would be made. It is understood that Parliamentary sittings were held simultaneously at Vienna, Sofia, and Constantinople. A few days earlier a conference had taken place, at which were present the Kaiser, the Imperial Chancellor, King Ludwig of Bavaria, and General Hindenburg. At that time the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross was conferred on the Field Marshal and a personal letter handed him by the Kaiser, thanking him with unusual fervor for the successful campaign in Rumania.

The meeting of the Reichstag was arranged to give fullest dramatic effect to the momentous occasion. All the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers were in the diplomatic boxes. The building was surrounded by a great crowd, and the adjoining streets were thronged.

The Chancellor on rising was warmly greeted, and delivered his address in a clear, loud, ringing voice. His utterances were interrupted by continuous applause, and at frequent intervals there was prolonged demonstration. At the conclusion there was enthusiastic cheering, and the Reichstag immediately adjourned subject to call.

The Chancellor's Address

The Chancellor spoke as follows:

"The Reichstag had been adjourned for a long period, but fortunately it was left to the discretion of the President as to the day of the next meeting. This discretion was caused by the hope that soon happy events in the field would be recorded, a hope fulfilled quicker, almost, than expected. I shall be brief, for actions speak for themselves."

The Chancellor said Rumania had entered the war in order to roll up the German positions in the east and those of Germany's allies. At the same time the grand offensive on the Somme had as its object to pierce the German western front, and the renewed Italian attacks were intended to paralyze Austria-Hungary.

"The situation was serious," said the Chancellor. "But with God's help our troops shaped conditions so as to give us security which not only is complete but still more so than ever before. The western front stands. Not only does it stand, but in spite of the Rumanian campaign it is fitted out with larger reserves of men and material than it had been

formerly. The most effective precautions have been taken against all Italian diversions. And while on the Somme and on the Carso the drumfire resounded, while the Russians launched troops against the eastern frontier of Transylvania, Field Marshal von Hindenburg captured the whole of Western Wallachia and the hostile capital of Bucharest, leading with unparalleled genius the troops that in competition with all the allies made possible what hitherto was considered impossible.

"And Hindenburg does not rest. Military operations progress. By strokes of the sword at the same time firm foundations for our economic needs have been laid. Great stocks of grain, victuals, oil, and other goods fell into our hands in Rumania. Their transport has begun. In spite of scarcity, we could have lived on our own supplies, but now our safety is beyond question.

"To these great events on land, heroic deeds of equal importance are added by our submarines. The spectre of famine, which our enemies intended to appear before us, now pursues them without mercy. When, after the termination of the first year of the war, the Emperor addressed the nation in a public appeal, he said: 'Having witnessed such great events, my heart was filled with awe and determination.' Neither our Emperor nor our nation ever changed their minds in this respect. Neither have they now. The genius and heroic acts of our leaders have fashioned these facts as firm as iron. If the enemy counted upon the weariness of his enemy, then he was deceived.

"The Reichstag, by means of the national auxiliary war service law, helped to build a new offensive and defensive bulwark in the midst of the great struggle. Behind the fighting army stands the nation at work—the gigantic force of the nation, working for the common aim.

"The empire is not a besieged fortress, as our adversaries imagined, but one gigantic and firmly disciplined camp with inexhaustible resources. That is the German Empire, which is firmly and faithfully united with its brothers in arms, who have been tested in battle under the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian flags.

"Our enemies now ascribed to us a plan to conquer the whole world, and then desperate cries of anguish for peace. But not confused by these asseverations, we progressed with firm decision, and we thus continue our progress, always ready to defend ourselves and fight for our nation's existence, for its free future, and always ready for this price to stretch out our hand for peace.

Moment Ripe for Peace

"Our strength has not made our ears deaf to our responsibility before God, before our own nation, and before humanity. The declarations formerly made by us concerning our readiness for peace were evaded by our adversaries. Now we have advanced one step further in this direction. On Aug. 1, 1914, the Emperor had personally to take the gravest decision which ever fell to the lot of a German—the order for mobilization—which he was compelled to give as a result of the Russian mobilization. During these long and earnest years of the war the Emperor has been moved by a single thought—how peace could be restored to safeguard Germany after the struggle in which she has fought victoriously.

"Nobody can testify better to this than I who bear the responsibility for all actions of the Government. In a deep moral and religious sense of duty toward his nation and, beyond it, toward humanity, the Emperor now considers that the moment has come for official action toward peace. His Majesty, therefore, in complete harmony and in common with our allies, decided to propose to the hostile powers to enter peace negotiations. This morning I transmitted a note to this effect to all the hostile powers through the representatives of those powers which are watching over our interests and rights in the hostile States. I asked the representatives of Spain, the United States, and Switzerland to forward that note.

"The same procedure has been adopted today in Vienna, Constantinople, and Sofia. Other neutral States and his Holiness the Pope have been similarly informed."

The Chancellor then read the note, and, continuing, said:

"Gentlemen, in August, 1914, our enemies challenged the superiority of power in the world war. Today we raise the question of peace, which is a question of humanity. We await the answer of our enemies with that sereneness of mind which is guaranteed to us by our exterior and interior strength, and by our clear conscience. If our enemies decline to end the war, if they wish to take upon themselves the world's heavy burden of all these terrors which hereafter will follow, then even in the least and smallest homes every German heart will burn in sacred wrath against our enemies, who are unwilling to stop human slaughter in order that their plans of conquest and annihilation may continue.

"In the fateful hour we took a fateful decision. It has been saturated with the blood of hundreds of thousands of our sons and brothers who gave their lives for the safety of their home. Human wits and human understanding are unable to reach to the extreme and last questions in this struggle of nations, which has unveiled all the terrors of earthly life, but also the grandeur of human courage and human will in ways never seen before. God will be the judge. We can proceed upon our way."

Kaiser Notifies the Army

While the announcements were being made in the Reichstag the Kaiser sent the following message to all the Commanding Generals:

Soldiers: In agreement with the sovereigns of my allies, and with the consciousness of victory, I have made an offer of peace to the enemy. Whether it will be accepted is still uncertain. Until that moment arrives you will fight on.

Emperor William's order was addressed also to "my navy, which in the common fight has loyally and effectively staked all its strength."

Presentation of the Notes

The official copies of the notes were received by cable at Washington on Dec. 14 and 15. [Full text of notes appears on following page.] Meanwhile the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, had an interview with Secretary of State Lansing to confirm officially the receipt of the messages. There was much speculation for three or four days as to what course our Government would pursue in transmitting the notes. There was considerable discussion as to whether this move should not be made the occasion for a strong representation by the United States to the Entente, in which we should recommend favorable action upon Germany's proposal, with an urgent request that a conference be held. The Cabinet held a prolonged session, and after a day's delay it was decided that this Government would transmit the notes without any comment. Similar action was decided on by the Vatican, Switzerland, and Spain.

The presentation of the notes was accomplished at London and Paris on Monday, Dec. 18, by the American Ambassadors without formality. Ambassador Page went in an automobile from the Embassy, and was received in the Foreign Secretary's room by Lord Robert Cecil, who was acting for the Foreign Minister, Mr. Balfour having just started on a vacation. The note was inclosed in a large, white envelope; it was handed to Lord Robert without comment, and the recipient made no reference to peace, simply thanking Mr. Page for the transmission of the message from the Central Powers.

The proceedings at Paris were equally informal. The Swiss Minister at Rome presented the note to Italy, and through the same channel it was presented to Belgium and Portugal without comment. The Netherlands Minister presented the note to Serbia in behalf of Bulgaria.

Reception of the News

The news was received throughout the world with profound interest. Everywhere in the Central Empires, it was reported by the news dispatches, there was rejoicing and enthusiasm. The leading newspapers warmly supported the action and indorsed the utterances of the Chancellor. Among the Entente Allies the first effect seemed to be distinctly unfavorable, and such news as was permitted to pass uncensored indicated an al-

most universal attitude of distrust and derision.

In America the effects of Germany's proffer of peace were scarcely less marked than in the belligerent nations. One result was an immediate and violent decline on the Stock Exchanges. For two days a semi-panic ensued in the stock and commodity markets; wheat declined over 20 points, and stocks fell from 3 to 6 points the first day; there was a slight recovery on the 13th, but on the 14th and 15th there were over 2,000,000 shares sold on the New York Stock Exchange, registering declines from 4 to 8 points. The commodity markets also showed a heavy decrease in values. There was some recovery on the 16th, due to the repudiation of the move by the Russian Duma, but stocks were irregular on the 18th in expectant nervousness over the official British reply which was to be made on the 19th by Premier David Lloyd George.

The official text of the various notes which conveyed the peace proposal as transmitted through the neutrals and the Vatican follows:

Text of Peace Notes of the Central Powers

[Dispatched on Dec. 12, 1916]

To the Neutral Powers

Following is the text of the note addressed by Germany and her allies to the neutral powers for transmission to the Entente Allies:

THE most terrific war experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity.

Our aims are not to shatter nor annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) to the bitter end, if necessary; at the same time, prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations, and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence, of the honor and liberty of evolution for their nations, are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

The four allied powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle. They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines stand unshaken against ever-repeated attempts made by armies.

The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectation of further successes.

If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history. The Imperial Government, through the good offices of your Excellency, asks the Government of [here is inserted the name of the neutral power addressed in each instance] to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of [here are inserted the names of the belligerents.]

To the Vatican

The note of the German Government, as presented by Dr. von Muhlberg, German Minister to the Vatican, to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, reads as follows:

According to instructions received, I have the honor to send to your Eminence a copy of the declaration of the Imperial Government today, which, by the good offices of the powers intrusted with the protection of German interests in the countries with which the German Empire is in a state of war, transmits to these States, and in which the Imperial Government declares itself ready to enter into peace negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Governments also have sent similar notes.

The reasons which prompted Germany and her allies to take this step are manifest. For two years and a half a terrible war has been

devastating the European Continent. Unlimited treasures of civilization have been destroyed. Extensive areas have been soaked with blood. Millions of brave soldiers have fallen in battle and millions have returned home as invalids. Grief and sorrow fill almost every house.

Not only upon the belligerent nations, but also upon neutrals, the destructive consequences of the gigantic struggle weigh heavily. Trade and commerce, carefully built up in years of peace, have been depressed. The best forces of the nation have been withdrawn from the production of useful objects. Europe, which formerly was devoted to the propagation of religion and civilization, which was trying to find solutions for social problems, and was the home of science and art and all peaceful labor, now resembles an immense war camp, in which the achievements and works of many decades are doomed to annihilation.

Germany is carrying on a war of defense against her enemies, which aim at her destruction. She fights to assure the integrity of her frontiers and the liberty of the German Nation, for the right which she claims to develop freely her intellectual and economic energies in peaceful competition and on an equal footing with other nations. All the efforts of their enemies are unable to shatter the heroic armies of the (Teutonic) allies, which protect the frontiers of their countries, strengthened by the certainty that the enemy shall never pierce the iron wall.

Those fighting on the front know that they are supported by the whole nation, which is inspired by love for its country and is ready for the greatest sacrifices and determined to defend to the last extremity the inherited treasure of intellectual and economic work and the social organization and sacred soil of the country.

Certain of our own strength, but realizing Europe's sad future if the war continues; seized with pity in the face of the unspeakable misery of humanity, the German Empire, in accord with her allies, solemnly repeats what the Chancellor already has declared, a year ago, that Germany is ready to give peace to the world by setting before the whole world the question whether or not it is possible to find a basis for an understanding.

Since the first day of the Pontifical reign his Holiness the Pope has unswervingly demonstrated, in the most generous fashion, his solicitude for the innumerable victims of this war. He has alleviated the sufferings and ameliorated the fate of thousands of men injured by this catastrophe. Inspired by the exalted ideas of his ministry, his Holiness has seized every opportunity in the interests of humanity to end so sanguinary a war.

The Imperial Government is firmly confident that the initiative of the four powers will find friendly welcome on the part of his Holiness, and that the work of peace can count upon the precious support of the Holy See.

Austria's Separate Statement

An official Austrian statement, referring to the peace offer, says:

When in the Summer of 1914 the patience of Austria-Hungary was exhausted by a series of systematically continued and ever-increasing provocations and menaces, and the monarchy, after almost fifty years of unbroken peace, found itself compelled to draw the sword, this weighty decision was animated neither by aggressive purposes nor by designs of conquest, but solely by the bitter necessity of self-defense, to defend its existence and safeguard itself for the future against similar treacherous plots of hostile neighbors.

That was the task and aim of the monarchy in the present war. In combination with its allies, well tried in loyal comradeship in arms, the Austro-Hungarian Army and Fleet, fighting, bleeding, but also assailing and conquering, gained such successes that they frustrated the intentions of the enemy. The Quadruple Alliance not only has won an immense series of victories, but also holds in its power extensive hostile territories. Unbroken is its strength, as our latest treacherous enemy has just experienced.

Can our enemies hope to conquer or shatter this alliance of powers? They will never succeed in breaking it by blockade and starvation measures. Their war aims, to the attainment of which they have come no nearer in the third year of the war, will in the future be proved to have been completely unattainable. Useless and unavailing, therefore, is the prosecution of the fighting on the part of the enemy.

The powers of the Quadruple Alliance, on the other hand, have effectively pursued their aims, namely, defense against attacks on their existence and integrity, which were planned in concert long since, and the achievement of real guarantees, and they will never allow themselves to be deprived of the basis of their existence, which they have secured by advantages won.

The continuation of the murderous war, in which the enemy can destroy much, but cannot—as the Quadruple Alliance is firmly confident—alter fate, is ever more seen to be an aimless destruction of human lives and property, an act of inhumanity justified by no necessity and a crime against civilization.

This conviction, and the hope that similar views may also be begun to be entertained in the enemy camp, has caused the idea to ripen in the Vienna Cabinet—in full agreement with the Governments of the allied [Teutonic] powers—of making a candid and loyal endeavor to come to a discussion with their enemies for the purpose of paving a way for peace.

The Governments of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria have addressed

today identical notes to the diplomatic representatives in the capitals concerned who are intrusted with the promotion of enemy nationals, expressing an inclination to enter into peace negotiations and requesting them to transmit this overture to enemy States. This step was simultaneously brought to the knowledge of the representatives of the Holy See in a special note, and the active interest of the Pope for this offer of peace was solicited. Likewise the accredited representatives of the remaining neutral States in the four capitals were acquainted with this proceeding for the purpose of informing their Governments.

Austria and her allies by this step have given new and decisive proof of their love of peace. It is now for their enemies to make known their views before the world.

Whatever the result of its proposal may be, no responsibility can fall on the Quadruple Alliance, even before the judgment seat of its own peoples, if it is eventually obliged to continue the war.

Official Comments of France, Russia, and Italy on Germany's Proposal

THE first official declaration on the subject by the Entente was made by Premier Briand at a session of the Chamber of Deputies on the 12th. He warned France to beware of her enemies, though intimating that France would not do less in the premises than the other members of the allied conference. Amid applause he said:

I have the duty to place my country on guard against possible poisoning. When a country arms itself to the teeth, when it seizes men everywhere in violation of the laws of nations and enforces labor upon them, I should be guilty if I did not cry out to my country, "Look out! Take care!"

I have the right, in the first place, to say to our enemies for the hundredth time, "The blood is on your hands, not upon ours." Not that I doubt the clearsightedness of my country, but, in the face of these attempts to spread dissension among the Allies, I exclaim, "The French Republic will not do less than the convention."

Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the new War Council of Great Britain, in asking the House of Commons for an additional war credit of $2,000,000,000, which was granted, made the following reference to the peace proposal on Dec. 13. He was speaking for the Prime Minister, who was absent on account of illness:

Something has happened of which I think it necessary that I should say a word—the peace proposals from Berlin. These proposals have not reached his Majesty's Government. It is obvious that under these circumstances no member of the Government can make any statement on the subject, and in my view it would be better that very little should be said in the House of Commons.

There is one thing which even at this stage I think it necessary to say. In moving the last vote of credit the late Premier in a peroration which moved the House and the nation used these words: "They [the Allies] require that there should be adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future." That is still the policy, still the determination of his Majesty's Government.

Russia First to Act.

Russia was first of the Entente Allies to act officially on the proposals. The Russian Duma passed the following resolutions, unanimously rejecting the offer:

The Duma, having heard the statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, unanimously favors a categorical refusal by the allied Governments to enter, under present conditions, into any peace negotiations whatever.

It considers that the German proposals are nothing more than fresh proof of the weakness of the enemy and a hypocritical act from which the enemy expects no real success, but by which it seeks to throw upon others the responsibility for the war and for what happened during it, and to exculpate itself before public opinion in Germany.

The Duma considers that a premature peace would not only be a brief period of calm, but would also involve the danger of another bloody war and a renewal of the deplorable sacrifices by the people. It considers that a lasting peace will be possible only after a decisive victory over the military power of the enemy and after definite renunciation by Germany of the aspirations which render her responsible for the world war and for the horrors by which it has been accompanied.

The passage of these resolutions was preceded by an address from the Foreign Minister Pokrovsky, who announced that he spoke with full authority of the Czar. Referring to the proposals of peace he said:

Words of peace, coming from the side which bears the whole burden of responsibility for

the world conflagration, which it started, and which is unparalleled in the annals of history, however far back one goes, were no surprise to the Allies.

In the course of the two and a half years of war Germany has more than once mentioned peace. She spoke of it to her armies and her people each time she entered upon a military operation which was to be decisive. After each military success she put out feelers for a separate peace on one side and another, and conducted a propaganda in the neutral press. All these efforts have met with calm and determined resistance by the allied Powers.

Seeing now that she is powerless to make a breach in our unshakable alliance, Germany makes an official proposal to open peace negotiations. In substance, the German proposal contains no tangible indications regarding the nature of the peace which is desired by the enemy armies which devastated and occupied Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, and part of France, Russia, and Rumania.

The Austro-Germans have just proclaimed an illusory independence for part of Poland, and by this are trying to lay hands on the entire Polish Nation. The motives of the German step will be shown more clearly if one takes into consideration the domestic conditions of our enemies.

Without speaking of the unlawful attempts to force the population of Russian Poland to take arms against its own country, it will suffice to mention the introduction of general forced labor into Germany to understand how hard is the situation of our enemies.

To attempt at the last moment to profit by their fleeting territorial conquest before their domestic weakness was revealed—that was the real meaning of the German proposal. In the event of failure, they will exploit at home the refusal of the Allies to accept peace in order to rehabilitate the tottering morale of their populations.

But there is another senseless motive in that they fail to understand the true spirit which animates Russia. Our enemies deceive themselves with the vain hope that they will find among us men cowardly enough to allow themselves to be deceived, if only for a moment, by the lying proposals.

That will not be. No Russian heart will yield; all Russia will rally more closely around its august sovereign, who declared at the very beginning of the war that he would not make peace until the last enemy soldiers had left our country, and for the general collaboration which constitutes the only sure means of arriving at the end we all have at heart, namely, the crushing of the enemy.

The Russian Government repudiates with indignation the mere idea of suspending the struggle, thereby permitting Germany to take advantage of the last chance she will have of subjecting Europe to her hegemony. The innumerable sacrifices already made would be in vain if premature peace were concluded with an enemy whose forces have been shaken but not broken, and an enemy who is seeking a breathing space by making deceitful offers of a permanent peace.

In this inflexible decision Russia is in complete agreement with all her valiant allies. We are all equally convinced of the vital necessity of carrying on the war to a victorious end and no subterfuge by our enemies will prevent us from following this path to the end.

The impression became general throughout the United States that it was by agreement of the Entente that Russia took the first official action, in order to put an effectual quietus to the rumor that she was disposed to desert her allies and make a separate peace. The extraordinarily successful drive of the French troops at Verdun, where on the 14th they practically recovered all the ground lost since February, four divisions of French defeating five divisions of Germans, capturing over 11,000 prisoners, of whom 283 were officers, was regarded as France's answer to the claim of the Chancellor that the line in the west was "unbreakable."

Italy's Answer

Italy answered officially on Dec. 19. Several resolutions had previously been introduced in the Chamber of Deputies in regard to the proposals. At the sitting on the 19th Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, addressed the Chamber on the subject, stating that there was no "sign of conditions or bases of negotiations in the enemy's note." He continued as follows:

I possess no information in regard to eventual conditions of peace beyond the note from the enemy which I read in the Chamber.

Should propositions be made subsequently we should consider what to do, but it would be neither practical nor proper to discuss that question today. Moreover, it should be understood clearly that no one of the Entente Allies could take into consideration any condition whatever which by hypothesis might be eventually offered to him under separate form. In the public interest and out of respect to the allied Governments, I cannot communicate to you anything whatever as to the substance of the answer we shall give to the note of the four enemy powers. The answer will be published as soon as it is drawn up.

We all wish peace, and lasting peace. But we consider a lasting peace to be a careful settlement whose duration depends not on the solidarity of the fetters with which one people is held subject to another, but on an exact

balance among the States, based on respect for the principal nationalities, rules laid down in the laws of nations, and reasons of humanity and civilization.

If we were in the presence of genuine proposals, with bases of a nature to satisfy the general postulates of civilization and justice, which I have just mentioned, none would reject them abruptly. But there is nothing to show even faintly that this is the case, and there are many reasons for believing the contrary.

I do not desire to use exaggerated language, but the accent of boastfulness and the lack of sincerity which characterize the preamble to the enemy's note certainly inspire no belief that these mysterious peace conditions which the Central Empires announce they have the intention of exposing later on, with the object of guaranteeing the existence, honor, and free development of their peoples, do constitute an answer to the postulates we have laid down.

Baron Sonnino appealed to the Deputies of all parties, in the words of Premier Briand of France, not to permit the move of the Central Powers to "poison the mind of the people," and urged them to refrain from "playing the enemy's game" by giving way to rash or untimely manifestations which might implant the germs of division and discouragement. He asked them not to vote any order of the day which might let it be supposed that the attitude of Italy differed from that of her allies.

Amid an outburst of cheering for Baron Sonnino, the Chamber voted the order of the day pure and simple, implying confidence in the Government, and further ordered that the Foreign Minister's speech be placarded throughout Italy. The vote on the order of the day was 276 to 40.

British Premier's Answer

It was tacitly understood that the full exposition of the views of the Allies respecting Germany's peace proposals would be left to David Lloyd George, England's new Prime Minister. He had fallen ill the day he had assumed office, and his first appearance in Parliament in his new rôle was postponed on that account to the 19th. This session of the House of Commons was regarded as one of the most important in its history. Not only would the new Premier, in accordance with usage, on his final appearance outline the general policy of the Government, but his utterance would be the decisive word in behalf of all the Allies regarding the peace proposal.

The Parliament house was thronged with England's greatest. The galleries were full of peers, publicists, soldiers, and sailors. All the leading Ministers of the late Administration, with one exception, were on the front bench of the Opposition. Mr. Asquith, the retired Premier, was greeted with a demonstration that moved him deeply.

Hall Caine, the novelist, in describing the scene in the House of Commons, wrote: "A great and memorable scene! Even if the heavy duty and solemn responsibility, before God and humanity, of replying to the blasphemous braggadocio of Germany's so-called offer of peace had not fallen on the new Prime Minister as the first official act of his Premiership, today's sitting of Parliament would have been almost without parallel in Parliamentary annals. I doubt if any of us yet know how far it will go. It may be the signal for the beginning of a new order which will completely alter the character of Parliament."

The Premier began his speech at 4:10 P. M., Dec. 19, and had the floor for nearly two hours. The full text of his address is given below.

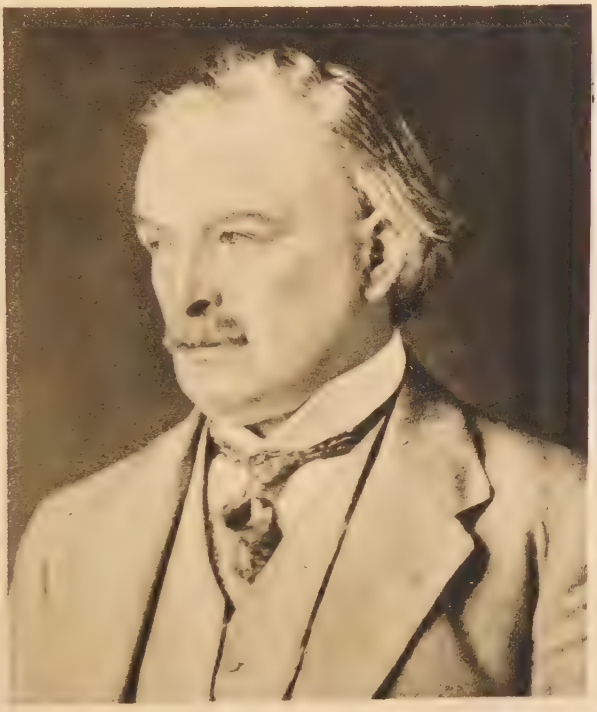
Lloyd George's Historic Speech Regarding Peace

I SHALL have to claim the indulgence of the House in making the few observations that I have to make in moving the second reading of the bill.

I appear before the House of Commons today with the most terrible responsibility that can fall upon the shoulders of any living man. As the Chief Minister of the Crown, and in the midst of the most stupendous war in which this country ever has been engaged, a war upon which its destinies depend, the responsibilities which rest upon the Government have been accentuated by the declaration of the German Chancellor, and I propose to deal with that at once.

The statement made by him in the German Reichstag has been followed by a note presented to us by the United States Minister,

MEMBERS OF NEW BRITISH CABINET

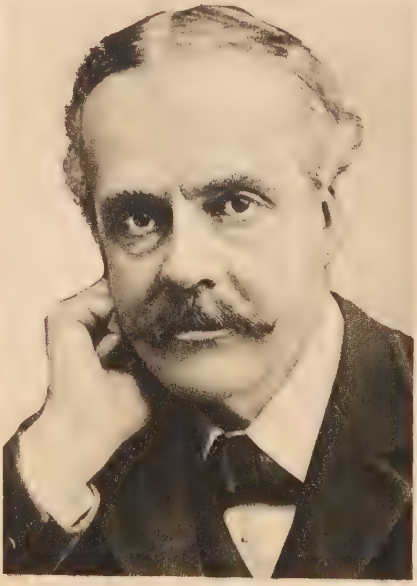


David Lloyd George
Prime Minister

Earl Curzon of Kedleston
Lord President of War Council

Andrew Bonar Law
Chancellor of the Exchequer

MEMBERS OF NEW BRITISH CABINET



Arthur J. Balfour
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

The Earl of Derby
Secretary of State for War

Lord Milner
Without Portfolio

Arthur Henderson
Without Portfolio

without any note or comment. The answer, which is given by the Government, will be given in full accord with all our various allies. Already there has been an interchange of views, not upon the note itself, because it has only recently arrived, but upon the spirit which impelled the note. The note is only a paraphrase of the speech, so that the subject matter of the note itself has been discussed informally with the Allies, and I am glad to be able to say that we arrived separately at identical conclusions.

I am very glad that the first answer was given to the German Chancellor by France and by Russia. They have unquestionably the right to give the first answer. The enemy is still on their soil and their sacrifices have been greater. The answer they have given has already appeared in all the papers, and I stand here today on behalf of the Government to give a clear and definite support to the statement they have already made. And here let me say that any man or set of men who wantonly and without sufficient cause prolongs a terrible conflict like this has on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse; on the other hand, a man or set of men who from a sense of war weariness abandoned the struggle without achieving the high purpose for which we entered upon it would be guilty of the most ghastly poltroonery ever perpetrated by any statesman.

Quotes Lincoln's Words

I should like to quote the well-known words of Abraham Lincoln under similar conditions:

"We accepted the war for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time."

Are we to achieve that object by accepting the invitations of the German Chancellor? That is the only question we have to put to ourselves.

There has been some talk about the proposals of peace. What are those proposals? There are none. To enter on the invitation of Germany, proclaiming herself victorious, without any knowledge of the proposals she intends to make, into a conference, is putting our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of the Germans.

This country is not altogether without experience in these matters. It is not the first time we have fought a great military despotism which was overshadowing Europe, and it will not be the first time we shall help to overthrow it. We have an uncomfortable historical memory of these things. We can recall how one of the greatest of these despots, having a purpose to serve in the organization of his nefarious scheme, invariably appeared in the garb of the angel of peace. He usually appeared under two conditions—when he wished for time to assimilate conquest and reorganize for fresh advances, or, secondly, when his subjects showed symptoms of fatigue and war weariness. The appeal was always made in the name of humanity. He demanded an end of bloodshed, at which he professed himself to be horrified, but for which he himself was mainly responsible. Our ancestors were taken in once and bitterly did they and Europe rue it. The time was devoted to reorganizing his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe.

Stands by Asquith's Terms

Examples of the kind cause us to regard this note with a considerable measure of reminiscent disquiet. We feel we ought to know before we give favorable consideration to such an invitation that Germany is prepared to accede to the only terms on which it is possible for peace to be obtained and maintained in Europe.

What are these terms? They have been repeatedly stated by all the leading statesmen of the Allies. All I can do is to quote what the leader of the House, Mr. Bonar Law, said last week when he made practically the same statement of terms as those put forward by Mr. Asquith—"restitution, reparation, guarantees against repetition."

So that there shall be no mistakes, (and it is important that there should be no mistake in a matter of the life and death of millions,) let me say complete restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees.

Did the German Chancellor use a single phrase that would indicate that he was prepared to accept such terms? Was there a hint of restitution? Was there any suggestion of reparation? Was there any indication of any security for the future, that this outrage on civilization would not again be perpetrated at the first profitable opportunity?

The very substance and style of the speech constituted a denial of peace on the only terms on which peace is possible. He is not even conscious now that Germany has committed an offense against the rights of free nations. Listen to this quotation: "Not for an instant had they (the Central Powers) swerved from the conviction that a respect for the rights of free nations is in any degree incompatible with their own rights and legitimate interests." When did they discover that? Where was the respect for the rights of other nations in Belgium?

That, it is said, was for self-defense. Menaced, I suppose, by the overwhelming army of Belgium, the Germans were intimidated into invading Belgium, burning Belgian cities and villages, massacring thousands of inhabitants, old and young, carrying survivors into bondage—yea, carrying them into slavery at the very moment when the note was being written about the "unswerving convicion of the respect for the rights of other nations."

What guarantee is there that these terrors will not be repeated in the future? That, if we enter into a treaty of peace, we shall put an end to Prussian militarism? If there is to be no reckoning for these atrocities by land and sea, are we to grasp the hand which per-

petrated them without any reparation being made?

We have to exact damages.

We have begun; already it has cost us much.

We must exact it now, so as not to leave such a grim inheritance for our children.

Criticises Speech and Note

Much as we all long for peace, deeply as we are horrified at the war, their note and speech give small encouragement to hope for an honorable and lasting peace. What hope is given in that speech? The whole root and cause of this bitterness, the arrogant spirit of the Prussian military caste—will it not be as dominant as ever if we patch up a peace now?

The very speech resounds with the boast of the Prussian military triumph; the very appeal for peace was delivered ostentatiously from the triumphal chariot of Prussian militarism.

We must keep a steadfast eye on the purpose for which we entered the war. Otherwise the great sacrifices we are making will be all in vain. The German note states that for the defense of their existence and for the freedom of national development the Central Powers were constrained to take up arms. Such phrases cannot but deceive those who listen to them. They are intended to deceive the German Nation into supporting the designs of the Prussian military caste.

Who ever wished to put an end to their national existence or to the freedom of their national development? We welcomed their development so long as it was on behalf of peace. The greater their development in that direction, the greater would humanity be enriched by that development.

That was not our design and it is not our purpose now. The Allies entered into this war to defend Europe against the aggression of Prussian military domination, and they must insist that the end is a most complete and effective guarantee against the possibility of that caste ever again disturbing the peace of Europe.

Prussia, since she got into the hands of that caste, has been a bad neighbor—arrogant, threatening, bullying, shifting boundaries at her will, taking one fair field after another from weaker neighbors and adding them to her own dominions, ostentatiously piling up weapons of offense, ready on a moment's notice to be used.

No More Swashbuckling

She has always been an unpleasant, disturbing neighbor to us. She got thoroughly on the nerves of Europe, and there was no peace near where she dwelt.

It is difficult for those who were fortunate enough to live thousands of miles away to understand what it has meant to those who lived near. Even here, with the protection of the broad seas between us, we know what a disturbing factor the Prussians were with their constant naval menace. But even we can hardly realize what it has meant to France and Russia. Several times there were threats. There were two of them within the lifetime of this generation which presented an alternative of war or humiliation.

There were many of us who had hoped that internal influences in Germany would have been strong enough to check and ultimately to eliminate this hectoring. All our hopes proved illusory, and now that this great war has been forced by the Prussian military leaders upon France, Russia, Italy, and ourselves, it would be a cruel folly not to see to it that this swashbuckling through the streets of Europe to the disturbance of all harmless and peaceful citizens shall be dealt with now as an offense against the law of nations.

The mere word that led Belgium to her own destruction will not satisfy Europe any more. We all believed it; we all trusted in it. It gave way at the first pressure of temptation, and Europe has been plunged into this vortex of blood. We will therefore wait until we hear what terms and guarantees the German Government offers other than those, better than those, surer than those, which she so lightly broke. Meanwhile we ought to put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith.

For the moment I do not think that it would be advisable for me to add anything upon this particular invitation. A formal reply will be delivered by the Allies in the course of the next few days.

Paints Stern Picture of Situation

What is the urgent task in front of the Government? To complete and make even more effective the mobilization of all our national resources, a mobilization which has been going on since the commencement of the war, so as to enable the nation to bear the strain, however prolonged, and to march through to victory, however lengthy and however exhausting may be the task. It is a gigantic task, and let me give this word of warning—if there be any who have given their confidence to the new Administration in expectation of a speedy victory, they will be doomed to disappointment.

I am not going to paint a gloomy picture of the military situation, (if I did it would not be a true picture,) but I must paint a stern picture because that accurately represents the facts. I have always insisted on the nation being taught to realize the actual facts of this war. I have attached enormous importance to it at the risk of being characterized as a pessimist. I believe that a good many of our misunderstandings have arisen from exaggerated views which have been taken about successes and from a disposition to treat as trifling real setbacks.

To do so, to imagine that you can only get the support and the best help of a strong people by concealing difficulties is to show a fundamental misconception of our people. The British people are just as sweet-toothed

as anybody, and they like pleasant things being put on the table, but that is not the stuff they have been brought up on, and that is not what the British Empire has been nourished on.

Britain has never shown at its best except when it was confronted with a danger, real and understood.

Rumania and Greece

Let us look at the East for a moment. The Rumanian blunder was an unfortunate one, but at the worst it prolongs the war; it does not alter the fundamental facts of the war. I cannot help hoping that it may even have a salutary effect in calling the attention of the Allies to the obvious defects in their organization, not merely the organization of each, but the organization of the whole. If it does that and braces them to fresh efforts it may prove, bad as it is, a blessing. That is the worst. That has been a real setback. It is the darkest cloud, and it is a cloud that appeared on a clearing horizon.

We are doing our best to make it impossible that that disaster should lead to worse. That is why we have taken within the last few days very strong action in Greece. We mean to take no risks there. We decided to take definite and decisive action, and I think it has succeeded. We have decided also to recognize the agents of that great Greek statesman, M. Venizelos.

The Triumphs on the Somme

I should like to say one word about the lesson of the fighting on the western front—not about the military strategy, but about the significance of the whole of that great struggle—one of the greatest struggles in the history of the world. It is full of encouragement and of hope.

Just look at it—an absolutely new army! The old had done its duty and spent itself on the achievement of its great task. This is a new army. But a year ago it was ore in the earth of Britain, yea, and of Ireland. It became iron, it has passed through a fiery furnace and the enemy know that it is fine steel.

Yet this absolutely new army, new men, new officers, Generals new to this kind of work, have faced the greatest army the world has ever seen, the best equipped, the best trained, and they have beaten them, beaten them battle after battle, day after day, week after week, from the strongest intrenchments ever devised by human skill. They have driven them out by valor—by valor that is incredible.

When you read the story of it, there is something which is full of hope for the future, which fills you with pride in the nation to which they belong. It is a fact full of significance for us and for the foe. It is part of his reckoning. He sees that army grow under his very eyes. A great French General said to me: "Your army is a new army. It must learn—not merely its Generals, not merely its officers, but its men—what to do and how and when to do it."

Therefore, basing our confidence upon these facts, I am as convinced as I ever was of ultimate victory if the nation proves as steady, as valorous, as ready to sacrifice and ready to learn and to endure as that great army of our sons in France.

Government Organized for Action

I should like now to say a word or two about the Government itself. In doing so I am anxious to avoid all issues which excite irritation or controversy. There is no time for that. It must not be assumed, however, if I do so that I accept as complete the accounts which have been given of the way the Government was formed. My attitude toward the policy of the late Administration, of which I was a member and for all of whose deeds I am just as responsible as any one else, has been given in letters or memoranda, and my reasons for leaving it have also been given in a letter. If it were necessary I should on personal grounds welcome the publication of these, but I am convinced that controversies as to the past will not help us as to the future. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I place them on one side and get on with what I regard as the business of the Government under these trying conditions.

I should like to say something first of all as to the unusual character and composition of the Government as an executive body. The House has realized that there has been a separation between the functions of the Prime Minister and the leader of the House. That was because we came to the conclusion that it was more than any one man, whatever his energy or physical strength, could do to undertake both functions in the middle of a great war.

The task of leader of the House is a very anxious and absorbing one. I have not been able to attend the House very much during the last two or three years, but I have been here often enough to realize that the task of leader of the House of Commons is no sinecure, even in a war.

There are three characteristics in the present Administration in which it may be said that it has departed, perhaps, from precedent. First of all these is the concentration of the executive authority in a very few hands. The second is the choosing of men of administrative and business capacity rather than men of parliamentary experience, where we were unable to obtain both for the headship of Government departments. The third is the franker and fuller recognition of the partnership of labor in the government of this country.

No Government has ever been formed which has had such a number of men who all their lives have been associated with labor and the labor organizations of this country. We realize that it is impossible

to conduct a war without getting the unqualified support of labor, and we are anxious to obtain their assistance and counsel for the conduct of the war.

A Structure for War

The fact that this is a different kind of organization from any that preceded it is not necessarily a criticism of its predecessors. They were peace structures; they were organized for a different purpose and for a different condition of things. The kind of craft which you have for river or canal traffic is not exactly the kind of vessel you would construct for the high seas. I have no doubt that the old Cabinets (I am not referring to the last Cabinet but to the old system of Cabinets where you had the heads of every department represented inside the Cabinet) were better adapted to navigate the parliamentary river with its shoals and shifting sands, and, perhaps, to cruise in home waters. A Cabinet of twenty-three, however, is rather topheavy for a gale.

I do not say that this particular craft is best adapted for parliamentary navigation, but I am convinced that it is the best for war. In war you want quick decisions about everything. Look at the last two and a half years. I am not referring to what has happened in this country. When I say these things, I would rather the House of Commons would look at the war as a whole. Take the concern of the Allies as a whole, (and here I am certain I will get the assent of my right honorable friend, Mr. Asquith;) the Allies have suffered disaster after disaster through tardiness in decision and action, very largely for reasons which I will give later on, and in which I know I am in complete agreement with my right honorable friend.

Value of the Small Cabinet

It is true that in a multitude of counselors there is wisdom, but that was written for Oriental countries in peace times. You cannot run a war with a Sanhedrin. That is the meaning of a Cabinet of five, with one of its members doing sentry duty outside, manning the walls and defending the council chamber against attack, while we are trying to do our work inside—and a very difficult task it is.

Some concern has been expressed as to the relations of the small executive with the other members. It has been suggested that there is danger of a lack of co-ordination and of common direction. It has been wondered how we could ever meet. One very respected newspaper suggested that there ought to be weekly dinners to discuss matters of common concern.

What is the difficulty? Whenever anything concerns a particular department, we follow the time-honored precedent, and the head of that department with his officers attend the executive period. They immediately get into contact with each other and discuss the problem which requires to be discussed.

There is another change—the amalgamation of the old War Committee and the Cabinet. The old War Committee had what the Cabinet had not; it had a Secretary who kept a complete record of all decisions, which no Cabinet ever had. With the Cabinet it was always a question of memory. Not even my right honorable friend or any of his predecessors ever took a note of the decisions.

Mr. Asquith—It is very desirable that this should be known; it is the inflexible unwritten rule of the Cabinet that no member of the Cabinet shall take any note or record of its decisions except the Prime Minister, and he does so for the purpose of sending his letter to the King.

The Prime Minister—I am very much obliged to my right honorable friend for reminding me. That is so. That indicates what a real difference there is between the War Committee and the Cabinet. In the War Committee a full record is taken of every decision. The minutes are sent around to each member for correction. The matters dealt with there are just as confidential (I might say even more confidential) as the vast majority of questions decided in the Cabinet.

I come to one point, which has caused some dismay—the new Ministries. But each Minister answers for his department exactly in the same way as under the old system, each Minister is accountable for his department, and the Government as a whole is accountable to parliamentary control. The control of Parliament always has been and must be supreme because it represents the nation, and there is not the slightest attempt to derogate from the complete control of Parliament, which is responsible to the nation.

Need of the Labor Minister

My right honorable friend, the Home Secretary, in introducing the bill, and the leader of the House subsequently gave a very detailed account of the public work of the new Ministries. The Ministry of Labor has been urged for thirty years by organized labor unions, and my experience in the Ministry of Munitions has taught me that it is desirable that there should be a department, which is not altogether in the position of an employer whenever there is a dispute about labor or wages. I hope that this department will not confine itself simply to disputes, which is but a small part of the industrial problem with which it has to deal. I hope it will become in a real sense a Ministry of Labor.

At the Ministry of Munitions I had the duty to set up something, which is known as the welfare department, to make labor conditions better and to make labor less repellent and more attractive and healthful. A number of very able volunteers are organizing that department. I am glad to say that they belong to the Society of Friends, who, though they have a rooted objection to war, have never declared during this war that they could not take part in national work. They are working hard in this department, and I am hoping this department

is assisting the mobilization of labor for the purpose of war.

Nationalizing Shipping

My right honorable friend has already indicated to the House what we propose to do with regard to shipping. It was never so vital to the life of the nation as now during this war. It is the jugular vein which, if severed, would destroy the life of the nation. We are taking over all the ships of this country on the same conditions as we have taken over the railways, so that during the war shipping will be nationalized in the real sense of the term. The prodigious profits which were made out of freights have contributed in no small measure to the high price of commodities.

One of the greatest shippers in the United Kingdom has undertaken to conduct this great enterprise for the welfare of the country. He is now in conference with the Admiralty, and I hope soon to inform the House of the plans he recommends to be taken, not merely the taking of ships already in the country, but for speedy construction of more, so as to make up the wastage which, I think, is inevitable during a great war, especially when you are dealing with those piratical methods which characterize the maritime policy of the German Empire.

In this case the Government say, as the late Government said, they are dealing with a national commodity which is essential to the life of the nation, and I think they are right. The position is being carefully considered, and we shall be able to place our plans before you before we separate.

The Grave Food Problem

Now I must say something about food. The food problem is a grave problem, and would become graver unless not only the Government but the nation is prepared to grapple with it without loss of time.

The main facts are that the available harvests of the world have failed. In times of peace we could always make up the deficiency of one particular country by resorting to another. If America failed there was Russia or the Argentine, but the Argentine promises badly as well as Australia, and Russia is not available.

Under the circumstances it was decided by the late Government to appoint a Food Controller, and we actually appointed him—an able and experienced administrator, a man of great determination and force of character. And he is assisted by one of the greatest agricultural experts in this House. At the head of the Board of Agriculture we have a man singularly gifted, who has as thorough a knowledge of principles and practices of this question as any man in this or any other country.

I have felt it important that we should secure the best brains in the country to bear on this very difficult and dangerous problem. The problem is a double one. It is one of distribution and of protection. In respect of both we must call on the people of this country to make real sacrifices, but it is essential if we do so that the sacrifice should be equal. Overconsumption by the fortunate must not be allowed to create a shortage for the less well to do.

I am sure that we can depend on the men and women of all conditions, to use the ordinary phrase, to play the game. Any sort of concealment hurts the nation when it is fighting for its life. Therefore, we must appeal to the nation as a whole (without the help of the nation we can accomplish nothing) to assist us in so distributing our resources that there shall be no man, woman, or child who suffers from hunger because some one has been getting too much.

When it comes to production, every available square yard of land must be made to produce food and the labor available for tillage should not be turned to mere ornamental purpose until the food necessities of the country have been adequately safeguarded. The best use must be made of the land and of all available labor to increase the food supplies of the country. All those who have the opportunity must feel that it is their duty to the State to assist in producing and contributing to the common stock from which every one draws. If we do this, we get rid of any privation, every one having plenty of the best and healthiest food.

Calls for National Sacrifice

By that means alone will the nation be able to carry on the war to the triumphant issue to which we are all looking forward. It means sacrifice, but what sacrifice! Talk to the man who has returned from the horrors of the Somme, or one who has been through the haunting wretchedness of a Winter campaign, and you will know something of what those gallant men are enduring for their country. They are enduring much; they are hazarding much, while we are living in comfort and security at home.

You cannot have absolute equality of sacrifice in war, it is impossible, but you can have equal readiness of sacrifice from all. There are hundreds of thousands who have given their lives; there are millions who have given up comfortable homes and exchanged them for daily communion with death. Multitudes have given up those they love best.

Let the nation as a whole place its comforts, indulgences, and elegances on a national altar, consecrated by such sacrifices as these men have made. Let us proclaim during the war a national Lent. The nation will be better for it—stronger mentally, morally, and physically. It would strengthen its fibre and would ennoble its spirit.

Without it we shall not get the full benefit of this struggle. Our armies might drive the enemy out of the battered villages of France, across the devastated plains of Belgium. They might hurl them across the

Rhine in utter disarray, but unless the nation as a whole shoulders part of the burdens of victory they will not profit by the triumph.

Further Curb on War Profits

It is not what a nation gains, but what a nation gives, that makes it great. While a nation is making such enormous sacrifices, as I have already pointed out, it is intolerable that any section should be permitted to make exceptional profits out of the sacrifices of others, and by that means actually increase the burdens borne by others.

A good deal has already been done by the late Administration to arrest unfair profit-taking out of the war, but the Government have come to the conclusion that they cannot ask the nation for more sacrifices without taking even more drastic steps than they have yet taken.

There are several ways of dealing with this problem. One is the annexation of war profits. The other is the cutting down of prices so as to make excessive profits impossible. The Munitions act adopted both of these expedients. Eighty per cent. of the excess profits in controlled firms were annexed, and in addition there has been more searching and minute revision of prices in controlled firms, and an enormous reduction already has been achieved in those firms.

The problem is now being carefully examined by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others, and we hope to be able to make an announcement of the course the Government intend to adopt shortly. It is quite clear that if the nation is to be asked to make further sacrifices to win the war, the way should be cleared by action of this kind.

To Mobilize Labor Resources

I now come to a very difficult subject, and one which is equally vital to the success of this country in this great war. I have hitherto talked largely of the mobilization of the material resources of the nation. I now come to the mobilization of the labor resources of the country, which are even more vital to our success than the former. Let there be no mistake about it. Without this we shall not be able to pull through. The mere haphazard supply and demand will not accomplish what is necessary to save the nation within the time that it is essential it should be accomplished.

It is not a question of years, it is a question of months, perhaps of weeks, and unless not only more of the material resources of the country but the labor of the country is used to the best advantage, and every man is called upon to render such services to the State as he can best give, victory may be beyond our reach.

The problem with which we are confronted is a simple one. Nearly a year ago we decided that in order to maintain our armies in the field the nation must have complete control over all its military resources in men. But it is impossible to take men into the army without taking them from civil employment, and it is our object to establish such a system of recruiting as will insure that no man is taken into the army who is capable of rendering more useful service in industry.

To complete our plans and to have the organization of our national resources perfect we ought to have power to see that every man who is not taken into the army, whatever his position or rank, is really employed on one of national importance.

For instance, I was constantly appealed to, when Secretary for War, to relieve men for agricultural work. We were quite prepared to do so, but there was absolutely no guarantee, if they were released, that they would be used for agricultural purposes. The moment they were released from the army they were free to go to the munition works or to any other work where they thought they could sell their labor to the best advantage. We could not be sure that these men would be used for agricultural purposes; we must have assurance.

There are a considerable number of people skilled in tillage, but, although they are not producing food, we cannot employ them. I believe there are scores, if not hundreds of thousands, of cases of the kind which, if you could utilize them to the best advantage, would produce great quantities of food in this country.

The difficulty in agriculture is skilled men. You may have two or three skilled men on a particular farm, but you may have other farms where there are no skilled men at all. Would it not be possible for the skilled men to look after not one but several farms, which could be worked with the aid of unskilled men and women or—

Mr. Lambert—Will the right honorable gentleman let us know what the Government is going to do about it?

Mr. Lloyd George—I thought I had made it perfectly clear. Of course, I could not give the whole of the details; but I assure the right honorable gentleman that schemes of very great magnitude have been promulgated and are being put into operation.

The matter was considered by the War Committee of the late Government, and it was unanimously decided by them that the time had come for the adoption of the principle of universal national service. It was one of the first matters taken up by the present Government.

The War Cabinet has adopted the conclusion come to by the War Council, and plans for carrying it into effect have already been prepared.

To Establish National Service

In order to do this we propose to appoint a directorate of national service to be in charge both of the military and civil side of the national service. The civil and military sides of the directorate will be entirely separate.

It is not proposed to make any change with regard to military service, but with regard to civil service it is proposed to set up a registration of munition volunteers with similar conditions as to rates of pay and separation allowances.

I have no doubt that we shall get an adequate supply of volunteers, but if it is found impossible to get the numbers we require, we shall not hesitate to come to Parliament and ask for powers to make our plan really effective. The nation is entitled to the best services of all its members.

We have been fortunate in inducing the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, to accept the position of Director General of National Service. It was with difficulty that he was induced to undertake this onerous duty. It is the recognition of its urgency that induced him to undertake the task. He would immediately proceed to organize a system of enrollment for industrial work in the hope that before long he would be able to report that he has secured a sufficiently large army of industrial workers mobilized for war purposes.

Hopes to End Irish Tangle

I wish it had been possible to say something about Ireland, but circumstances have made it impossible for me to devote my time to the problems which have arisen in that country. I have had one or two interviews with the Chief Secretary and others, but unfortunately I have had to leave the question in order to attend to so many other pressing matters.

All I have to say is this: I wish it were possible to remove the misunderstanding between Great Britain and Ireland which has for centuries been the cause of misery and embarrassment to one and weakness to the other. I should have considered it a war measure of the first importance, and I should have considered it a great victory for the allied cause.

I tried once to remove the misunderstanding between England and Ireland. I was drenched with suspicion of Irishmen by Englishmen and of Englishmen by Irishmen, and, worse and most fatal of all, suspicion by Irishmen of Irishmen. It was a quagmire of distrust which clogged my footsteps and made progress impossible. That is the real enemy of Ireland. If that could be slain I believe it would accomplish an act of reconciliation that would make Ireland greater and Britain greater and make the United Kingdom and the empire greater than they ever were before.

That is why I have always thought and said that the real solution of the Irish problem is largely one of better atmosphere, and in that I speak not merely for myself, but for my colleagues.

We shall strive by every means and at many hazards to produce the atmosphere, but we ask the men of all races, of all creeds, to help us, not to solve a political question but to help us to do something that would be a real contribution to the winning of the war.

I must say one word about the Dominions—

An Honorable Member—What about the navy?

Mr. Lloyd George—The achievements of the navy speak for themselves. I don't know that anything I could say would be in the least adequate to recognize the enormous and the incalculable services that the great navy of Britain has rendered, not merely to the empire but to the whole of the Allies. Not merely would victory have been impossible, but the war could not have been kept going, even for two years and a half, had it not been for the services of the navy.

To Call Imperial Conference

Now, coming to the dominions—the Ministers have repeatedly acknowledged the splendid assistance which the dominions have given of their own free will to the old country in its championship of the cause of humanity. They have recognized throughout that our fight is not a selfish one, that it is not merely a European quarrel, and that there were great world issues which their children were as concerned in as ours.

The new Administration is just as full of gratitude as the old for the superb valor which our kinsmen have shown in so many striking fields, but I want to say that we feel that the time has come when the dominions ought to be more formally consulted as to the progress and course of the war, as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory, and as to the best methods of garnering its fruits.

We propose, therefore, at an early date to summon an imperial conference to place the whole position before the dominions, to take counsel with them as to what further action we can take together in order to achieve an early and complete triumph for the ideals which they share with us.

As to our relations with the Allies, I said earlier in the year that there were two things we ought to seek as allies. One is unity of aim and the other unity of action. The first we have achieved. Never have allies worked in greater harmony and more perfect accord than the Allies in this great struggle. There has been no friction, no misunderstanding.

Tardiness in War Action

But when I come to unity of action, I still think there is a good deal left to be desired. I have only to refer to the incidents in Rumania, and each man can spell out for himself what I mean. The enemy has got the two supreme advantages of internal lines and one great dominant power that practically dominates the course of the war. We have neither of these advantages and we must, therefore, achieve the same end by other means.

Our advantages are advantages which time will improve. No one can say that we have made the best of the time. There has been a tardiness of decision and action. Be-

fore we can take full advantage of the enormous resources at the command of the Allies there must be some means of arriving at quicker and readier decisions and of carrying them out.

There must be more consultation between men; in the matter of the direction of affairs• there must be less feeling that each country has got only its own front to look after. There must be a just policy of a common front as there is on the other side. Austrian guns are helping the German infantry and German infantry is stiffening the Austrian Army. The Turks are helping the Germans; Austrians and Bulgarians mix with all. There is an essential feeling that there is but one front, and we have got to get that more and more, instead of having overwhelming guns on one side and bare breasts and gallant hearts on the other.

Regrets Break with Asquith

I end with one personal note, I may say, and I say it with all sincerity; that it was one of the deepest regrets of my life that I parted with the right honorable gentleman opposite, (Mr. Asquith.) Some of his friends know how I strove to avert it. For years I served under the right honorable gentleman, and I never had a kinder or more indulgent chief. If there were any faults of temper they were entirely mine, and I have no doubt that I must have been very difficult at times. No Member of Parliament has greater admiration for his brilliant intellectual gifts, and no man was happier to serve under him than I for eight years. We differed as men of such different temperaments must necessarily differ, but we never had a personal quarrel.

Issues That Are Above Party

In spite of serious differences, it was with deep, genuine grief that I felt it to be necessary to tender my resignation to my right honorable friend, but there are moments when personal and party considerations must sink into actual insignificance, and if in this war I have given scant heed to the call of party, (and so I have,) it has been because I realized from the moment when Prussian cannon hurled death at a peaceable and inoffensive little country that a challenge had been sent to civilization to decide an issue higher than party, deeper than party, wider than all parties—an issue upon the settlement of which will depend the fate of men in this world for generations after the existing parties will be fallen like dead leaves on the highway. These are the issues that I want to keep in front of the nation so that we should not falter in our faith in our cause.

There is a time in every prolonged war, in the passionate rage of the conflict, when men forget the high purpose with which they entered into it.

This is the struggle for international right, international honor, international good faith —the channel along which peace on earth and good-will among men must follow. The embattlements, laboriously built up by generations of men against barbarism, were broken, and had not the might of Britain passed into the breach, Europe would have been inundated with a flood of savagery and unbridled lust of power.

The trained sense of fair play among the nations, the growth of an international consciousness for the protection of the weak against the strong, of a stronger consciousness that justice has a more powerful backing in the world than greed, the knowledge that any outrage upon fair dealing between nations, great or small, will meet with prompt and inevitable chastisement—these constitute the causeway along which humanity was progressing slowly to higher fields.

The triumph of Prussia would sweep it all away and leave mankind to struggle, helpless, in the morass of horror. That is why, since this war began, I have known but one political aim. For that I have fought with a single aim. That was to rescue mankind from the most overwhelming catastrophe that has ever yet menaced its well-being.

An Official German Comment

The day after the delivery of Lloyd George's address the German Ambassador to the United States declared that he did not feel that the speech or the forthcoming official reply of the Allies to the German note shattered the hope of early peace. He indicated that if the reply was on the lines of the declarations of the various allied Governments, the Central Empires would transmit a second note in which it would be stated that they are willing to present their detailed proposals at a conference of representatives of all the belligerents; he stated that Germany would be willing to discuss reparation, but would probably insist on some mutual adjustment in this regard, meaning that if Germany compensated for damages in Belgium, Russia would have to make reparation for damages in East Prussia.

Lord Curzon and ex-Premier Asquith On the Peace Overtures

LORD CURZON, President of the War Council and Government leader, in discussing the German overture in the House of Lords Dec. 19, said:

The policy of the new Government is that the war must be conducted with the utmost prosecution; that there must be an ample return for all sacrifices; that full reparation must be made by the enemy for his countless crimes, and security given that those crimes will not be repeated, and that the sacrifices made shall not have been in vain.

The Government's aim is that the peace of Europe shall be re-established on the basis of the free and independent existence of nations great and small, and that, as regards this country, it shall be free from the menace which the triumph of Germany and the German spirit would entail.

Our answer to Germany's latest move must be swift and sure. It is not too much to ask the people to take upon themselves for a few months the obligations which Germany has imposed upon herself. The nation is fighting for its life and is entitled to the best and fullest service of its sons.

Alluding to the position of Rumania, Lord Curzon said that Germany's success was by no means so great as she was trying to make it appear:

Evidence is forthcoming daily of the desperate straits of Germany at home and in the field. The position of the Central Powers is not so good as they would have the world believe. Our attitude should not be one of despondency or alarm.

Lord Curzon spoke for an hour and twenty minutes, and was followed by the Marquis of Crewe, Lord President of the Council in the late Government, who approved in general terms the policy outlined by his successor, Lord Curzon, touching peace. He said:

We have not much hope that Germany's peace offer will lead to anything. The offer, however, seems an indication of the strength of the pressure of our blockade. If peace were made on German terms, while the present age may not see war again, nobody can say that our children will not witness another war with greater horrors. We must carry it on to the last man and the last shilling.

Ex-Premier Asquith followed Premier Lloyd George in his address to Parliament on the 19th, saying:

I agree with Mr. Lloyd George that Rumania has been bad business, although it is not possible at this moment, even if it were desirable, to go into the matter precisely to apportion the different degrees of responsibility, and I have no desire to enter into that question. Yet I am heartily in agreement with him. We have often discussed the matter together and I do say that it is a very good illustration of the desirability, nay, urgent necessity, of more intimate co-operation between the General Staff and politics of the allied countries.

You cannot get over, unfortunately, in this world the limitations of time and space and the difficulty of bringing together in constant and intimate communication not only soldiers, but still more the representatives, of four powers so widely separated geographically and otherwise. As those who constitute this alliance know, these difficulties are, I will not say insurmountable, but very great. If the right honorable gentleman, Lloyd George, and his colleagues can devise some method of bringing about more intimate communication they will render one of the greatest services it is possible to render to the Allies, I wish him all success in that direction.

In all the speeches made by members of the late Administration there breathed a spirit of hearty good-will for Lloyd George in his task. Lord Crewe said his Government "was not precisely a dictatorship, but it came not very far from being one." A dictatorship, in Crewe's opinion, demanded complete immunity from criticism of all kinds, whether in Parliament or press. He said:

There was some idea that when the decrepit figures and tottering intellects of the late Government had disappeared from the scene an era of perpetual new enterprises would begin and that lightning decisions would be taken every day, and, possibly, twice a day. Some felt, however, that the conduct of the war was not such a random and slapdash enterprise as certain gentlemen appeared to think. There had always been a number of wiseacres, writers and speakers, who had urged that we should proceed straight ahead, prepared to ignore our allies or to flout neutrals at any point, if it appeared advantageous to their program to do so.

He ventured to think that those people would not find the present Government such a set of charlatans as they anticipated. He believed the Government was

well aware that it would have been easy enough in the past to have lost the war finally in a month by some of the actions which were pressed upon the late Government from certain quarters, and, in a way, believed the same thing was true. He was confident the Government would display the necessary qualities of energy and determination, and he did not believe they would repudiate the quality of judgment.

French leaders warmly indorsed Premier Lloyd George's utterances. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the great French pacifist, said regarding the speech:

Lloyd George, in his admirable speech, is faithful to his past. All his life he has desired peace. Before the war he went several times to Germany, as I did, to exhort the Germans to peace. Today he is unable to accept the comedy of peace. Just like us and the Allies, he wants really to finish the war. He cannot put faith in the vague peace propositions of the German Government. All the world sees in it a perfidious war manoeuvre to deceive the German people and universal opinion. If the German Government is sincere, let it prove it as regards the past by making known the reparations it owes its victims; as regards the future by giving the guarantees it owes the world.

Jean Finot, editor of La Revue, in referring to it, said:

There is a collective conscience of the Allies. Lloyd George, after having contributed to forming it, now embodies it with energy and precision. Having grasped it, he will, if necessary, be one of its chiefs, if not the chief. The Allies needed a single man; we salute Lloyd George.

President Wilson's Note Requesting Peace Terms of All Belligerents

PRESIDENT WILSON dispatched a note to all the belligerents on Dec. 18, 1916, calling upon them in diplomatic but firm language to state explicitly the precise terms of each which might serve as a basis for the restoration of peace. The decision of the President was carefully kept from the public, even the leaders of Congress being left in entire ignorance of it until Wednesday evening, Dec. 20. The note was released to the press at midnight, Dec. 20, and its publication produced a sensation second only in importance to that created by Germany's original peace overtures. The President, it is stated—and he affirms it in the note—had decided to take the step long before the Central Empires had initiated the move for peace, but deferred action until the moment had arrived which he deemed propitious for transmitting the communications. The decision to forward the Teutonic peace note without comment is said to have had no bearing on the President's action.

The action by the United States was received with pronounced approval by the German Embassy and German supporters throughout the country; leading Democratic Senators and Congressmen also expressed hearty support, but there was a distinct note of dissent among those who held that the action was ill-advised at this juncture and might do more harm than good, by irritating the Allies with the belief that it was part of the German program. The British Embassy at Washington let it be known at once that they were taken completely by surprise by the action of the President and that no interchange had passed through the embassy prior to its publication.

Text of President's Note

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassadors at the Capitals of the Belligerent Powers:

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 18, 1916.

The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the [here is inserted a designation of the Government addressed] a course of action with regard to the present war,

which he hopes that the Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

[*The third paragraph of the note as sent to the four Central Powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—is as follows:*]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[*The third paragraph of the note as sent to the ten Entente Allies—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia—is as follows:*]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[*Thenceforward the note proceeds identically to all the powers, as follows:*]

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and

commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world. LANSING.

[*Copies of the above will be delivered to all neutral Governments for their information.*]

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Conquest of Rumania and Its Effects

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See also "Germany's Drive in Rumania" on Page 642]

THE Central Powers have once more wrested the initiative from the hands of their opponents. This is, from the purely military standpoint, the outstanding war event of the month ending about the middle of December. The Central Powers have regained the initiative on all principal theatres of war and on all fronts save the Macedonian. They had lost it in the west, on the Somme and Ancre Rivers, as well as in the east, through the massive Russian offensive against Lemberg and the "break-through" attempt against the Carpathians, with the Hungarian plain as the coveted goal. In the west and east the Central Powers' armies had been thrown upon the defensive by the initiative of the attackers.

The concerted, simultaneous offensive of the Entente Powers had been aimed at crushing the Central Empires. It was in that mood of aggression that David Lloyd George, then War Minister of Great Britain and now head of the War Council of Five, that is, virtually dictator, made the assertion that England would deal a "knock-out blow" to Germany.

It was in the same spirit that the intervention of Rumania was interpreted as a decisive event in favor of the Entente. The concerted offensive of the Allies, however, found the Central Powers armed for resistance and prepared for counterblows. Defensive became initiative.

Meanwhile an entirely new front has been established in the east. A new task has been dictated to the war, a task quite different from that which was to be fulfilled by the unity and simultaneousness of the great offensives of the Allies. This new front is the result of the development of the Rumanian campaign. It is, in length, about equal to that in Belgium and France. It stretches from the Jablonitza Pass to the Bukowinian wooded Carpathians, across the basin of Kedsi-Varsarhely in southeastern Transylvania down to the Danube. There the mobility of the warfare has closely linked up the Russian front with the Rumanian campaign.

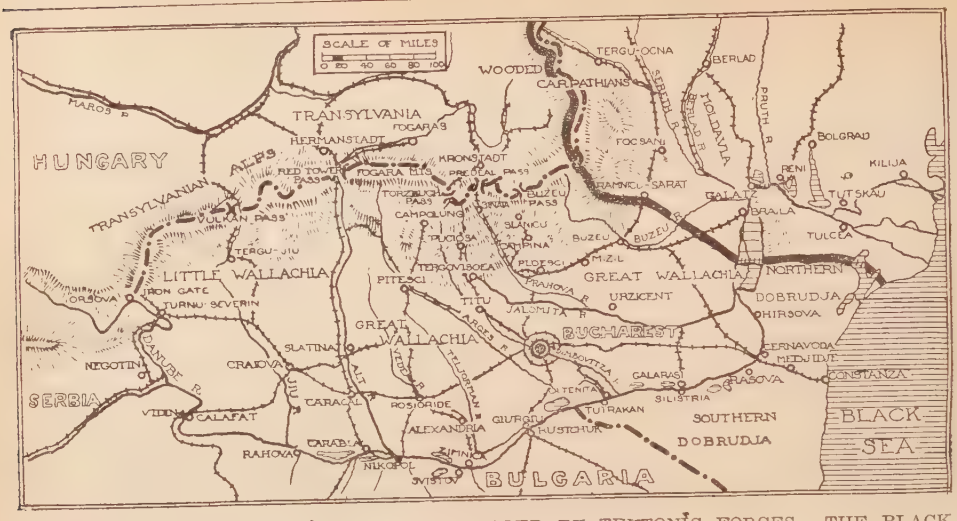
The military initiative regained by the Central Powers has thrown the allied offensives on the two hitherto most important fronts back into position warfare, and has at the same time developed on a new front a mobile warfare such as has not been seen in this war, not even in the Galician "break-through" battle and in the Poland campaign.

Falkenhayn in Rumania

The statement which Hindenburg made at the time of Rumania's entry into the war is coming true. He said at that time: "The participation of Rumania in the war restores to us the freedom of military mobility." Mobile warfare up to the middle of December had taken the following course:

On Nov. 21 General von Falkenhayn's army occupied Craiova. This army had pushed through Vulkan Pass, defeated the Rumanians at Targu-Jiu in an extremely bloody battle, reached the railway at Filiasa, and advanced along that vital railroad.

With Craiova the new basis for the further advance against the extremely strong hostile line on the Alt River had been established. The immediate effect first made itself felt on the extreme western theatre of war. On Nov. 23 Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops recaptured Orsova and pushed forward to Turnu-Severin, the most important



MAP OF RUMANIA, SHOWING REGION CONQUERED BY TEUTONIC FORCES. THE BLACK LINE AT UPPER RIGHT-HAND CORNER INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT ON DEC. 15, 1916

Danube port in Little Wallachia. Thus the Teutons and their allies gained control of the 150-kilometer sector Orsova-Craiova of the great Rumanian railway, and therewith the rear communication for the bringing up of war material was secured.

From Craiova the victorious Ninth Army of von Falkenhayn continued its advance in an easterly direction against the Alt River. At the same time the armies of Field Marshal von Mackensen moved on from the south. Under the Field Marshal's personal direction they crossed the Danube at Somovit and Svistova and took the villages of Simnitza, west of the Vedea River, as well as Islacz and Rakevitza, on the Alt. The Bulgarians occupied several Danube islands at Gigen, Rahova, Lom-Palanka, and Vidin.

The advance on Rumanian soil developed in the area between the Alt and Vedea Rivers, until, on Nov. 25, Alexandria was reached, eighty kilometers southwest of Bucharest. There the junction of the Ninth Army of General von Falkenhayn and the Danube army of Field Marshal von Mackensen was effected.

The Ninth Army, advancing from Craiova, had crossed the Alt. Rumanian cavalry which, through an attack, attempted to bring to a standstill the flightlike retreat of the Rumanian forces east of the Alt, was beaten back by German horsemen under the command of General Count von Schmettow. The Rumanians were forced to defend their long line along the Alt after the Teuton forces had pushed forward from the north, through Rothenthurm Pass, along the Alt Valley, into Rumania.

On Nov. 28 the entire Alt line was in the hands of the invaders. In the northern area of fighting the Rumanians had been driven across the Topolog. In the Vedea area (on the southern end of the new front) the Central Powers' armies occupied Alexandria—the Ninth Army under Falkenhayn, from the west, and Mackensen's Danube army from the south. In addition, they took the positions in the area between Valeni and Rosiori-de-Vede, also situated on the Vedea. Rosiori lies forty kilometers northwest of the railway lines, Craiova-Bucharest, (west to east,) and Petesci-Simnitza, (north and south.)

On Dec. 4 the victors, after the occupation of Gradistea, had advanced within thirteen kilometers of Bucharest. In the northwestern area the defenders had been thrown back across the Arges River and beyond the railway intersection of Titu, forty-five kilometers northwest of Bucharest. To the east of this point Targovistea, not far from Ploesci, had been

captured. From the Transylvanian Alps as far down as the Danube the victorious allied armies had joined hands.

Closing in on Bucharest

On the line of attack south of the capital, from Calugareni via Comana eastward to Chimpati, Mackensen's Danube army, which had started out from Giurgiu, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Rumanians. The latter had attempted to attack the invaders by a flanking movement in the rear. They were themselves attacked in the flank and their lines were "rolled up." Teuton flying detachments cut the Comana-Bucharest railway sector in the rear of the beaten Russo-Rumanian army.

On the left wing, which stretched from the Transylvanian Alps down to the Danube, the invaders took Targovistea, on the railway to Bucharest by way of Titu. This brought them within reach of Ploesci and its rich petroleum districts. It also brought them within forty-five kilometers of the capital itself. After the Rumanian Army had been thrown back beyond the railhead at Titu, the Arges line, the last defense line of the Rumanians before Bucharest, had completely collapsed.

With the collapse of this last line of defense Bucharest itself became untenable. After the Rumanian Danube army had succeeded in making good its retreat, Field Marshal von Mackensen, Commander in Chief of all invading armies in Rumania, on Dec. 6 entered the Rumanian capital.

Bucharest is much more than a fortress fallen into enemy hands. Bucharest constitutes the answer to the assertion that the Central Powers and their allies had been forced into need of peace by the realization of their "weakness." Bucharest forms a new strong pillar of the bridge which victorious arms have established between the Central Powers and the Near East. Before the Rumanian capital the security of Constantinople, too, was fought for.

The fall of Bucharest will make its effect felt in all the State Chancelleries. It will open the eyes of the world as to the realities of the world war. Its effects at once began to make themselves felt in the Russian Duma, in the secret sessions of the French Chamber of Deputies, and in the British Governmental crisis.

Dec. 8 was Mackensen's birthday. Bucharest fell to him as a birthday present.

The Peace Proposal

Bismarck said in his "Gedanken und Erinnerungen":

> If the theory which the General Staff pursued during my incumbency, and which is a principle that forms part of the teaching of military science, may be expressed thus: "The Minister of Foreign Affairs does not resume the floor until the military high command deems the moment ripe for closing the Temple of Janus"—then there lies in this very dual face of Janus the warning that the Government of a belligerent State has to look in other directions besides the theatre of war.
>
> The task of the high command is the destruction of the enemy's military forces; the object of war is fighting for a peace under conditions which correspond to the policy pursued by the State. The chief difficulty lies in judging just when the proper moment has come for initiating the transition from war to peace.

The moment for initiating the transition from war to peace has arrived at the moment when the methods of war have achieved that which diplomacy failed to accomplish. It is from this point of view that the peace offer of the Central Powers must be considered and discussed.

The peace terms must correspond to the military situation. If we take the fall of Bucharest as the "burning point" at which centres today all importance of the events on the various theatres of war, and whence emanate all the consequences for the further development of the military situation, we obtain the following basis for peace conditions corresponding with military facts:

1. *RUMANIA:* Bucharest formed the connecting link between Falkenhayn's northern army and Mackensen's southern army. The fall of the capital forced the Russo-Rumanian armies into a concerted retreat on the whole front, from the Transylvanian Alps down to the Danube.

Meanwhile, strong forces of the allied Dobrudja army crossed the Danube between Cernavoda and Silistria. They advanced along the Cernavoda-Petesci railway against the left sector of the Buzeu line, so as to be in a position to attack

the enemy in the flank should he actually rally for a stand. The Central Allies subsequently captured the City of Buzeu. With this vital point in their possession, they had gained control of the Buzeu line as well as of the lines leading eastward to Braila and Galatz, the two last Rumanian sources of supply from Bessarabia, and of the line leading southeastward to Cernavoda, the marching base of the allied Dobrudja forces. At the same time, they had gained control of a new line of communication, beyond Patarlagele, with the pass roads of the Transylvanian Alps.

With the piercing of the Buzeu line at two points, by the Falkenhayn army, the second possibility of a stand on the part of the retreating Russo-Rumanian forces was removed.

The Russo-Rumanian Dobrudja army also was carried along by the general whirl of retreat; it evacuated its positions. The retreat of this army, however, can head only in one direction: Bessarabia, since an attempt to cross the wide and swampy Danube area, with the pursuers hot on their heels, would inevitably result in a catastrophe. The pursuit of this army must, therefore, ultimately open to the invaders the gates from the Dobrudja to Bessarabia.

After the piercing of the Buzeu line, the two Danube ports, Braila and Galatz, must fall automatically to the Central Powers' troops. Thus, the Russo-Rumanian front inevitably will be turned to such an extent that it will run due west to east, from Kronstadt through the eastern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps as far as the Bessarabian border. At the time of Bucharest's fall, it will be remembered, the Rumanian front stood due north to south.

The new front for which the invaders are thus heading must threaten the flank of the entire Russian line in the wooded Carpathians. The Russians would be compelled not only to give up the Bukowina, but also to retire from Eastern Galicia.

2. *RUSSIA:* In the wooded Carpathians the Russians, in order to relieve the pressure exerted by the Teutons and their allies upon the Rumanians, undertook an offensive, supported on the southern end of their front by Rumanian troops.

Already the question has been raised in Entente quarters whether Rumania's entrance into the war was advantageous to the Allies' cause or whether it merely brought the Entente new embarrassment. The efforts which Russia is making at this moment in the wooded Carpathians are also dictated by embarrassment, born of the inability of helping the Rumanians on the theatre of war where the decision falls. The Russians have been unable to carry out their own offensive in East Galicia and in the wooded Carpathians. This new offensive in behalf of the Rumanians could be successful only if it were carried out with the aid of large reinforcements both of men and munitions.

It is known, however, that the Russian grand offensive broke down owing to the lack of men and munitions, after the abundant original resources had been squandered at a veritably insane rate.

Campaign in Macedonia

3. *MACEDONIA:* The occupation of Monastir by the Entente forces on Nov. 18 signified the first actual military accomplishment of the Saloniki expedition in eleven months. After the French had reached the city from the south, advancing on the plain, and the Serbs in the battles in the Cerna bend had advanced to a position whence they could bombard the town from the east, Monastir, situated as it is entirely in the valley, became forthwith untenable. The military significance of this success remains to be seen in the future development of the West Macedonian campaign. The next objective of the advance is said to be Prilep, forty kilometers to the northeast as the crow flies.

Beyond Prilep the way leads to Nish. The ultimate "goal" of the operations from Monastir is the Orient Railway. What the Entente failed to accomplish by a thrust through Bulgaria, they propose to achieve by an advance through Serbia: the cutting of the communication between the Central Powers and Turkey. The distance from Monastir to Nish is 260 kilometers. The Entente advance has come to a standstill at Monastir.

EMPEROR CHARLES I. OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Former Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, Who Succeeded to the Throne Upon the Death of Emperor Francis Joseph.

(*Photo © Underwood & Underwood.*)

NEW EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Empress Zita, Princess of Bourbon and Parma, Whose Husband, Charles I., Now Reigns Over the Dual Monarchy.

[American View]

The Month's Military Developments

From November 15 to December 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE month's military interest has centred in three fields—Rumania, Macedonia, and France. Last month's review of events in Rumania was written as the opposing armies were practically at a deadlock. In Dobrudja, Mackensen had been halted; in the various passes which afford means of ingress from Transylvania into Rumania von Falkenhayn had been making futile attacks, first here, then there, seeking to find a point at which he could penetrate the Rumanian defense and open to invasion the plains of Central Rumania. Up to Nov. 15 the great effort had been made for the passes south of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt, for if these could be forced Rumania would be split fairly in half. The Rumanian defense at these points held, and the Germans were turned back.

Shifting his attack further west, von Falkenhayn then struck Vulkan Pass. Here he was more successful, and after a series of battles finally broke through the mountains, debouched on the southern side, and advanced along the railroad to Craiova. As the only railroad running from Bucharest into Little Wallachia passes through Craiova, the capture of this town cut off the Rumanian forces at Orsova and in addition such troops as were operating west of the Craiova line. This force proved to be about a division, and was subsequently cornered and captured. There was simply no means of escape.

Before following the victorious German Army in its advance through Rumania, there is one point in connection with this advance to Craiova that it is well to note. In advancing through the mountains down to the plain, von Falkenhayn had behind him the slim thread of a good dirt road as his main line of communications. His advance looked like an exceedingly dangerous operation, threatening him constantly with serious consequences if his opponent had the power to strike at this line. It seems, however, that the opponent did not have this power, and it is further certain that von Falkenhayn knew it. The reason for this lack of power can be no other than the lack of munitions. The Rumanians had sufficient shell to begin their operations, but once they became involved, for some reason or other, the flow could not be or was not kept up. Had this not been the case, von Falkenhayn's life line would have been cut before he had proceeded twenty miles into Rumanian territory.

Sweeping Through Rumania

The Rumanians, after the fall of Craiova, fell back behind the Alt River, a good defensive line, with a railroad directly in its rear. This line, however, was turned in two ways. In the first place, the Germans broke through in the north to the east of this line and exposed the Rumanian right flank. Almost simultaneously the Bulgarians under Mackensen, who had personally assumed command of the forces along the Danube, forced a crossing of this river some miles to the rear of the Rumanian left flank. The line of the Alt was therefore turned on both flanks, and it became immediately necessary to vacate it and fall further back.

From this point on the Rumanians practically offered no resistance. They fell back from stream to stream until the line of the Arges was reached, the last possible line before Bucharest. From this line they made a spasmodic effort to break through the German right south of Bucharest. They had a temporary success, but the resistance was soon overcome, and they were again driven to the east bank of the river.

In the north the Germans advanced

with equal rapidity, and, as in the case of the Alt, forced the crossing of the upper Arges and so turned the entire line. Without making any effort to take advantage of the defenses of Bucharest, which, by the way, are quite elaborate, the Rumanians abandoned the city and continued their retreat.

It was evident, then, that the Rumanians had a definite object in view, and this was to fall back successfully, fighting only rearguard actions, to a line which was already in preparation, and which the higher command knew could be munitioned. There are two such lines which offer considerable advantages. The first is that of the Buzeu River. The only railroad which parallels this line is in front of it, not in its rear. Its usefulness is therefore destroyed when this railroad is cut, even though the line itself may remain intact.

The Germans, after the fall of Bucharest, quickly established themselves on a line running through Sinaia, Ploesci, and Bucharest, and began preparations for a further advance. After several days' delay, during which they were accumulating a fresh supply of ammunition, they again struck eastward. Their progress was much slower than before, but they nevertheless succeeded in reaching the Buzeu, taking the town of that name, and threatening the entire defensive position afforded by the river. Buzeu is on the railroad running from Braila to Bucharest.

This is the situation in the north as it exists as this review is being written. In the south, the left wing of the Rumanian Army, having several times the distance to travel which the right wing has, is still far behind the Buzeu line. It has crossed the Jablonitza, and is somewhere between the latter stream and the Buzeu, but its location, due to the absence of definite detailed reports, is not exactly known.

The problem with which the Rumanians are faced, then, is to retard the advance of the Germans in the north until the southern wing of the Rumanian Army has had time to swing northward as far as the defensive position selected. The line of the Buzeu has been practically eliminated by the cutting of the railroad, which was to have served as a distributing line for supplies. It becomes necessary, then, for the Rumanians to fall back to the second line. This may be described as the line of the Sereth River. It runs from the town of Galatz along the eastern bank of the Sereth to the point where the Sereth is joined by one of the main tributaries. This tributary is a matter of choice, as there are several which would answer the purpose equally well. It will probably be, however, the Trotus. This is one of the largest tributaries and has the additional advantage of being followed on the northern bank by a railroad. The same is true of the Sereth, and for this reason the Sereth is a much more favorable position than the Buzeu.

During the latter days of the Rumanian retreat the Russians have been conducting a heavy offensive in the Trotus Valley. If the Russians are successful in penetrating to any depth into Transylvania through the Trotus gap they will make absolutely secure the Rumanian right flank. The Teutons themselves will then be thrown on the defensive, and will hardly be able to hold their own positions.

In summing up the Rumanian defeat, it does not appear that the Germans have accomplished any positive result in so far as Rumania's relation to the war as a whole is concerned. Rumania was a threat against Turkey primarily, and in defeating the Rumanians the Germans have acted defensively, and have succeeded only in warding off a dangerous thrust. The action may take a positive phase later if the Sereth line can be broken and the Germans thus thrown in rear of the Russians in Bukowina. Then the Russians will have to fall back to protect their lines of communication, and the German threat will be transferred to them. This is the great danger of the collapse of Rumania.

As far as the matter has gone, however, it is purely negative. The Germans are certainly no better off than before the Rumanians entered the field. In fact, they have to meet a decided lengthening of their line, and they have suffered not inconsiderable losses at a time

when they could ill afford to bear this additional burden. This can be compensated for only by a defeat of the Russians.

VERDUN POSITIONS RECAPTURED BY FRENCH. DOTTED LINES SHOW LATEST ADVANCES. UPPER BLACK LINE INDICATES GERMAN POSITION BEFORE VERDUN DRIVE LAST FEBRUARY

The Serbs at Monastir

In Macedonia the Serbs have maintained a continuous advance, which finally resulted in the capture of their immediate objective, Monastir. The operation leading up to this was a flanking move which directly threatened the main line of Bulgarian communications. The Serbs paid little attention to the plain of Monastir. This plain is a relatively easy matter to defend, and the line could not be forced without a very heavy expenditure of men. The mountains in the bend of the Cerna River, however, completely dominate the plain, and are much more susceptible to attack, as no continuous defensive line can be constructed and held. The Serbs took advantage of this fact, and, by advancing steadily in the mountains, finally worked their way north of Monastir, though to the east of it, and thus threatened the road from Monastir to Prilep.

The Serbs in this action had one great advantage. While the Bulgarians were dependent upon a good dirt road for their supplies, the Serbs had behind them the railroad from Saloniki, which terminates at Monastir. Their supplies, therefore, came up more quickly and in greater bulk. This enabled them to move quickly against Monastir the moment they were in a position commanding the heights overlooking the plain. There was nothing for the Bulgarians to do but to fall back and guard their supply line. Almost without a struggle, then, the Bulgarians were forced to give up the Macedonian capital and abandon their trenches and defensive works in the plains.

The value of Monastir is, however, of greater value politically than it is from a military viewpoint. Consequently it does not give the Serbs any great advantage that can be followed up. It is an excellent advance base from which to work. More than this cannot be said of it.

A Lull on the Somme

On the western front the battle of the Somme has died out, with but little prospect of renewal. This is caused, not by the exhaustion of the Allies, as the German critics prefer to believe, but by the condition of the ground, due to the heavy rains and the advent of Winter. It is a veritable quagmire over which infantry cannot advance and artillery cannot be moved. This condition precludes any present continuance of the offensive. As demonstrating that the western allies are still capable of delivering sledge-hammer blows at the German line, and that they are in no sense exhausted, we have the great and successful effort of the French at Verdun. The scene of this achievement was generally the same as that of the last blow the French struck in this region. The result, accomplished quickly and with small loss, was greater than anything they have attempted since Summer. The German line in the section between Pepper Hill and Douaumont has been pushed back to where it was on the third day of the German Verdun offensive, and at a loss in prisoners alone of nearly 10,000 men. If any doubt still existed as to the possibility of the Germans ever taking the French fortress, it has now been dispelled. Every position of vantage on the east bank of the Meuse is once more in the hands of the French.

BATTLE LINE IN MACEDONIA, DEC. 15, 1916, SHOWING PROGRESS OF ANGLO-FRENCH-SERBIAN ADVANCE FROM SALONIKI

The ridge of Louvemont, the main defensive position on this side of the river, is intact, and it is almost certain that we shall never again see a German effort to retake it. The folly of the German offensive at Verdun is becoming more apparent with every French blow.

On the other fronts there has been general inactivity. There is not indeed a single action on which to comment. Apparently they have all settled down into a Winter condition with no intention of doing anything until Spring.

Some Maxims From Bismarck's Speeches

A question of right can be settled only with the bayonet in our European quarrels.—Jan. 22, 1864.

Parties and tastes are mutable. They perish, and new ones arise.—Jan. 22, 1864.

The Kings of Prussia have never been pre-eminently the Kings of the rich.—Feb. 15, 1865.

Whoever makes the most promises is apt to carry the election.—June 1, 1865.

All classes do a little smuggling, especially the women.—June 1, 1865.

Put Germany into the saddle and you will find that she knows how to ride.—March 11, 1867.

Governments are like women—the youngest please the most.—Dec. 9, 1868.

It is not possible to hasten the ripening of the fruit by holding a lamp underneath.—April 16, 1869.

Centralization is tyranny, more or less.—April 16, 1869.

Whoever carries the money bag is the people's master.—April 26, 1869.

Every country knows that peace and security rest in the sword.—May 22, 1869.

Liberty is a luxury which not every one can afford.—May 22, 1869.

General Robert Nivelle

GENERAL ROBERT NIVELLE, who now succeeds Joffre as Commander in Chief of the western battle line of the Allies, while Joffre devotes himself to the larger work of co-ordinating the armies on all fronts, has been commander of the Army of Verdun since May, when he succeeded General Pétain. At the outbreak of the war General Nivelle was Colonel of a regiment of artillery. His rapid promotion is due at once to his own inherent force and to the clairvoyance of Joffre, who has shown himself a superlative judge of military genius. Robert Nivelle was, like Joffre, a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique at Paris, but he had earlier studied at Saint-Cyr; so that both artillery and infantry can claim him. He had also, curiously enough, a thorough cavalry training in the Saumur school, and is still remembered there for the mingled courage and skill with which he tamed and trained unruly horses.

GENERAL NIVELLE

Nivelle saw service in the staff of the army in China and in Northern Africa. In the East he showed that he possessed the gift of tongues in a remarkable degree, and, after the Peking expedition, which he made under General Voyron, he was sent, in recognition of this gift, on a special mission to the Emperor of Korea. He had then reached the rank of Major, and in the Revue de Paris he wrote an account of his mission, in which his lucid grace of style, the keenness of his insight, his philosophy touched with humor, united in revealing a rare combination of gifts. Without question, the young Major did not foresee that soon he would live through "the hard and splendid hours" (the expression is his own) whose sharp and violent savor his thirst for action craved.

From the day on which, as commander of the Fifth Regiment of Artillery, he left Besançon for Alsace, the mentions in the Orders of the Day are Nivelle's best history. First is recorded the capture of a group of German artillery, against which he directed his fire with such precision that the whole group was soon after found abandoned on the battlefield. The twenty-four guns thus captured were the earliest trophies of the war. A few days later Colonel Nivelle was on the Marne, where his regiment, which constituted the artillery of the Seventh Army Corps, (whose home is on the Swiss frontier, under the Jura Mountains,) and was then a part of General Maunoury's army, covered itself with glory.

Then, on Sept. 16, on the Aisne, a vigorous German counterthrust imperiled the Seventh Army Corps, and compelled it to retreat for a short period across the river. But the Fifth Regiment of Artillery was on the spot, its commander vigilantly watching. Without hesitating, Colonel Nivelle, riding at the head of his guns, led them across in front of the retreating infantry, followed by the Germans already sure of victory. Allowing the enemy to approach in close formation, he turned his batteries upon them, and mowed them down in a veritable slaughter. The two German regiments making the attack, trying to escape from the murderous gusts of shrapnel, rushed forward to the wood which fringes the River Aisne, but there they found French bayonets waiting for them; the inspiration of Nivelle's artillery was contagious, and the Germans, turning, tried to run

back again. But on the bare plateau, Nivelle's gunners again caught them with an accurate fire, following them step by step, advancing or withdrawing with them. Few indeed of the 6,000 Germans who made the attack ever returned to their trenches.

Gazetted General in October, 1914, Nivelle commanded a brigade which fought brilliantly along the Aisne, and stopped, in January, 1915, the unforeseen German drive against Soissons. On the same day he was proposed for the command of a division, which was intrusted to him on Feb. 19, and which, shortly after, retook the Quennevières salient.

At the beginning of April, 1916, he came to the rescue of Verdun in command of the Third Army Corps, and his prowess and skill were such that General Joffre soon chose him to command the entire Army of Verdun. What he accomplished has passed into history as one of the most splendid pages of the war. As the climax of a superb defense, which cost the Kaiser half a million men, General Nivelle recaptured, within the space of an Autumn afternoon, practically all the ground the Crown Prince had painfully gained in six months; and, as against the half million, Nivelle lost only 4,000 men, many of whom were only wounded. He crowned his record at Verdun by the brilliant dash of Dec. 15, which practically established the French lines at the positions they held before the German offensive in February.

General Nivelle, in taking leave of his staff Dec. 17, 1916, said:

"The test is conclusive; our method has proved sound. Once more the Second Army has just asserted in the highest degree its morale and material ascendency over the enemy. Victory is certain; I give you assurance. Germany will learn it to her cost."

Maeterlinck's Tribute to the Dead

The following extract is from Maurice Maeterlinck's beautiful tribute entitled "The Day of the Dead," which appeared in Le Paris Figaro on All Souls' Day:

Our memories are peopled by a multitude of heroes, stricken in the flower of youth, and far different from that procession of yore, pale and worn out, which counted almost solely the aged and sickly, who were already scarcely alive when they left this earth. Today in all our houses, in town, in country, in palace, and in cottage, a young man dead lives and rules in all the beauty of his strength. He fills the poorest, darkest dwelling with glory, such as it had never dreamed of. It is terrible that we should have this experience, the most pitiless mankind has known, but, now that the ordeal is nearly over, we can think of the perhaps unexpected fruits which we shall reap.

One will soon see the breach widening and destinies diverging between those nations which have acquired all these dead and all this glory, and those who have been deprived of them and it. And one will be astonished to find that those which have lost most are those which will have kept their wealth, and their men. There are losses which are priceless gain, and there are gains in which one's future is lost. There are dead whom the living cannot replace and whose thought does things which no living bodies can do, and we are almost all now mandatories of some one greater, nobler, braver, wiser, and more alive than ourselves. He will be, with all his comrades, our judge.

If it be true that the dead weigh the souls of the living and that our fate depends upon their verdict, he will be our guide and our champion. For this is the first time since history revealed to us her catastrophes that man has felt above his head and in his heart such a multitude of such dead.

[FIFTH INSTALLMENT]

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

[Translated from L'Illustration, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Franco-British operations in Picardy during the first week of October consisted especially in the consolidation and broadening of the conquered positions. A certain number of counterattacks by the enemy were repulsed: By French troops, on Oct. 5, to the north of Fregicourt; on Oct. 8, to the west of Sailly-Saillisel; on Oct. 9, to the east of Rancourt and the northeast of Bouchavesnes; by British troops, on Oct. 5 and 8, to the north of Thiepval, and, on the night of Oct. 6-7, toward Eaucourt-l'Abbaye. Local advances were realized almost daily, but there were far-reaching conflicts only on Oct. 7 and Oct. 10. On these two days the Allies passed to the offensive; on Oct. 7, to the north of the Somme; on Oct. 10, on both banks, but especially on the south. Both of them fully obtained their objectives, though these were not of great importance.

The Fighting on Oct. 7.

After the taking of Combles, the French sector to the north of the Somme held by General Fayolle was extended as far north as Morval, in such a way as to make Sailly-Saillisel our objective. On Oct. 7, at 2 P. M., the French and British troops attacked simultaneously. Our British allies developed their action from the Albert-Bapaume road as far as Les Boeufs, that is to say, along about five and a half miles, and we, from Morval to Bouchavesnes, say four and a quarter miles.

On their left wing the British contingents had before them the village of Le Sars, at 500 yards from which they held the Destremont Farm. Within a few hours they carried Le Sars and even advanced beyond it to the west and the east. But in the latter direction they found themselves stopped by the Butte of Warlencourt, which the Germans had pierced with galleries like a molehill, and worked up into a formidable defense work. On the contrary, the successes gained to the west of Le Sars allowed the attack to progress beyond the Bapaume road and to make new gains of ground to the north and northeast of Courcelette. Between Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs the advance realized amounted to from 800 to 1,000 yards. More than 500 prisoners were taken.

The Actions of Oct. 10

Three days later other actions were developed. To the north of the Somme they were limited to a happy stroke to the south of Sailly-Saillisel, while the English, following up their work of "consolidation," captured 268 more of the enemy. But to the south of the river the Tenth Army—commanded by General Micheler—was more seriously engaged. The front had been stationary in this sector since the fighting of Sept. 15-18, which had given us possession of Vermandovillers, of Berny, and of the three groves of Vasset, Bovent, and Le Tremble. We took the offensive along a front of five kilometers, between Berny-en-Santerre and Chaulnes. A first assaulting detachment, issuing from Deniécourt and the Bovent Wood, seized the hamlet of Bovent and made its way as far as the northern outskirts of Ablaincourt; the western outskirts of this village were reached also by a second assaulting mass coming from the direction of Vermandovillers. Finally, on the south, we won a part of the woods which surround Chaulnes; 1,702 prisoners, two of whom were battalion commanders, and 25 officers, fell into our hands in the course of that operation. Our front, which from Berny to Chaulnes had followed the arc of a circle, now marked the chord of that arc.

Franco-British Offensives

Three allied attacks followed in rapid succession: On Oct. 12, by the British;

on Oct. 14, to the south of the Somme, by General Micheler's army; on Oct. 16, on the north bank of the river, by General Fayolle's army.

It was on the afternoon of Oct. 12 that the Fourth British Army took the offensive against the group of heights which separated it from the road running from Péronne to Bapaume, that is, along a front of four and a quarter miles between the north of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye and the east of Les Boeufs, on the further side of Gueudecourt. In order to prevent the extension of this action to the west the Germans immediately began a violent bombardment of the British positions situated to the northwest of Le Sars and to the north of Courcelette. It does not appear that, on the left of their sector of attack, on the outskirts of the Mound of Warlencourt, our allies made any great advance. But, on the right, during the evening of Oct. 12, they had already realized an advance varying between 500 and 1,000 meters in depth, particularly to the northwest of Gueudecourt and before Les Boeufs, in the direction of Transloy.

On Oct. 13 the enemy attempted a diversion by attacking in his turn, to the northeast of Thiepval, the Stuff redoubt. But the English reacted vigorously. On Oct. 15 they carried before this work two lines of connecting trenches to a distance of 200 yards. They likewise advanced their battle line to the north and west of the Schwaben redoubt. A very vigorous return offensive developed by the Germans on Oct. 17 resulted for them only in sanguinary failure.

The fighting of Oct. 10, to the south of the Somme, had carried the French as far as Ablaincourt, of which we held only the fringe. A recognizance by the One Hundred and Ninth Infantry, supported by several units of the Four Hundredth, had established itself, between 2:30 and 3 in the afternoon, in the northern street of the village. Certain elements even succeeded in gaining the cemetery, which is isolated to the east of the buildings. But, after several days of struggle among the houses in ruins, it became necessary to halt before the resistance of the enemy, who then occupied the southern part of the village.

Without spending our force on a conquest for which full preparation had not yet been made, our commanders decided to direct their efforts elsewhere. On Oct. 14 two simultaneous attacks were carried out: the one to the east of Belloy-en-Santerre, the other to the northeast of Ablaincourt.

To the east of Belloy our line followed approximately the road from Barleux to Berny, even going across it eastward at certain points. We took the offensive on a front of two kilometers, and captured the whole of the enemy first line. To the northeast of Ablaincourt we broadened our former gains, seizing the hamlet of Genermont, between Bovent and Fresnes-Mazancourt, and a sugar factory, for the possession of which there had already been violent fighting. These two operations brought us 1,100 more prisoners. The Germans counterattacked several times on Oct. 15, 16, and 17. We drove them back, in addition taking from them a little wood to the east of Berny-en-Santerre, as well as two 210-millimeter guns and one 77. During Oct. 18 we even extended our operations further to the north and carried by assault the whole of the enemy first line between Biaches and La Maisonnette, on a front of about a kilometer.

Entering Sailly-Saillisel

The third interesting action—that of Oct. 16, to the north of the Somme—allowed us to gain a footing in Sailly-Saillisel. It was preceded by several skirmishes; on Oct. 12 we had made some slight progress to the west of Sailly; on Oct. 13 there were engagements toward Morval, Bouchavesnes, and the Saint-Pierre-Vaast Wood, to the north of which we had lost certain trench elements; on Oct. 14 we gained ground on the Malassise ridge. During this time we were directing an intense artillery preparation against the village of Sailly-Saillisel, which we assaulted on the night of Oct. 15-16.

Sailly-Saillisel is situated on a ridge whose height varies between 150 and 160 yards above sea level. It is a culminating point, which gives wide views toward the north and northeast. Toward the west the village is flanked by a château,

an old church, and a little wood called the Tripot Wood, of which the Germans had made redoubts.

The attack on Sailly-Saillisel was carried out from three sides at once. A first column, following the Bapaume road, reached the château on the south and took it in the rear. A second fraction, debouching from the west, rapidly carried the defenses of the Tripot Wood, entirely leveled by the bombardment. It penetrated the park of the château on the northeast and began a furious fight with the Germans who had taken refuge in the ruins of the church. Finally other troops had approached the position from the north. The struggle was carried into the connecting trenches underground, which joined the château to the village. We succeeded, after several hours' fighting, in seizing all the houses to the west of the road, and in advancing as far as the central crossroads. The enemy reacted vigorously, by infantry counterattacks and gun fire. Twice he succeeded in penetrating certain elements of our first line, but we threw him back again, inflicting heavy losses on him. And on Oct. 18 we had fortunately completed the conquest of Sailly-Saillisel.

During the following week the fighting on the Somme was not very extensive. Nevertheless, it gained us certain advantages. On the other hand, the almost daily counterattacks of the enemy failed completely.

From Sailly-Saillisel the Germans had overlooked the whole basin of Combles and the valley between the Bouleaux Wood and Morval. To the northwest of the village our progress had been stopped by a ridge 123 meters high. On Oct. 21, toward the close of the day, we captured this ridge also. On Oct. 22 we had advanced to the northeast of Morval.

Fighting Toward Chaulnes

In the southern sector we also made some progress on Oct. 19, between La Maisonnette and Biaches, carrying out, on Oct. 21, an attack of limited scope toward Chaulnes. It was a question of capturing a part of a wood, called the Etoile Wood, which covers the village on the north. After three and a half hours of active artillery preparation the Zouaves and Algerian sharpshooters opened the assault and occupied the ground assigned to them.

As for the renewed German offensives, they were carried out on Oct. 19, in the afternoon, and on Oct. 21, during the forenoon, against Sailly-Saillisel; on Oct. 21, during the evening, an extremely violent attack, with large forces, was made between Biaches and La Maisonnette; on Oct. 22, both morning and evening, against the Etoile Wood, which we had just taken; on Oct. 23, to the south of Chaulnes, against our trenches close to the railroad. These different attempts cost the assailants heavy losses. They won for them only a few elements of trenches on the outskirts of the Blaise Wood, to the north of La Maisonnette.

The principal operation carried out by the English coincided with our offensive demonstrations of Oct. 21 to the north and south of the Somme. Our allies attacked on a front of three miles between the Schwaben redoubt to the north of Thiepval and the village of Le Sars. They took the Stuff and Regina trenches, advanced their lines from 300 to 500 yards in the direction of Grandcourt and Petit-Miraumont, and took more than 1,000 prisoners. On Oct. 23 a minor action to the east of Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs toward Transloy allowed them to advance on a front of a kilometer. Several times the Germans counterattacked. Their efforts were especially furious against the Schwaben redoubt, but they were vigorously repulsed.

The battle on the British front showed a tendency to extend to the north of the Ancre. The British reports several times recorded actions, whether in the Gommecourt sector, toward Arras, Neuve Chapelle, Loos, or Ypres. On Oct. 24 they also told of vigorous artillery duels to the south of Armentières.

Inner Meaning of the Cabinet Changes in Europe

THE political changes which have recently taken place in the belligerent countries, particularly the setting up of small War Councils with extraordinary powers in Great Britain and France, have primarily been due to popular dissatisfaction and the demand for a more energetic prosecution of the war. But, as it is never safe to say what are the causes of events till time has disclosed its secrets, we cannot tell at present what were all the hidden forces at work.

The British Cabinet crisis appears to have arisen from a struggle between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George for the supreme control of the conduct of the war, the point at issue being the constitution of a new, smaller, and more authoritative War Council, from which Mr. Asquith, though Prime Minister, was to be excluded, or over which he was, at any rate, to have no right of veto. On Mr. Asquith's side were such Liberal colleagues as Viscount Grey, Lord Crewe, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Runciman, and Mr. Harcourt. Working with Lloyd George were Bonar Law, the Unionist leader in the Coalition, and other Unionist Ministers, as well as Sir Edward Carson, who played an important part in the crisis.

Lord Northcliffe's Attack

For some time previously a press campaign had been conducted by Lord Northcliffe and other Unionist newspaper owners against the Cabinet, and especially against "the elder statesmen," although, as Lord Derby pointed out in a speech in London on Dec. 6, most of the men of whom it was proposed to make a "clean sweep" were in the "vigorous prime of life." The two principal men no longer in the prime of life are Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Lansdowne. The London Daily Mail, one of Lord Northcliffe's papers, which led the attack, described the Government as consisting of "twenty-three men who can never make up their minds." The gravamen of the charge is to be found in the following typical extract from an editorial in The Daily Mail, which was headed "The Limpets, a National Danger":

> With advancing age our Lansdownes and Balfours find it harder and ever harder to make up their minds and to face grave responsibility. The notorious characteristic of our "Government" of twenty-three is indecision. There are at this moment no fewer than seven questions urgently waiting to be decided. Most of them have been "under consideration" by the twenty-three for weeks or even months. Energy, promptitude, speed are indispensable for success in war. Time has today a surpassing value. But our "Government," though it has more than 100 committees endeavoring to make up its mind for it, can never decide. It just waits till the press and the Germans have done something which forces it to decide in a hurry—and too late.

Among the questions alluded to were the control of the Air Board, Germany's new submarine campaign, the distribution of man-power, the appointment of a food controller, the extension of the acreage under wheat, and the situation in Greece. The editorial concluded:

> The country, despite the fact that it knows very little of the truth, is exasperated by this record, which is by no means complete. In every direction it is the same. But exasperation is not enough. The waste of time, which means waste of life and all that is dearest to us, can only be ended if the nation ends this "Government." And it can only bring this dangerous "Government" down by showing its will very forcibly indeed.
>
> The nation has the gravest grounds for complaint against Mr. Bonar Law. As former leader of the Opposition, he is responsible, by bowing down to Mr. Asquith and accepting office in a Cabinet which contained a multitude of elderly men, some of whom opposed the war, and according to statements of their sympathizers still secretly oppose it, for depriving the nation of the one constitutional safeguard—an alternative Administration.
>
> Mr. Lloyd George alone shows foresight and courage. We, the nation, look to him to end this tragedy, for it is a tragedy that these appalling blunderers should be in control of our affairs at this time.

The criticism of the Government was

not confined to the Unionist press. Two such leading organs of Liberal opinion as The London Daily Chronicle and The Westminster Gazette also took the Government to task. Curiously enough they each selected seven subjects of complaint. Those instanced by The Chronicle were the delay in dealing with man-power distribution, the dispute between the Air Board and the Admiralty, the delay in appointing a food controller, the extension of wheat growing, the pensions bill, the Irish situation, and the question of using African blacks as laborers. With the exception of the two last these subjects were also mentioned in The Westminster Gazette's criticism. The Chronicle editorial pointed out that

> it was hoped at one time that the War Council, by its smaller number, would afford a remedy. But several of the very cases which we have specified seem to be the War Council's doing. It, in turn, has become a clumsy machine, without capacity for quick decision. Nor even if it covered its own field satisfactorily could it cover the whole field of Government. The Ministry's indecision does not merely affect time; it is lack of will power as well as of promptitude. The departments are not driven as a team by the Cabinet as a whole, nor by any single purposive direction; each aspires to plow its independent furrow, and resents falling in with a larger plan. The same irresolution at the centre, which is shown here, appears in the Government's attempts to guide the public. Petty pacifists or sedition-mongers of no consequence are bravely suppressed by the Home Office. But papers with large circulations, who use them to cause misunderstandings between the Allies or to magnify differences between this country and neutrals, seem allowed to do so without check or hindrance. We do not blame the Home Secretary; he cannot act without Cabinet support.
>
> What are the remedies? Let us say at once that we see none at present in mere changes of persons. * * * Let us then direct our attention rather to its improvement than its displacement; and not ignore those unsensational remedies whose cumulative effect often turns a scale.

The Northcliffe papers had for a long time been agitating in favor of Lloyd George, and when the crisis arose on Dec. 1 it was thought that they were responsible for forcing the issue. The first hint, however, of the impending changes was contained in an editorial published on Nov. 30 in The Daily Chronicle, in which the creation of a smaller War Council with larger powers was suggested. Again, on the morning of Dec. 2, the same journal seems to have been alone aware that Lloyd George had made his first move the previous day by proposing to Mr. Asquith the creation of a new War Council. The Daily Chronicle in an editorial, which in the light of subsequent events appears to have been inspired, stated that the suggested War Council was in contemplation and that the change was one to be warmly welcomed. So much for the part played by the London newspapers, which was considerable but not exactly what has generally been supposed, as can be seen from subsequent statements by Mr. Asquith and especially by Lord Derby, who was Lloyd George's right-hand man at the War Office.

The Course of Events

On Dec. 1 Mr. Lloyd George submitted his proposal for a new War Council to Mr. Asquith. The same day Mr. Asquith replied that he, as Prime Minister, must preside over such a body. The following day (Dec. 2) the two men had a friendly conference, and it appeared that an agreement satisfactory to both would be reached. Later, Mr. Asquith had an interview with the King, after which he left London for a week-end holiday. At this point there still does not seem to have been any break. On Sunday, (Dec. 3,) however, important developments took place as the result of a pact between Lloyd George and Bonar Law, supported by the Unionist Ministers. Mr. Asquith hurried back; there were interviews, and the upshot was that Lloyd George and Bonar Law tendered their resignations. The same night the official announcement was issued that the Government was to be reconstructed. This appeared in the papers next morning, (Dec. 4.) The London Times, in addition to printing the official statement, also published without authority what Mr. Asquith afterward described as "a confidential document known only to myself and one other person." The "one other person" was Lloyd George, but Mr. Asquith absolved him from all blame.

The result of this unauthorized publication was to alarm Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues and also the Labor sup-

porters of the coalition, who feared that Lloyd George and the Unionists were engaged in a plot against the Government. Some of Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues —it is said they were Viscount Grey, Lord Crewe, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Runciman—saw him and vigorously objected to his adopting Lloyd George's proposals, and they even threatened to resign. The result of this interview was that Mr. Asquith reconsidered his attitude and decided to reject Lloyd George's War Council scheme. According to The London Morning Post, the Liberal Ministers thought that a good opportunity had occurred to get rid of Lloyd George altogether. At any rate, The Daily Chronicle next morning stated that rather than consent to a War Council of which he was not the effective Chairman Mr. Asquith would resign. The Westminster Gazette, a Liberal afternoon paper, which speaks with authority, confirmed this by saying that "Mr. Asquith has definitely declined the proposal." It now looked as if Mr. Asquith's intention was to let Lloyd George resign and so discover the strength of the Government he and his Unionist allies wished to dominate.

Contest of Factions

On Tuesday (Dec. 5) the two factions came to grips. There were many consultations. Mr. Asquith had interviews with the Unionist Ministers, except Bonar Law, who kept away, and with the Liberal Ministers, except Lloyd George, who remained in seclusion at the War Office. Mr. Asquith remaining decided not to adopt their proposals, Lloyd George and Bonar Law resigned, as did the other Unionist Ministers. Mr. Asquith then held a meeting of the Liberal Ministers, and with their approval tendered his resignation to the King and advised that Bonar Law be commissioned to form a new Administration.

At this stage King George took the unusual step of intervening by calling a conference of party leaders. Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George of the Liberals, Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour of the Unionists, and Mr. Henderson of the Labor Party were summoned to Buckingham Palace, where, it is said, the King tried to arrange a reconciliation. After the conference Bonar Law saw the King alone and declined to undertake the formation of a new Ministry. The King then sent for Lloyd George, and the same night (Dec. 5) it was officially announced that he, with the co-operation of Bonar Law, had undertaken to form a new Government.

Lloyd George's task was no easy one. He had no definite party following of his own, for the Liberals were not inclined to desert Mr. Asquith. The Labor Party was hostile, while the Irish Nationalists were against every Government that was not pledged to home rule. Only the Unionists, a minority of the whole House, could be depended upon. Nevertheless, the former War Secretary set to work. Although he was unable to get Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues to serve under him, he secured the services of other Liberals, who, if politically not influential, represented great economic and industrial interests; and he won over the Labor Party by the offer of several Ministerial positions, including one in the War Council. Among the Unionists he had an unlimited choice.

Most Remarkable Ministry

The new British Government is the most remarkable ever called into existence, suggesting developments which at the moment are still obscure. Its outstanding feature is that it represents practically every great industrial interest in the country. This representation is so complete that labor as well as capital is given a larger and more effective voice in the affairs of the nation than has ever before been the case. Lord Rhondda, formerly D. A. Thomas, is the head of the great coal combine of South Wales. Sir Albert Stanley, who learned his business in America, is the head of the London underground railway system. Lord Devonport, who becomes Food Controller, has had a successful career as a food merchant, his firm being the well-known one of Kearley & Tonge. He has also been Chairman, since its creation, of the Port of London Authority, which governs the docks and shipping facilities of the metropolis. The newly created

position of Shipping Controller is held by Sir Joseph P. Maclay, himself an important ship owner. Rowland E. Prothero, the new President of the Board of Agriculture, is an authority on agriculture, and has been manager of the estates of the Duke of Bedford, one of the world's richest landlords.

Sir Alfred Mond is one of Britain's leading captains of industry, the head of many important enterprises. His appointment to the Cabinet is surprising, in view of his German parentage and the attacks made on him since the war. Sir Frederick Cawley and Albert Illingworth have large interests and much practical experience in the textile industries of the North of England. So unpolitical is the character of the new element in the administration that some of the Ministers are not even members of Parliament and will have to find seats if they are to remain in office. Even Bonar Law before entering politics had had a long business career as an ironmaster. The Labor Ministers, Arthur Henderson, John Hodge, who is at the head of the new Ministry of Labor, and George N. Barnes, have all been workers and are leaders in the trade union movement.

War Council of Five

The other important feature of the Lloyd George Government is the War Council of Five. He is the only Liberal in it. Three are Unionists, namely, Lord Curzon, who is Lord President of the Council and Government leader in the House of Lords; Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Government leader in the House of Commons, and Lord Milner, Minister without portfolio. The Labor member is Mr. Henderson, also Minister without portfolio. As both Lord Curzon and Bonar Law have other duties, it appears that the supreme direction of the war will be centred in the hands of the Prime Minister, with Milner and Henderson as his chief assistants.

Lord Milner's appointment is not at all unexpected. He is a great driving force. Partly German by descent and education, he showed in South Africa that he could wield an iron hand as civil dictator just as effectively as Lord Kitchener did in the military sphere. An interesting change is that Mr. Balfour succeeds Viscount Grey as Foreign Secretary. This appointment, which was violently attacked by the Northcliffe press, shows that the struggle behind the scenes was not exactly that pictured by The London Times and Daily Mail. This is emphasized by the fact that Lord Robert Cecil remains Minister of Blockade, despite the demand that he, too, be sent packing with the "elder statesmen." Lord Derby, as War Secretary, and Sir Edward Carson, as First Lord of the Admiralty, are regarded as the right men to energize their departments.

For Economic Problems

The new Cabinet, apart from the Labor element, is a combination of Unionist politicians who have always advocated the economic union of the empire and captains of industry who belong to the so-called "Liberal plutocracy." It is a Cabinet that has obviously been formed to control and organize Great Britain as an industrial nation and to maintain, if not extend, the British world power in commerce. As such it is equally suitable to the needs of war or of peace. If there is to be a trade war after the war, then this is the kind of Government for the purpose.

The change that has taken place is not merely the result of a fight between rival leaders or political factions, but is due to the assertion by the great economic interests of the country of their intention to control the affairs of a nation which depends upon economic efficiency, whether it be for the purpose of waging war or to meet the extremely difficult situation which will arise as soon as the country has to readapt itself to peace conditions.

Meanwhile Mr. Asquith, having refused the Earldom which would have relegated him to the House of Lords, has taken his place with his former Liberal colleagues on the front Opposition bench in the House of Commons. At a meeting of the Liberal Party at the Reform Club on Dec. 8 he stated that, although he had resigned the Premiership, he had not given up the leadership of the Liberal Party. There had been, he added, a carefully engineered campaign against him, but he

acquitted Lloyd George and his other associates in the retiring Government of complicity therein. He emphasized the necessity of giving strong adhesion to whatever Government was in power for the purpose of bringing about what all desired—the winning of the war. The meeting decided to follow Mr. Asquith's advice, and the Liberal Opposition will content itself with friendly criticism. Nevertheless, the Liberal Party has been split, and those who oppose Lloyd George look upon him as a wrecker. But the country as a whole admires him and believes he is the right man in the right place. His advent to the Premiership was greeted everywhere with the remark, "If Lloyd George can't win the war for us, no one can."

Cabinet Changes in France

In France the recent changes were accomplished with very little public controversy. One reason for the absence of the fierce discussions that marked the British crisis was the stringent censorship, but a significant change is indicated by the adoption on Dec. 14 by the Chamber of Deputies of a motion abolishing the political censorship, while retaining the diplomatic and military censorship. The motion was accepted by the Government and passed unanimously. The agitation against Premier Briand is accordingly now able to find fuller expression. Although he has reconstructed his Cabinet and followed the British example of a small War Council, there is at this writing evidence of very great dissatisfaction, with a crisis in prospect. A sign of unrest is the diminished Government majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

At the beginning of December the Chamber of Deputies was holding a series of secret sessions. More energetic measures of civil, commercial, and industrial mobilization were being discussed. The situation in England at once quickened interest among French statesmen in the question whether the present Governmental machinery was in conformity with the exigencies of war, and also whether there should not be a reorganization of the supreme command of the army. On Dec. 7 the Chamber, by a vote of 344 to 160, passed a resolution expressing confidence in the Government in its conduct of the war and approving the proposals to reorganize the General Staff and "to concentrate under restricted direction the conduct of the war." Next day a special meeting of the Cabinet was held and the establishment of a War Council and the economic organization of the country were considered. The semi-official note issued on Dec. 10 stated that there would be "a diminution in the number of the members of the Cabinet and the constitution of a restricted National Defense Committee, as in England." Finally, on Dec. 12, M. Aristide Briand, the Premier, announced that he had completed the reconstruction of the Cabinet. The supreme direction of the war is concentrated in a National Defense Council of Five, consisting of M. Briand, Premier and Foreign Minister; M. Alexandre Ribot, Finance Minister; General Hubert Lyautey, Minister of War; Rear Admiral Lucaze, Minister of Marine, and M. Albert Thomas, who, as Minister of Fabrication Nationale, (National Manufactures,) is also to have control of munitions and transportation. The rest of the Cabinet has been reorganized, one of the Ministers being described as that of National Subsistence and Labor. General Lyautey, the new War Minister, has been French Resident General in Morocco.

A resolution of confidence in the new Government was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 13, but as the voting on this occasion was 314 to 165, M. Briand's majority had in less than a week fallen from 184 to 149. M. Clémenceau says that the minority included some of the most important members of the Chamber. The first of the expected changes in the high command was made on Dec. 12, when it was announced that General Nivelle, commander of the French troops at Verdun, had been appointed Commander in Chief of the French armies of the north and northeast. This was followed next day by President Poincaré signing a decree naming "General Joffre, Commander in

Chief of the French Armies, technical counsel to the Government regarding the direction of the war." Another decree declared that the Commanders in Chief of the armies of the north and northeast and of the Orient were now to be directly responsible to the Minister of War. The effect of this decree is to bring both General Nivelle and General Sarrail, Commander of the Entente forces in Macedonia, under the control of the War Office, now presided over by General Lyautey, and make them independent of the Commander in Chief, General Joffre.

Changes in Other Countries

Austria made a record for a short-lived Government when the Ministry headed by Dr. Ernest von Koerber resigned on Dec. 13. It had only been formed on Nov. 1 after the assassination of Premier Stuerghk. Herr Alexander Spitzmueller was intrusted by Emperor Charles with the formation of a new Cabinet. The resignation of the Rumanian Premier was announced on Dec. 15; and in Portugal, according to Lisbon newspapers, a coalition Cabinet was again being considered. At this writing there is little information to explain most of the political changes in the belligerent countries, so that it is difficult to say whether they are local and personal or part of a general tendency possibly connected with coming events.

Russia's Ministerial Crisis

There were two fundamental causes for the Cabinet crisis in Russia. The forces of the war and the forces of democracy were these two causes. The significance of the downfall of Sturmer is to be found in the fact that he was known to favor a separate peace with Germany as much as in the inefficiency and incompetence of his reactionary and bureaucratic administration.

The new Premier, Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, and the new Foreign Minister, Nikolai Nikolaievitch Pokrovsky, are the very opposite of Boris Sturmer. Both are men of broad vision, and their vision is directed not toward the realm of politics, but toward that of economics and industrial expansion. Being economic radicals for Russia, their selection promises a stable Government that will bring their country by the longer yet surer route to the stage of regeneration that surely awaits her in the future. It is through the slow process of economic development that a new political Russia will have been evolved.

Trepoff, like Pokrovsky, is a man of positive convictions. Both are men of action. The program that Trepoff unfolded before a group of journalists when he became Minister of Communications in November, 1915, sounded utopian for Russia. He proposed the building of tens of thousands of miles of new railroads and hundreds of thousands of miles of canals. Ten months after this program had been laid before the newspaper men, in the course of the most critical and strenuous war in the life of humanity, Russia had made a substantial beginning toward the full realization of Trepoff's plans. An initial loan of 350,000 rubles was oversubscribed four times! This fact alone, in the present state of Russian finances, illustrates magnificently the new Premier's methods of doing things, and doing them successfully. The 3,000 miles of new railways that have been built in Russia during 1916 are another example of Trepoff's efficiency.

Pokrovsky, the Foreign Minister, who was Controller of the Empire in Sturmer's Cabinet, is a novice in diplomacy and politics. He was assistant to the Minister of Finances in 1906, was member of the Imperial Council, and in both capacities showed himself to be a fearless advocate of economic reforms. He is very popular with the Duma, which has now acquired a controlling influence in national affairs. His speech in the Russian Parliament, made on Dec. 15 with the approval of the Czar, in which he rejected in the name of the Government the German peace offer, shows him to be the kind of Foreign Minister that public opinion in Russia demanded. He is straightforward, sincere, candid. Incidentally, the appointment of Pokrovsky means the renewal in the near future of the commercial treaty between Russia and the United States, on the latter's conditions.

[FINANCIAL]

War Finances in Europe

Some Aspects of the Present and Future Situation

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by an Official of a Leading American International Banking House.]

THE financial aspects of the great European war are of vital interest to the people of the United States. Vast and complex as they are, we are beginning to realize that we must master some of the principles involved if we are to look the future in the face, for although the whole world is involved in a financial sense, no neutral power is so directly interested as we, and as yet no economist has arisen with sufficient imagination or power of prophecy to glimpse the possibilities of its ultimate results upon the future of this country

During the last two years the war has created developments in the world of finance which have astonished students of economics. Who would have ventured to prophesy, for instance, three years ago that any event or series of events would shift the financial centre of the world from London to New York, even temporarily? Who would have dreamed that our bankers could, almost within the period mentioned, loan to foreign Governments such a sum as, approximately, two billions of dollars!

Such sums are staggering in their proportions and tend to bewilder the average mind. The first question which presents itself to the casual thinker is, where does all this money come from? He is apt to remember that about this time every year there used to be quite a scramble for funds to move the crops of the West, as well as to take care of the other normal requirements of business and speculation. This year and last the movement of the crops was financed as usual, business is going ahead at a prodigious rate, speculation is rife on the Exchanges, and yet we are lending our billions to foreign Governments. And to cap the climax the business man finds his banker grumbling because he cannot lend money at a rate sufficiently profitable to suit him. As this article is written rates of interest show a stiffening tendency, the money market having (early in December) passed through something resembling a flurry. The untold resources of our new Federal Reserve banking system, however, are almost untried as yet. For the first time in years money is as cheap throughout the West at this season of the year as it is in the East. The various foreign loans have been absorbed with ease by the investing public and financial institutions and their prices have been maintained on the Exchanges in spite of adverse factors.

Can Europe Pay Its Debts?

This raises some very interesting questions, well worthy of attempted explanation. For the present, let us inquire more directly into the position of the belligerent Governments from a financial point of view. As indicated above, we are directly interested in the vital point at issue, how is Europe's war bill to be paid? We have loaned vast sums of money to the belligerents, and we have given them credit for millions of dollars' worth of goods of every kind. To put the matter into blunt words, the bottom must fall completely out of our present vaunted prosperity unless Europe can pay it. It is therefore perfectly right and proper that we should inquire into the credit position of those of the belligerents with which we are concerned, just as the credit manager of a mercantile house looks up the resources of a customer whose account is growing into large proportions.

It has been estimated that by Aug. 1, 1917, or at the end of the third year of the war, it will have cost the belligerent nations considerably over $75,000,000,000. Roughly speaking, Germany's share, or, rather, that of the Central Alliance, is

DR. VON KOERBER, AUSTRIAN PREMIER

Dr. Ernst von Koerber, Former Finance Minister, Was Made Premier of Austria-Hungary After the Assassination of Count Stuergkh.

(Press Illustrating Service.)

GERMAN GENERALS WHOSE ARMIES HAVE CONQUERED RUMANIA

Field Marshal von Mackensen.
(Photo © F. O. Koch.)

General Eric von Falkenhayn
(Photo © F. O. Koch.)

about one-third of this total. It is also estimated that the present daily cost of the war to the Entente Allies is $105,000,000, Great Britain's share being $25,000,000, that of France $18,000,000, and of Russia $16,000,000. The balance is divided among Italy and the lesser powers.

Here is a table showing the approximate public debt of the principal belligerents before the war and their estimated debts at this time. For the sake of simplicity the figures are given in round millions:

Public Debts of the Belligerent Nations

	Aug. 1, 1914. (Approximated.)	Present. (Estimated.)
United Kingdom.	$3,485,000,000	†$18,000,000,000
France	6,607,000,000	*18,500,000,000
Russia	4,537,000,000	13,000,000,000
Italy	2,836,000,000	4,600,000,000
	$17,465,000,000	$54,100,000,000
Germany	$5,198,000,000	$12,000,000,000
Austria-Hung'y.	3,970,000,000	4,230,000,000
Turkey	640,000,000	360,000,000
	$9,808,000,000	$16,590,000,000

*Includes advances from the Bank of France. †On Dec. 13 Chancellor Law asked Parliament for a new war credit of $2,000,000,000.

From the above table it will be seen that, even should the war end immediately, the belligerent nations of Europe must pay interest on a combined public debt of something like seventy billions of dollars. It is futile to estimate what this total may grow to before the war actually does come to an end, but some statisticians, taking Aug. 1, 1917, as an arbitrary date upon which to base their calculations, have placed the figure at $86,500,000,000.

Debt Too Vast to Comprehend

These figures are so vast that one finds it difficult to comprehend their meaning. Such a sum, for instance, would be more than twice the estimated value of all the farm lands in the United States. It would be more than three times the total outstanding capital of all the railroads in the United States, and over seventy-five times the capital of all the national banks in the United States. The United States Steel Corporation, the largest corporation in the world, with its $1,300,000,000 of capital, loses much of its impressiveness when mentioned in connection with such a sum.

At this writing the direct loans made in this country to Great Britain total above $1,100,000,000, which, of course, includes Great Britain's half share of the Anglo-French loan of $500,000,000. This, it must be remembered, is an external debt, and therefore it takes precedence of all internal borrowings, not only in a legal or diplomatic sense, but also from the point of view of the economist.

The external indebtedness of a nation differs from its internal indebtedness in the same manner as the debts of an individual in his own household differ from those which he has contracted among comparative strangers. If you owe a sum of money to a member of your own household the chances are the indebtedness does not rest very heavily upon you. In all probability your creditor will not push you for payment, or is likely to incur some obligation to you in the future which will square the account.

To carry the simile a little further, suppose this member of your household should charge you a rather high rate of interest on the debt. In such a case, in order to help us with the comparison, let us suppose that you are in a position to increase the rent of your creditor, and thus prevent his interest charges from running up to unwieldy proportions. The comparison is far-fetched, perhaps, but it illustrates, to some extent, the position of a nation which has a large indebtedness among its own people. If it must pay out vast sums in interest charges it must necessarily increase its taxation proportionately. Of course the holders of its bonds and therefore the recipents of its interest are not literally the same people as those which will be taxed to meet the interest charges, but although the money is collected and paid out by the Government, it does not go out of the country. It is kept in circulation by a sort of endless chain, a far heavier chain perhaps in war times than normally, and one requiring much more skillful handling by financiers than the ordinary chain of peace times.

So much for the internal loans of a Government. It is only by the process of some such homely simile that we can conceive of the ability of any Government to pay interest on its war debts, even those of previous wars, which will be far eclipsed by the war debts incurred during the present one.

War Bonds in America

Now, the external debt is a different matter. The nation which incurs one knows that no sentiment enters into it. It is like a note discounted at the bank; it must be met at maturity. Moreover, unless the debtor nation can sell sufficient goods to the creditor nation to create a trade balance in its favor, it must meet its obligations in cash, which means gold. Not to do so would mean national dishonor, loss of credit, and most likely war.

In a sense, however, and this point seems to me to be an important one, a large proportion of Europe's borrowings in this country are not, strictly speaking, external debts. In the case of the United Kingdom, for instance, the only real external debt is Britain's share of the Anglo-French loan, $250,000,000. Her other loans are on collateral borrowed from her own people. If I borrow a thousand-dollar bond from you to use as collateral for a loan of eight hundred dollars at my bank, I am technically the debtor of the bank, but my real debt is to you. Similarly, the British Government's real creditors, in the matter of its secured notes, are those who have loaned their stocks and bonds for collateral. As a matter of fact the owners thereof hold the obligations of the British Government, which is obligated to pay interest in addition to that which accrues to the various securities. In the sense that American bankers may demand payment of the United Kingdom notes when they mature, they constitute an external obligation, but viewing the owners of the collateral upon which they are based as the real lenders to the Government, they are internal.

Great Britain's Total Debt

Apart from certain so-called contingent liabilities which need hardly be considered here, the total debt of the British Government on March 31, 1914, which is the end of the British fiscal year, stood at £707,654,101, or $3,500,000,000. During the first two years of the war the United Kingdom alone, without taking British colonies into account, borrowed for war purposes about $12,000,000,000. By August 1, 1917, the public debt of Great Britain will in all probability have progressed to approximately twenty billions of dollars. Obligations contracted by the entire British Empire, which includes Canadian, Australian, and Indian loans placed since the war began, are rapidly reaching the imposing total of fifteen billions.

It is obvious that the cost of this gigantic struggle is going to superimpose enormous sums to the present normal national indebtedness of the belligerent powers. But it must not be supposed that the entire cost of the war will be financed by increasing the national debts. England, especially, is making every endeavor to "pay as she goes." Taxation is meeting a very large proportion of the cost of the war, the income tax alone ranging from about 1 per cent. on small incomes to 41½ per cent. on large ones. Besides this there are various taxes on business profits, corporations, &c., and especially the tax on munitions profits, which must, in the end, prove very remunerative.

Shifting Burden to the Rich

Viewing the entire matter from a somewhat academic position, it is well worthy of note that as civilization has progressed a very perceptible shifting has taken place as regards the burden of warmaking. It is quite evident from the study of ancient history, and even of feudal history, that the cost of war in earlier days fell almost entirely upon the people of the lower social strata. They paid not only in blood but in money or its equivalent, while the higher classes waxed wealthier as wars were waged. It is not saying too much to declare that these conditions are directly reversed today.

The present struggle is not only costing the upper classes of Europe dearly in blood but the cost of the war is falling

far more heavily upon these classes than it is upon the people. For at least a decade previous to the war the whole trend of British taxation has been in favor of the people, and this tendency has been greatly emphasized since the war. This is in accordance with the modern spirit. European democracy is willing to fight, but it will not pay. European aristocracy must not only fight but it must pay as well.

It would appear that the burden of future taxation in Great Britain is bound to fall upon the wealthier classes. Under Lloyd George and his associates the wealthy had been taught that it is its duty and privilege to obey the rhythmic injunction of Mr. Kipling and "Pay! Pay! Pay!" During the present conflict no murmur of dissent has reached these shores at least, and in the present wave of patriotism, engendered by the national crisis, it is scarcely conceivable that any wealthy Englishman would venture to complain when nearly 50 per cent. of his income is demanded of him in taxes, while his brothers are yielding their life blood in the trenches.

The enormous expenditures of a country at war may be rather aptly compared to the losses of a group of friends who "sit in" to a friendly game of poker with each other one night a week all the year round. If all their losses at these friendly games were added up, the result would be rather terrifying to people of moderate means, but such a compilation is rarely made. Moreover, the half dozen friends who play poker with each other weekly usually end the year without serious financial catastrophes on the part of any of them, and the secret is that they play with each other regularly. The money which A wins from B and C one night will, in all probability, find its way back to B and C a week later; and so it goes. The chief winner of the season, perhaps, gives a dinner to his friends, and thus equalizes matters. No one is very much better off for the season's playing, and no one very much worse.

The Losses Not Net

So it is, to a certain extent, in the case of a country at war. Certain lines of industry must suffer, it is true, to such an extent that they may never recover. Certain classes of people must lose financially that other classes may gain. But all the vast sums which are being reckoned on as the cost of war are by no means total losses. Much of the money so spent goes back to the people. England, be it remembered, has had her "war brides" and her war-time prosperity. We are apt to picture England in our mind's eye as making war so vigorously that she has no time for anything else. It is exceedingly interesting, therefore, to study the comparison of Great Britain's imports and exports for the first nine months of 1915 and 1916, respectively. These figures are culled from The London Economist of Oct. 14, 1916, and they do not, of course, include importations of war materials for the use of British armies in the field. It should be noted also that the figures given are in pounds sterling, and not in dollars.

	NINE MONTHS ENDED SEPT. 30.			
	1915.	1916.	Inc. or Dec.	P.C.
Imports.	£643,812,337	£704,044,617	+£60,232,280	9.3
Exports..	283,091,686	379,328,938	+96,237,252	22.9
Re-exp'ts.	75,619,886	76,865,079	+1,255,193	1.6
Import balance.	£285,100,765	£247,840,600	—£37,260,165	13.0

It is natural that we should consider the financial future of the United Kingdom as the key to the situation so far as the other two great powers of the Entente are concerned. As regards France, there is an undercurrent of confidence as well, based on the known frugality of the French people, the strength of the French banking system, and the remarkable achievements of that nation in discharging the enormous burdens imposed upon it by the Franco-German war.

The Finances of France

The Bank of France, founded by Napoleon in 1800, has long been regarded by financial students as the model national banking institution. It is, like the Bank of England, privately owned, though differing somewhat from the English bank in its relations with the State.

During the Franco-Prussian war the bank advanced to the State about $300,000,000. This necessitated an increase in its note issues of some 1,300,000,000 francs. By 1879 the advances of the

bank had all been repaid, having been funded by the sale of French Government securities.

The manner in which the enormous burdens of the war of 1870, to which must be added the staggering war indemnities imposed by Germany, were met, will always serve to inspire confidence in the financial resources of the French people. The increase which followed in the public debt of France was about eighteen billion francs, bringing it up to about thirty-one billions. On Aug. 1, 1914, the public debt of France was 32,787,000,000 francs.

As in the case of the Franco-Prussian war, the war expenditures of the French Government have been met primarily through advances from the Bank of France. In both cases the bank was authorized to increase its note circulation.

That French industry and commerce is regaining rapidly any ground which it may have lost in the midst of its time of trial may be seen from the following report of its imports and exports for nine months to Sept. 1, 1916, which parallels the table of British imports and exports quoted above:

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF FRANCE DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1916

(From L'Economiste Francais. Oct. 21, 1916.)

IMPORTS

	First Nine Months, 1916. Francs.	First Nine Months, 1915. Francs.	Difference in 1916. Francs.
Articles of food	2,152,793,000	1,793,735,000	+359,058,000
Material needed for manuf't'e.	2,987,613,000	2,280,538,000	+707,075,000
Manufact'd articles	2,241,002,000	1,733,118,000	+507,884,000
Total	7,381,408,000	5,807,391,000	+1,574,017,000

EXPORTS

	First Nine Months, 1916. Francs.	First Nine Months, 1915. Francs.	Difference in 1916. Francs.
Articles of food	311,772,000	405,400,000	— 93,628,000
Material needed for manuf't'e.	505,881,000	470,032,000	+ 35,849,000
Manufact'd articles	1,519,438,000	1,184,171,000	+335,267,000
Parcel post.	178,972,000	119,828,000	+ 59,144,000
Total	2,516,063,000	2,179,431,000	+336,632,000

Of which 6,640 francs were for parcel post containing silk fabric and silk floss. The corresponding figure for 1915 was 4,884,000 francs.

The Situation of Russia

Russia presents to us the greatest mystery of all the warring powers because we know so little of her normal methods of financiering. We know, of course, that, unlike either Great Britain or France, she has been unable to continue her normal export business, and that, consequently, the trade balances have been heavily against her during the last two years. In normal times her excess of exports greatly exceeds her imports. In 1912, for instance, this excess was over $179,000,000. In 1913, it was over $75,000,000. In 1915 the balance against her was over $369,000,000, and for the first eight months of 1916 it was more than $520,000,000. But Russia's resources are great. With an estimated population of 174,099,600; with an area of 8,417,115 square miles; an estimated national wealth of between fifty and sixty billions, and annual production approximating $7,725,000,000; with its vast areas of uncut forests; with its agricultural resources, as yet scarcely developed to a fraction of their possibilities—it would seem that the Russian Empire can face the future with confidence, even though confronted with the payment of interest on an abnormal public debt.

The estimated present debt of the empire is about one and two-thirds the normal annual production, and the amount per capita equals about $75, which is small when compared with the per capita debt which the other great powers will have to face.

Russia has made two loans of $50,000,000 each in the United States, and large advances have been made to her by both the British and French Governments and by bankers of both of those powers. Only a small proportion of her war debt has been funded as yet, the expenses of the war being met by advances from the Bank of Russia, Treasury bills, and the loans mentioned above. Some idea of the tremendous resources of Russia may be gained from the following figures, which show the revenue and expenditure of the Government, not including the extraordinary expenditures of war, for the last four years, together with the esti-

mates for 1917. The figures for 1915 are partly estimated, and those for 1916 and, of course, 1917, are entirely estimated:

RUSSIAN ORDINARY REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1913, actual.....	$1,759,940,000	$1,593,538,000
1914, actual.....	1,492,470,000	1,507,405,000
1915, preliminary..	1,455,905,000	1,580,020,000
1916, estimate.....	1,561,480,000	1,692,805,000
1917, estimate.....	2,058,970,000	1,923,010,000

Russia's achievement in doing away with the vodka evil, which was a State monopoly, yielding in 1913 38 per cent. of the total ordinary revenue, excited the admiration of the world. Its financial results are observed in the increase in the deposits in the savings banks, those of the State Savings Banks alone having increased nearly $775,000,000 from the outbreak of the war up to the middle of last August, while some $558,000,000 worth of securities were placed with these banks for safekeeping during the same period. There has been, in consequence, a large increase in direct taxation. It is estimated that the return to the Government in this form of revenue will be about double in 1917 what it was before the war.

Germany's Position

The financial position of Germany in the great struggle is unique. There are not lacking those who maintain that it is stronger than that of the Entente Allies, because she has not been able to spend any money beyond her own borders except with her own allies. Her adherents claim that when the war is over Germany, having practically no external debt, will be in much better case than her enemies. Her debt will be entirely to her own people, and she can repudiate or not, as she sees fit.

Her borrowings since the beginning of the war have totaled some $13,000,000,000, which, added to her pre-war debt of $5,200,000,000, makes her present indebtedness some $18,200,000,000.

Germany's achievement in maintaining her reserves of gold is not less notable than that of her enemies, but it is far less impressive because she has been able to do little else than store it up. As in the case of the other great European banks, the Reichsbank has been permitted to issue notes without reference to its gold reserves, and these notes have been accepted freely by the people. At the close of the war Germany's gold reserves will doubtless be of great value to her in restoring her national credit and re-establishing normal rates of exchange, but it has availed her little during the struggle. On the other hand, Great Britain, acting as the financial leader for the Allies, has not only maintained astonishing reserves of the yellow metal, but has helped to pay her way with this, the only form in which money has any real currency between nations. Since Aug. 1, 1914, she and her allies have shipped to this country about $1,100,000,000 in gold, either direct or through Canada.

Without dwelling on the financial fate of Austria-Hungary, which will, of course, depend upon that of her great ally, or upon that of Turkey, which is not of such vital interest to American readers, it is interesting, while we are still considering the subject of gold, to study the following table from The Commercial and Financial Chronicle of Dec. 9, 1916, showing the increase in the gold holdings of the principal European banks during the past year:

DEC. 7, 1916	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
England	£55,942,730	.....	£55,942,730
*France	146,683,487	£12,440,360	159,123,847
Germany	125,924,350	821,805	126,746,155
†Russia	155,880,000	10,202,000	166,082,000
‡Austria-Hung'y	51,578,000	12,140,000	63,718,000
Spain	48,050,000	29,846,000	77,896,000
Italy	36,647,000	2,908,000	39,555,000
Netherlands	48,716,000	560,400	49,276,400
§Nat. Belgium..	15,380,000	600,000	15,980,000
Switzerland	12,342,900	.....	12,342,900
Sweden	10,131,000	.....	10,131,000
Denmark	8,340,000	168,000	8,508,000
Norway	6,069,000	.....	6,069,000
Total week....	£721,684,467	£69,686,565	£791,371,032
Previous week.	724,893,662	70,864,420	795,758,082

DEC. 9, 1915	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
England	£50,272,748	.....	£50,272,748
*France	197,601,000	£14,260,000	211,861,000
Germany	121,809,850	1,796,050	123,605,900
†Russia	160,518,000	2,855,000	163,373,000
‡Austria-Hung'y.	51,578,000	12,140,000	63,718,000
Spain	33,738,000	30,114,000	63,852,000
Italy	45,251,000	4,427,000	49,678,000
Netherlands	34,756,000	291,200	35,047,200
§Nat. Belgium..	15,380,000	600,000	15,980,000
Switzerland	9,902,300	.....	9,902,300

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Sweden	6,298,000	.....	6,298,000
Denmark	5,917,000	247,000	6,164,000
Norway	3,753,000	.....	3,753,000
Total week....£736,774,898	£66,730,250	£803,505,148	
Previous week. 734,665,069	66,219,060	800,884,129	

*Gold holdings of the Bank of France this year are exclusive of £55,407,438 held abroad.

†The gold holdings of the Bank of Russia for both years in the above statement have been revised by eliminating the so-called gold balance held abroad.

‡July 30, 1914, in both years.

§Aug. 6, 1914, in both years.

From the early days of 1914, when the determined efforts of the great European banks to build up their gold reserves caused constant drains upon our supply of the yellow metal—a signal which should have warned us of the trouble to come—the gold accumulations in the European banks have been astonishing in their proportions.

Few doubt the ability of Germany to meet her obligations after the war. An empire and a people with such vast resources as hers, a Government which has been enabled to maintain such an expensive war military establishment as Germany has built up within the last twenty years, should not find it more difficult than any other European power to meet its interest charges and the other obligations caused by the war, especially if the terms of peace should provide for disarmament in any degree.

Nothing has been said in this article about indemnities, because, as the war progresses, one hears very little conjecture of any kind about them, and it is the opinion of most well-informed men that there will be no war indemnities.

This, however, belongs to the field of pure conjecture, as do, indeed, not a few of the points touched upon in this brief and of necessity sketchy outline of certain phases of war finances. The subject is a tremendous one, but the time is not yet come when any writer can speak with decision, or even precision, regarding most of its angles.

NOTE.—The word billion is used in this article in the sense which obtains in the United States, one thousand millions, and not in the English sense, which is one million millions.

Aspects of War Finance

THE New York Stock Exchange was reopened to restricted trading Dec. 12, 1914, after having been closed for four months, but was not entirely free until some weeks later. A glance at the changes in the prices of stocks in the two years that have intervened reveals the profound effect of the war on certain industries. In some cases the advances have been justified by the increased profits, but with others the advance has been sentimental.

A few of the more active stocks which were traded in two years ago, and which have shared in the advance since then, are shown below, with their last prices, fractions being dropped from both sides:

	Dec. 12, 1914.	Dec. 9, 1916.
Allis-Chalmers	8	34
Allis-Chalmers pf.....	34	90
American Beet Sugar.....	30	105
American Can.....	25	62
American Car & Foundry.....	43	76
American Smelting.....	56	114
American Sugar.....104		115
Bethlehem	42	644
Central Leather.....	35	110
Distillers	14	43
Erie	22	37
General Motors.....	86	750
Inspiration Copper.....	16	68
International Paper.....	8	64
Marine	1	47
Ray Consolidated.....	16	32
Utah Copper.....	48	122
U. S. Steel, (Dec. 19).....	50	123

Large profits have been made by ordnance works; on Dec. 12 the E. W. Bliss Company announced an extra dividend of 100 per cent., making 300 per cent. in 1916, in addition to the regular dividend. This excessive profit, however, is unusual even for war stocks. Industrials that paid no dividends have been put on a 5 or 6 per cent. dividend basis; the metal stocks have increased their dividends to 6, 8, and 10 per cent.; the International Mercantile Marine, which is in a receiver's hands, is said to have earned over 80 per cent. on its stock in the last year, and the powder companies

are supposed to have earned fabulous sums, the estimates ranging from 250 to 500 per cent. The United States Steel Corporation is supposed to be earning about 20 per cent.

Wages have been increased from 5 to 15 per cent., and salaries from 10 to 20 per cent. by many of the larger corporations. The United States Steel Corporation made three increases in wages in 1916, aggregating 33 1-3 per cent., and extending to more than 250,000 workmen.

The German peace overtures created a semi-panic in the market on Dec. 12, 14, and 15, prices declining in the three days from 5 to 50 points; but on the 16th the action of Russia in rejecting the overtures caused a substantial recovery.

* * *

THE report of the Treasury of the United States for the year ended June 30, 1916, discloses that the total Government holdings in gold amounted at that date to $1,803,493,932.83, an increase during the fiscal year of over $400,000,000, and a circulation increase of $454,000,000 over the preceding year. This makes the per capita circulation $39.28 and the gold percentage 50.97, being the firmest gold basis known in the history of this or any other country. The cash surplus of receipts for expenses for the year were somewhat in excess of $55,000,000.

* * *

THE United States in the year ended Nov. 1, 1916, held in gold coin and bullion $2,700,136,976, an increase of $714,597,804 in sixteen months. This is the largest amount of gold held by the United States or any other country in history. The national banks held on Sept. 12, 1916, in deposits $11,362,341,000.

* * *

THE second French national defense loan was subscribed up to 11,360,000,000 francs, (over two billion dollars,) of which 54½ per cent. is new cash, as against 47 per cent. in the preceding loan. Sixty-six per cent. of the fresh money came from the provinces, and included many millions in gold coin from the little private hoards of the peasants.

Great Britain Spending $28,000,000 a Day

THE British House of Commons on Dec. 14 took measures to raise 1,000,000 more men of all ranks for the army service during the present fiscal year, making a total of 5,000,000 men for the war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bonar Law, moved a new war credit of $2,000,000,000, in discussing which he said:

> We cannot continue at the present figure indefinitely. All we can hope for is that we can keep at that figure long enough to beat our enemies, and I believe we can go on long enough to make sure that it will not be from financial causes if we fail to secure victory.

Following debate the vote of credit was adopted unanimously. It is the fourteenth since the outbreak of the war, and brings up the total thus far for the present financial year to £1,750,000,000, ($8,750,000,000.)

In his discussion of the matter of finances, Bonar Law stated that the total expenditure of Great Britain since the outbreak of the war was £3,852,000,000, ($19,260,000,000.) This total included expenditures of £1,650,000,000 over and above the votes of credit. The Chancellor commented on the total he mentioned:

> That figure taxes the imagination. It is a colossal figure, but I do not think it is an appalling figure.

The daily average expenditure of Great Britain in the war, he went on, had risen to £5,710,000, ($28,550,000.) Assuming that the rate of expenditure would continue as at present, the vote would carry them until Feb. 24. An additional £200,000,000 would be required from that date to last until the end of the fiscal year. This would bring the total votes for the year to £1,950,000,000, or £350,000,000 in excess of the estimate made some months ago by the former Chancellor, Reginald McKenna.

The reason for this excess of expenditure, Bonar Law said, was the great increase in the munitions output and the

additional loans to Great Britain's allies and to her dominions.

As to the increase in munitions, the Chancellor said that if he could give the figures of June, 1915, and those of today the difference would seem almost incredible. Considering the nature of this country and how entirely its energies had been devoted to peace, he went on, it was marvelous to consider how she had been organized for war. No more striking proof of the vitality of the country, from an industrial point of view, was found than in the extent by which the output of munitions had increased during the year.

Referring to the increase in loans, the Chancellor said it would be gratifying to the House to know that it had gone largely to Great Britain's allies, the dominions having been able to finance their expenditures. These advances were just as much war expenditure, he said, as the amount expended on the British troops. These loans were now amounting to $2,000,000 daily.

In the course of his speech he said:

Two great advantages are possessed by the Germans. One is their preparedness for war. They have today another advantage—that is, that circumstances have so fallen out that the control of all the resources of our enemies is practically in one hand. One of the drawbacks of our alliance, as of every alliance, is that it is very difficult to get this central control. To secure it has been the object not only of this Government but of the Governments of our allies, and a great deal has been done in this direction during the last year, and particularly during the last six months.

In my belief, success in this war and the rapidity with which we can bring it to a victorious conclusion must depend upon the extent upon which the resources of the Allies in men, money, and munitions can be pooled and thrown into the common cause.

Reginald McKenna congratulated former Chancellor Bonar Law on his speech, thus showing the entente cordiale between the old and the new Governments. He continued:

We are bound to supply munitions to the full extent of our capacity, and we are bound likewise to meet all the demands of our allies, so far as we are able. The extent of our ability to meet those demands is enormous, but there is one restriction, namely, that it will not be easy to convert sterling wealth into dollars wealth. We must pay in dollars for what we buy now, not only in America, but all over the world, and that is the limit of our power to help the Allies.

Greece and the Entente Ultimatum

A Month of Swift Events

THE relation of Greece to the European war has undergone kaleidoscopic changes in the last month or two, at times taking on the aspect of actual war against the Entente Allies, at other times seeming to promise civil war; the situation was clarified to some extent, however, when the stern demands of the Allies, supplemented by a complete blockade of Greek ports, were submitted to by King Constantine and his Government on Nov. 15. By this action the King has saved his throne, at least for the present.

Events moved swiftly in late November. The diplomatic representatives of the Central Powers were ordered by the Entente to leave Greece, and they departed under protest on Nov. 21. On the 24th the Allies delivered an ultimatum to the Greek Government, demanding that it hand over the rifles and guns belonging to the Greek Army, the first delivery to consist of ten batteries of mountain guns by Dec. 1.

Athens seethed with excitement. The Government let it be understood that it would refuse the demands for the surrender of arms and munitions, and on Nov. 28 the Crown Council voted to support the Government in this position. On the 29th war vessels of the Allies loaded with troops arrived at Piraeus and moored alongside the quay. On Dec. 1 the King publicly rejected the Allies' demand and resumed control of Post Offices and telegraph lines in Athens. The same day Admiral du Fournet, the French commander of the allied fleet in the Mediterranean, landed French, Eng-

lish, and Italian detachments. At the same time two regiments of Greek troops of the Athens garrison, with their artillery, moved from the city. The official explanation was that this step was taken to prevent a possible conflict with the allied troops that had been landed; but it was believed by the Allies that the real reason was to move the war munitions out of Admiral du Fournet's reach. Bands of reservists paraded the streets and the city was in a state of greatest excitement. Numerous clashes occurred, and the King finally yielded on the evening of Dec. 1 and delivered six mountain batteries instead of ten. The allied troops at once withdrew from the city, leaving a guard of 300 men at an industrial exhibition building known as the Zappeion.

In the clashes which preceded this there were some bloody affrays, and it was stated that several hundred were wounded. The allied troops were fired on from windows and roofs, and it was stated that a number were killed. The casualties were estimated at 200. It was openly charged that the Greeks began the firing and were guilty of treachery.

On Dec. 7 the Allies blockaded the Port of Athens and placed an embargo on all Greek shipping.

After the fighting on the 1st, just before the establishment of the blockade, affairs grew quieter. Meanwhile the Allies procured documentary proof that the Greek authorities had been carrying on an intrigue with the Germans. The Greek police found correspondence between Deputy Kallimasiotis of Piraeus and the German Legation at Athens—also the Austrian authorities in Vienna—giving details of the supplying of German submarines in 1915 and 1916, with other incriminating evidence. Moreover, after the blockade was established it was ascertained that the Royalists were in wireless communication with the Germans and Turks, and German authorities made public requests to the King to hold out for a while until the German troops could advance against Saloniki and come to his relief.

The blockade was published in an official decree on Dec. 6. On the same day the Russian, Italian, French, and British Ministers called in a body at the Foreign Office and demanded an explanation of the Greek military activity. The answer, while professing neutrality and alleging that the object was solely to preserve order, was unsatisfactory to the Allies. On the 11th the British Foreign Office let it be known that the Entente Ministers would present an ultimatum to the Greek King, which would require complete demobilization of the army, restoration of control by the Entente over the posts, telegraphs, and railways, and the release of the Venizelists who had been imprisoned during the preceding disturbances.

This ultimatum was formally presented on Dec. 14 and expired at 3 o'clock on the 15th. The Allies had come to the conclusion that if King Constantine was not conspiring with their enemies, he at least had not sufficient authority over his armies to prevent their becoming a menace to the peace and security of the allied armies in Macedonia. Their note, therefore, had ordered the removal of troops and munitions, as specified in an accompanying list, these removals to begin within twenty-four hours; likewise they had demanded the immediate stoppage of all movements of troops and war materials toward the north. The ultimatum ended with an express declaration that failure to comply would be followed immediately by war.

King Constantine thus found himself compelled to choose between peace and war. He and his Government decided for peace, and it was announced on the 15th that the acceptance of the ultimatum had been ratified at a meeting of the Grecian Cabinet and Crown Council, at which King Constantine presided. This restored the status quo prior to the advance of the allied troops from Saloniki, and it is believed will remove further danger of a flank or rear attack by the Greeks upon Sarrail's army.

The tenuous hold of the Greek dynasty on the people at large has not been improved by the march of events, and in different parts of the kingdom the people in mass meetings have renounced allegiance to King Constantine and de-

clared for the Venizelos Provisional Government.

The so-called Provisional Government of Greece, formed in Crete on Sept. 26 by ex-Premier Venizelos and his supporters, and operating now from headquarters at Saloniki, declared war against Germany and Bulgaria on Nov. 25. On the same day M. Venizelos issued an address in which he said:

In fighting this fight we wish to wipe out the stain which has been placed upon the Greek Nation by the disregard of our treaty obligations to Serbia; we wish to play our part in the freeing of our territories invaded by the Bulgarians; we wish to emphasize in a tangible and concrete manner our absolute conviction that Greece can never progress, nor even exist, as a free and independent State, except by continued maintenance of the closest contact with those powers who have supported her on every occasion; who rule the Mediterranean, and who at this very moment are fighting for the liberty of Europe and for the right of every small nation to live in freedom and independence.

M. Venizelos reaffirmed his allegiance to the King, strongly disclaiming that the movement was anti-dynastic, and continued:

As soon, however, as the war is terminated, and after we have insured, as far as possible, the safeguarding of our country's national interests and raised Greece from the position into which she has been assigned by the violation of the Greco-Serbian treaty, then we will see what guarantees can be obtained for the future against the possibility of a certain limited number of persons around the King imposing upon the Crown opinions which are in direct contradiction to the will of the people, and forcing upon the people against their will a policy calculated to drive our country to national suicide.

The conflict to which I have referred can only be thoroughly and efficiently settled in one way, and that is by the free verdict of the people. We shall ask to be assured of this freedom in a practical manner, and we are convinced that the allied powers will assist us to this end. * * * Nothing but the re-establishment of the constitutional régime, which has been violated, and the restitution to the people of the right to decide their own destinies can offer any guarantee that Greece will continue in the future to maintain close and cordial relations with the powers of the Entente. Whereas, on the other hand, the maintenance of absolutist rule, from which we have been suffering for the last twenty months, would facilitate Greece's departure from her natural path, and would render possible a rapprochement between her and the Central Empires.

Such is the objective of the struggle we have undertaken.

We wish to fight for our national interests side by side with our natural and traditional friends.

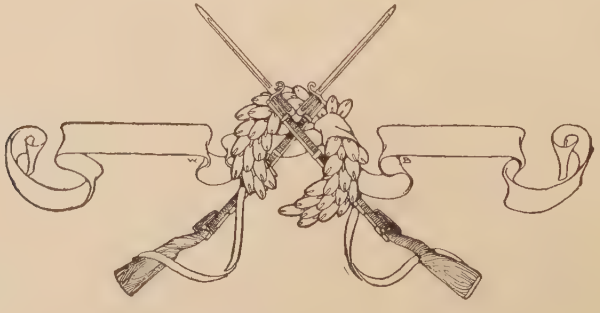
We wish to make good, as far as we can, the harm that we did to heroic Serbia by the non-fulfillment of our engagements.

We wish finally to insure in the future the right to be a free people, the masters of our own destinies.

In a word, we are struggling for precisely those principles, for the triumph of which over Prussian militarism the allied powers are waging their great war.

In these circumstances we feel that the great powers who have done so much for Greece in the past will appreciate the position in which Greece finds herself today, and we are confident in our hope that the powers, appreciating likewise the goal that we are striving to attain, will grant us that material and moral support of which we are in need to enable us to bring our struggle to a successful conclusion.

A warrant was issued at Athens on Dec. 18 for the arrest of M. Venizelos on charges of high treason. He is at the front fighting the Bulgarians. Admiral du Fournet has been superseded by Admiral Gauchet as commander of the allied fleets in Greek waters. The situation continues to be complicated and full of unknown elements.



Belgium and Greece

By Charles Johnston

GERMANY has led her troops into Belgium, and is exercising certain powers there; the Entente Allies have introduced their troops into Greece, and are exercising certain powers there. Are the two cases identical, in law and in their ethical relation? We can only solve the question by solving the legal status of the two nations, Belgium and Greece.

I.

There are close relations between the two nations. Belgium and Greece, as modern nations, were founded at the same time and very much in the same way. Neither owes its sovereignty and international status to a national revolution, though this was, in both, a co-operating cause. Both owe their status to treaties signed, not in Brussels or in Athens, but in London. The treaty which established Belgium "as a neutral State" was signed in London on Nov. 15, 1831, by the representatives of England, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The treaty which made modern Greece a nation was signed likewise in London, on July 6, 1827, and reaffirmed in 1830, supplemented by a treaty signed at Constantinople on July 21, 1832.

Both small nations were, therefore, in the making at the same time, and in the formation of both the present Entente Allies played the greater rôle—in Greece they accomplished the whole task of liberation.

Belgium came into being as a result of the collapse of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, due in part to the unfair treatment of the Belgians by the Dutch ruler; but more to the national aspirations of the Belgians. But the Belgians were not strong enough to build their own State; therefore England and France came to their rescue and entered into an agreement with the other major powers that Belgium should be "a neutral State," Prussia and Austria being signatories to this now famous "scrap of paper." All the signatory powers were bound under this treaty not only to refrain from any violation of Belgian territory or sovereignty but, further, to come to the rescue of Belgium with armed force should any power infringe Belgium's neutrality. It was under the terms of this treaty that France and England led troops into Belgium when her neutrality was violated by Germany on Aug. 4, 1914.

The German Chancellor has publicly charged that Belgium had forfeited her neutrality before the Germans violated it. On two occasions, on both of which Belgium was threatened by Germany, the British Military Attaché at Brussels conferred with the Belgian War Minister as to the aid which England would bring to Belgium should she be attacked by Germany. This is the basis of the German Chancellor's charge. But it is absolutely clear that the facts charged in no way constitute a violation of Belgian neutrality. If Belgium was threatened it was not only the right, it was the duty, of the signatory powers to prepare to defend her. So weak was the charge against Belgium felt to be that it was supported by forgery. Whereas, according to the papers seized at Brussels, the British Attaché insisted "that our conversation was strictly confidential," the North German Gazette, which received the papers from the German Chancellor, rendered the phrase thus: The British Attaché insisted "that our convention should be absolutely confidential." This is, of course, simply forgery of a peculiarly despicable kind.

The newly created Belgium was governed by Leopold I., (1831-65,) Leopold II., (1865-1909,) and by her present ruler, Albert, who came to the throne, on the death of his uncle, in 1909.

II.

Modern Greece became a nation first through the influence of Russia, as the

most powerful nation belonging to the Greek Catholic Church; next, through a national movement, a part of the upheaval which created Rumania, and, finally, through the armed intervention of France, England, and Russia at a time when the Greek national movement had degenerated into hopeless disorder and anarchy.

The Greek Nation was actually constituted by these three great powers by a treaty signed in London on July 6, 1827, supplemented by a conference of the three powers at the Foreign Office in London on March 22, 1829, which declared, among other things, that "Greece shall enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, the internal administration best calculated to guarantee the religious and commercial liberty, as well as the prosperity and repose, which it is desired to assure it. With this view, that administration shall be assimilated, as much as possible, to monarchical forms, and shall be confided to a Christian Chief or Prince, whose authority shall be hereditary, in the order of primogeniture. In no case can that Chief be chosen among the Princes of the families reigning in the three States of the powers who signed the treaty of July 6, 1827, and the first choice shall be effected in concert with the three Courts (of France, England, and Russia) and the Ottoman Porte. In case of the extinction of the reigning branch, the Porte shall participate in the choice of the new Chief in the same manner as it took part in the choice of the first," that is, under the supervision and with the consent of France, England, and Russia.

Greece, after three centuries of slavery and a bloody revolution, was thus constituted by the three allied powers. There had been a period of nominally republican government, with Count John Capo-d'Istria as President. He is referred to in one of the documents accompanying the London agreement: "The sacrifices which the powers have already made, and those which they continue to make, for Greece give them incontestably the right to interfere in an active manner in the form of its government and to exclude from it all the principles which should be thought incompatible at the same time with the real social tendency of the Greek people and with the repose of Europe. The President, whose opinion is of preponderating weight in this affair, goes even further, for he recognizes in the three allied powers the right not only to require from Greece guarantees of order and stability, but also that of founding a monarchical government."

The conference of London on Feb. 3, 1830, declared that "Greece owes her existence to the succors of every kind which the three powers have lavished upon her. * * * On these grounds they consider that they have a right to expect from her an entire deference to their decision. * * *"

As a result of Russian victories leading up to the Treaty of Adrianople, Turkey was compelled to accept the liberation of Greece under nominal suzerainty, with a moderate tribute or contribution. The three powers chose Prince Leopold as first ruler of the new Greece—the same Prince who later made an admirable ruler of Belgium during thirty-four years. He came to Greece, but, because he could not add Crete to his kingdom, he soon departed. Otto of Bavaria was then chosen by the three powers. For some ten years he reigned harshly and despotically. Then a revolution compelled him to accept a Constitution and dismiss his Bavarian troops, who had terrorized the Greeks. His reign ended in 1863.

The three powers, France, England, and Russia, held themselves to be, and in fact were, both creators and trustees of the Greek Nation. As such they chose Prince Otto as a first ruler. As such they financed Greece, contributing $12,000,000 to the Treasury of the needy State. About one-fourth of this sum went as tribute to Turkey; so that, in a sense, these three powers bought modern Greece from her century-long oppressors. Again, as trustees, the three powers, on the final failure of Otto of Bavaria, chose the Danish Prince, who reigned as King George I. and who was seated on the throne of Greece in virtue of a treaty signed in London on July 13, 1863. In the following year a semi-revolutionary movement gave Greece the very demo-

cratic Constitution which is still, at least nominally, in force.

Therefore the three powers, France, England, and Russia, who liberated and created Greece, held themselves morally and formally bound to continue their trusteeship. There choice of a ruler showed this. Their action in choosing a second ruler, in 1863, a third of a century later, showed that their duties and rights in Greece were still entirely operative. Their intervention, which saved Greece from reconquest by Turkey after the inglorious war of thirty days in the Summer of 1897, demonstrated that the same duties and rights are wholly valid now. In reality no further legal and moral justification is needed for everything these same powers have done in modern Greece in recent months, whether at Saloniki or at Athens.

III.

But they have further justification of the strongest kind. Eleutherios Venizelos, as Premier of Greece, commanding a strong parliamentary majority, and, therefore the mouthpiece of Constitutional authority in Greece, invited these three powers to land at Saloniki to act against the Bulgarians and their allies. This was quite frankly admitted by the German Minister, recently expelled from Athens. It has never been questioned and cannot be questioned.

There is a further obligation. Greece stood bound by treaty to fight to defend Serbia. Constantine, in spite of the strong insistence of Venizelos, refused to be bound by this treaty, therefore Venizelos invited the three powers to bring Serbia the help which Greece had bound herself in honor to give but had failed to give owing to the interference of Constantine with the Constitutional Government of Greece.

The framers of the Greek Constitution of 1864 copied English models, and, as the British Constitution formally invests in the sovereign powers which are really exercised by Parliament, the Greek Constitution used the same phrases. But, adopting the phrases of the British Constitution, it failed to adopt the moral guarantees which absolutely check all arbitrary action by the British sovereign. Constantine has taken advantage of this, has wholly ignored the moral guarantees, and precisely by keeping the letter of the Greek Constitution has grossly violated its spirit. This creates precisely such a state of affairs as was foreseen by the three constituting powers in 1830; circumstances which would "give them incontestably the right to interfere in the form of its government and to exclude from it all the principles which should be thought incompatible with the real social tendency of the Greek people."

IV.

There is, therefore, an absolute contrast, legal, moral, and ethical, between Germany's action in Belgium and the action of the "three guaranteeing powers," France, Russia, and England, in Greece. Germany was solemnly bound by treaty not to violate the territory or sovereignty of Belgium. The three guaranteeing powers were equally bound by treaty, under circumstances such as exist, to intervene in Greece; further, they were asked so to intervene by the Constitutional Government of Greece, to repair the pledges to Serbia which had been broken by Constantine.

The true analogy with the action of France, England, and Russia, in their intervention in Greece, is the action of these same powers intervening in Belgium. In both cases they come in obedience to solemn treaty engagements; in both cases they come to give effect to the real national life and the lawful authority of the nation. In Greece the three guaranteeing powers are seeking to save the honor of Greece, just as, in 1897, they saved her national life; just as they are seeking to redeem Belgium from abominable wrongs.

New Submarine Complications

Sinking of the Arabia, Marina, and Other Vessels Without Warning

EVIDENCE that German submarines are violating the pledge given to the United States last May has been accumulating during the month and has presented a problem of increasing gravity. According to a British Admiralty announcement on Nov. 15 thirty-three vessels were sunk by German submarines without warning between May 5 and Nov. 8, resulting in the loss of 140 lives. Twenty-six of these were British ships, those whose sinking entailed the heaviest mortality being the Golconda, on which nineteen lives were lost; the Euphorbia, eleven lives lost; the Franconia, twelve, and the Marina, eighteen. Many other cases have been added since the date named.

The issue of international law has centred chiefly about the Arabia and the Marina, both of which had Americans on board. Each of these has been the subject of diplomatic investigation by the United States. The sinking of the Peninsular and Oriental liner Arabia in the Mediterranean on Nov. 6 involves no question of indemnity, such as arose in the Lusitania case, for only one American was on board, and he was saved. But the evidence that this passenger vessel was torpedoed without warning is none the less a matter of serious concern, as it involves a violation of the pledge extorted from Germany at the time of the Sussex episode.

The sinking of the British freighter Marina on Oct. 28, 100 miles off the Irish coast, involved the loss of six American lives and was at once taken up vigorously by the American Government. Affidavits obtained from survivors by Ambassador Page and transmitted to Secretary Lansing declare that the Marina was sunk by a German submarine torpedo without warning, that it made no resistance, and did not try to escape. The affidavits showed that the vessel was armed with a 4.7-inch gun mounted astern for defensive purposes, but that the weapon was not used. There was no opportunity to use it, because the officers had no warning that the vessel would be sunk. The affidavits indicate that the Marina was struck by two torpedoes, with an interval of twelve minutes between, and that the second was followed by a boiler explosion. The loss of the Americans' lives was due to their drowning as the lifeboats were being launched in a rough sea. One of the boats was in the water seventeen hours, another twenty-one hours, and a third thirty-one hours.

The cases of both the Marina and Arabia are regarded in the United States as a continuance of Germany's lawless submarine warfare, thinly disguised by excuses and inadequate explanations. The German Government admits the act in both cases, but asserts that the submarine commanders believed the vessels to be armed transports. The correspondence between Washington and Berlin on the subject has been conducted thus far through Joseph C. Grew, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, and Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the new German Foreign Minister.

Germany's Reply on Arabia

On Nov. 21 the American Government sent an informal inquiry regarding the facts in the case of the Arabia. The text of the German reply is as follows:

Foreign Office,
Berlin, Dec. 4, 1916.

The undersigned has the honor to inform Mr. Grew, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, in reply to the note of the 21st ultimo, Foreign Office, No. 14,401, that the investigation conducted by the German Government concerning the sinking of the British steamer Arabia has led to the following results:

On the morning of Nov. 6 a German submarine encountered a large steamer coming from the Cerigo Straits, 100 nautical miles west of the Island of Cerigo; the steamer was painted black and had black superstructures, and not, as is otherwise the case with

the P. & O. Line superstructures, a light color; the steamer, which was identical with the Arabia, was not traveling on the route regularly used by the passenger steamers between Port Said and Malta, as is made plain on the inclosed map, but was taking a zigzag course toward the west, 120 nautical miles north of that route; this course, on which the submarine had passed three similar steamers at the same spot on the same morning, leads from the Aegean to Malta, so that the Arabia was moving on the transport route Cerigo-Malta, used solely for war purposes, according to the experiences until now. The commander of the submarine further ascertained that there were large batches of Chinese and other colored persons in their national costumes on board the steamer; he considered them to be workmen soldiers, such as are used in great numbers behind the front by the enemies of Germany; in spite of the clear weather and careful observation, he did not perceive any women and children.

In these circumstances, the commander of the submarine was convinced that in the case of this steamer he was concerned with a transport ship for troops in the service of the British Government, which is to be considered as an auxiliary warship, according to international law, and can therefore be treated like a warship. He accordingly considered himself justified in attacking the steamer without delay, and sank it.

Should the American Government give the official data showing that the Arabia was at the time of the torpedoing an ordinary passenger steamer, the action of the commander would not have been in accordance with the instructions given him, since these instructions are now, as before, in agreement with the assurances of the German note of May, 1916. This would then be a case of a regrettable mistake, from which the German Government would promptly draw the appropriate consequences.

The undersigned requests the Chargé d'Affaires to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government and avails himself. (Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

The State Department at Washington found this explanation far from satisfactory, but decided that the next step was too serious to take without further facts. Meanwhile the Marina case was under similar discussion. A German note of Nov. 28 stated that a definite answer to the American inquiry could not be given until more details were forthcoming. On Dec. 11 the State Department announced that as a matter of courtesy it had sent to Berlin the data it had gathered regarding the Marina. Investigation had developed the fact that the vessel had not been under charter or requisition by the British Government, but was carrying horses at so much a head. It was not, therefore, a war transport. The United States has demanded that the character of a vessel be determined beyond doubt—by actual visit and search, if necessary—before it is sunk by an enemy. All the evidence goes to show that neither the Marina nor the Arabia was a transport, that both were torpedoed without warning, and that the policy of the German submarine commanders in trying to ascertain the character of their victims by periscope observations is an inexcusable menace to the lives of innocent neutrals.

The issue remains unsettled at this writing, but its seriousness is acknowledged at Washington. Marine insurance rates have been substantially increased. The sinking of the American steamship Chemung, which went down near Spain with the Stars and Stripes flying, and the fate of the Columbian, Palermo, Lanao, and other victims of German torpedoes during the month deepened the impression without changing the issue.

Dr. Zimmermann's Defense

Germany's attitude on the subject is indicated in verbal statements made by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in which he said:

The German naval forces are not sinking neutral merchant ships per se. They are sinking as a defensive measure ammunition transports and other contraband shipments to our enemies that are calculated to lengthen the war. It is not strictly correct, therefore, to speak of "submarine warfare" in this connection. We are conducting cruiser warfare, waged by means of submarines, acting in punctilious compliance with the rules of international law applying to cruiser warfare. Our position, therefore, both militarily and from the viewpoint of international law, is irreproachable, and the propagandistic accusation and charge in connection with ships sunk, as agitated by the English press, are interesting and important only as indicating how hard England is being hit by our defensive submarine measures against England's hunger war and England's economic strangle hold on the neutral nations in question.

Our cruiser warfare with submarines is being conducted in strict compliance with the German prize regulations, which correspond to the international rules laid down and agreed to in the Declaration of London, and this despite the fact that England has refused to be bound by the London Declaration. Germany, accordingly, will continue to exercise her perfect good right to take these defen-

sive measures. If neutrals have to lament the loss of ships and cargoes, it should be remembered that the real blame lies on England. * * *

Germany has promised the United States to carry on submarine war according to the international rules of cruiser warfare. The orders to the commanders of our submarines are clear and strict in this direction. I can affirm with absolute certainty that no German submarine has intentionally attacked a merchant ship without warning and without giving all on board ample time and opportunity for rescue.

We are animated by the best feelings toward everybody, but we are fighting for the life and future of our nation. Everybody can understond that at such a moment as this German public opinion analyzes very carefully the facts and compares our attitude with that of the enemy. Of course, we are cut off from the greater part of the communications with the outer world, especially with the United States. Our enemies use the cables, the mails, and the spoken word in order to plead their case before the whole world. But the other nations also ought to hear our voice, our grievances.

The United States Government has filed at Berlin no less than ten inquiries concerning recent submarine acts. Germany's tendency is to base its defense upon the ground that merchantmen carrying a gun for defense are virtually auxiliary crùisers and subject to the same treatment as warships. Such a justification cannot be accepted by the United States Government, which has definitely ruled that merchantmen may carry a defensive gun at the stern without altering their status.

It may be added here that the German merchant submarine Deutschland completed a second successful voyage to the United States during the month just past. After a few days' delay by an accident near New London she sailed on Nov. 21 with a $2,000,000 cargo, and reached Bremen on Dec. 10, having successfully run the British blockade.

British Admiralty List of German Violations of Submarine Pledge

THE British Admiralty has compiled a list of British merchant ships which, it officially states, have been torpedoed without warning of any kind since the German pledge to adhere to the rules of cruiser warfare was made to President Wilson on May 5 last. From May 5 to Oct. 28 this list numbered twenty-two ships, and the lives lost totaled 131. The detailed list up to the Marina is as follows:

Vessels	Tonnage.	Date.	Miles from Land.
Cymric	13,370	May 8	140
(4 lives lost.)			
Golconda	5,874	June 3	..
(19 lives lost.)			
Moeris	3,409	June 30	46
(3 lives lost.)			
Calypso	2,876	.....	..
(30 lives lost.)			
Euphorbia	3,837	July 16	46
(11 lives lost.)			
Aaro	2,603	Aug. 1	..
(3 lives lost.)		North Sea.	
Swift Wings	4,465	Sept. 1	18
(2 lives lost.)			
Butetown	3,789	Sept. 8	60
Llangorse	3,841	Sept. 8	48
Inverbervie	3,841	Sept. 14	20
(6 lives lost.)			
Italiana	2,663	Sept. 14	112
Dewa	3,802	Sept. 17	45
(3 lives lost.)			
Lord Tredegar	3,856	Sept. 17	51
(4 lives lost.)			
Kennett	1,679	Sept. 22	.
(30 lives lost.)		Gulf of Finland.	
Secondo	3,912	Sep. 27	4(
Huntsfall	4,331	Oct. 2	12
Franconia	18,150	Oct. 4	195
(12 lives lost.)			
Elax	3,980	Oct. 10	70
Crosshill	5,002	Oct. 11	60
(4 lives lost.)			
Sebek	4,601	Oct. 10	..
Penylan	3,875	Oct. 19	..
Marina	5,204	Oct. 28	100

A statement made public with this list says:

From the fact that the Cymric of the White Star Line was sunk without warning three days after Count von Bernstorff delivered his country's note to the White House, it may be gathered that Berlin has no steady intention of sticking to the letter of the note exacted by the President of the United States at a time when severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and America appeared imminent. Four lives were lost on the Cymric.

About 140 lives have been lost in the sinking of more than twenty British ships with-

GERMANY'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER

Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann, Former Under Secretary, Is Now Head of the German Foreign Office, Succeeding von Jagow.

(Photo by Bain News Service.)

GENERAL VON BESELER

Governor General of Conquered Russian Poland, Who Has Proclaimed a Polish Kingdom Under German Suzerainty

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

out warning by German submarines. Shots and even torpedoes were fired when men and women were making for the boats. One of the last vessels to be sunk without warning by the Germans was the Marina, off the coast of Ireland—a tribute to German frightfulness which still is fresh in the minds of the world.

Since the time of the delivery of the famous German promise to the White House more than 100 British ships have been sent to the bottom of the seas by German submarines, and in these cases a perfunctory warning of a few minutes has been given to those aboard the vessels. Men and women have been set adrift on the high seas in boats, with the result that many were drowned. Others have been killed by the shots which followed so speedily upon the warning solid shot across the vessel's bows. It also is noted that cases have been frequent where the crews of vessels were picked up in an exhausted condition.

In the case of the Cymric, the first flagrant instance of Germany's frightfulness following her promise to the United States, four men were killed when the torpedo from the U-boat struck the ship, which then was 140 miles from land. She had 112 persons aboard, and left New York City on April 29. The attack on her occurred on May 8.

The Canford Chine, which was sunk off the coast of Spain, was given but little time before the German commander of the U-boat sent shots at the vessel. Her crew were tossed about in small boats for more than twelve hours. Eleven men and the master were lost from the Windermere, another victim of a German submarine on June 27, when she went to the bottom off Port Mahon. The Chief Officer and eleven men got into one boat and the Captain and eleven others into the second boat. The Captain's craft is supposed to have capsized in the bad weather.

One of the steamship Calypso's boats was found on the shores of Norway. That is all that is known of her, except that the German Government announced that they had sunk the Calyx, the former name of the Calypso. Thirty perished on this vessel, which undoubtedly received no warning from the U-boat. She left London July 7 and was last seen passing Hull.

The Kennett was sunk without warning in the Gulf of Finland, and the Captain and his crew of thirty Russians all perished. The Virginia, owned by Edward Grey & Co. of Liverpool, was attacked by a submarine off Cape Matapan. Many shots followed right on the perfunctory warning and nine of the crew were wounded, while, in taking to the boats, the Chief Officer and another man were drowned. Three boats with twenty-five of the crew got away safely, leaving one waterlogged boat for the remaining twenty-five and the Captain. While the Master and the Chief Officer were lowering a wounded native into a boat the submarine discharged a torpedo, which glanced off the ship and headed back toward the German craft. It exploded sixty yards away. The Captain of the Virginia was twice sucked down with his vessel after the German had fired a second torpedo. He came up and was saved.

In going through the lists of vessels which fell victims to the German submarines one comes across the case of the Huntsfall, in which twelve of the crew were killed. The survivors took to the sea in their boats when 195 miles off Malta, and after many hours they finally were rescued by the Dover Castle.

The Euphorbia of the Stag Line of North Shields was sent to the bottom without so much as a preliminary solid shot, and eleven lives were lost. Both the starboard lifeboats were smashed by the explosion, but there were two rafts on the vessel. The survivors got away from the ship in the two port boats and the rafts. Six men were blown to pieces in the stokehold. After towing one lifeboat for six hours the Captain went in his boat to Algiers for assistance. This happened on July 16.

The Swift Wings of N. Hallet & Co. met her fate eighteen miles east of Cape Bengut, Algiers. She had no warning from the U-boat, and two men were killed. On Sept. 8 the Llangorse also was torpedoed without warning, and the Chief Officer perished. Nine days afterward the Lord Tredegar, which left New York Aug. 24, unwarned, was torpedoed off Malta and four men lost their lives. As in other cases, lifeboats were destroyed and damaged by the explosion.

On more than one steamship that was torpedoed the submarine Captain did not give the men a chance to get to their boats, but gave the order to fire three or four minutes after the warning shot. As in the case of the West Point, sunk by the U-53, the commander was in the chart room, hardly having had time to give the order to abandon the ship when the second shot burst right through that structure.

The crew of that vessel while getting into boats had a hard time, because of the shell fire from the submarine while trying to get away from their vessel.

The Stephano, with many American passengers aboard, is another instance in which the lives of not only the crew but women were imperiled, and many undoubtedly would have perished had it not been for the timely aid of the American destroyers.

A second Admiralty table gives the names of 107 ships, all of British registry, sunk by German submarines in the same period, which, it is stated, were sunk and "the lives of the crews and passengers imperiled through their being forced to take to the sea in open boats, while their ships were a target for the enemy's guns."

Germany's Drive in Rumania

By a Former Officer of the German Army

[See maps of Rumania in preceding pages]

THE campaign of the Central Powers against Rumania had three distinct aims in view—the protection of the Orient Railroad and Constantinople, the acquisition of the resources of the Rumanian Kingdom, and the elimination of the Rumanian Army.

To realize the first aim action was required in two separate theatres: On the Rumanian western frontier, where the Orient Railroad was imperiled by a Rumanian force attempting to cross the Danube in the middle of the month of September, and in the Dobrudja, where the Russians were undertaking a thrust against Constantinople at about the same time. The massing of troops south of the Iron Gate on Serbian soil proved an effective check to the Rumanian advance, which did not go beyond Negotin, and Rumanian action was henceforth confined entirely to Transylvania, where it succeeded in pressing heavily against the Teutonic troops.

To alleviate this pressure Field Marshal von Mackensen, in command of Bulgarian and German troops south of the Danube, threw the Rumanians who had invaded Bulgaria across their southern frontier, back over the Danube between Rustchuk and Tutrakan, and with a mighty thrust rolled the Russians, who likewise had invaded Bulgaria, back through the Dobrudja beyond the Cernavoda-Constanza railroad through the possession of which he cut Rumania off from the Black Sea and the sorely needed Russian reinforcements and supplies. This powerful counteraction compelled the Rumanians to weaken the forces which they had engaged in the invasion of Transylvania, and it afforded the Austro-Hungarian defenders the desired relief.

These isolated campaigns, which constitute the prelude to the later combined concentric action of the Central Powers, took place in the time up to Nov. 15. From that day onward Mackensen's activity was suspended until the northern half of the ring that was to close about Rumania should be ready to be pushed forward. The first aim, the protection of the Orient Railroad and of Constantinople, had been realized.

Falkenhayn's Mountain Battles

The second phase of the campaign began when General von Falkenhayn led the Ninth German Army, reinforced by Austro-Hungarian troops, against the Transylvanian invaders. Toward the close of September and at the beginning of October the Rumanians suffered three great defeats, one south of Hermannstadt at the Red Tower Pass, another near Fogaras, and a third to the south of Kronstadt at the Predeal Pass. They withdrew their whole front into the mountains, where they fortified the heights and the passes. It was in the Transylvanian Alps that the bitterest fighting of the whole campaign ensued. The Teutonic troops succeeded in a relatively short time in breaking the resistance of the Rumanians despite the terrible difficulties of the terrain. Bavarians and Hungarians won especial distinction in these mountain battles.

The main pressure was brought to bear by General von Falkenhayn against the Vulkan Pass. As soon as the Rumanians began to give way here they had to withdraw their entire front from the mountains in order to escape the danger of being outflanked from the west. Once across the passes and on the southern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps, the attackers rapidly deployed their front, and fighting proceeded in the open on the plains of Little Wallachia.

Falkenhayn directed his advance from the Vulkan Pass against the valley of the Jiu, from the Red Tower Pass against that of the Alt. In the second half of November the Rumanian resistance in Northwest Wallachia was broken, the fleeing troops retreated to Craiova, hotly pursued by the Germans. A wedge was thus driven between the Rumanian forces at the Iron Gate and the fleeing first

army. Orsova and Turnu Severin, on the western frontier of Rumania, were occupied on Nov. 24, and the defenders were dispersed. That removed all possibility of a danger to the rear of Falkenhayn's army, (the Ninth.)

Crossing the Danube

Before this, and earlier than might have been expected, several Bulgarian and German cavalry divisions, covered by a German motor boat corps, had effected a crossing of the Danube to the west of Rahova and established connection with the advance guards of the Ninth Army. The dragnet had been closed and now was being drawn in through all of Western Wallachia. Here we have the transition phase from separate marching to combined striking in a masterly application of Moltke's famous principle.

While the centre of the Ninth Army in the north was following the downward course of the Alt, threatening the rear and flank of the Rumanians, who had to fall back from Craiova to the Alt as their next natural line of defense, the Danube army in the south crossed that river on Nov. 26 near Simnitza, endangering thereby the rear communications of the Rumanians in the direction of Alexandria. To hold the Alt became impossible, and the Rumanians at the close of the month abandoned that position as well as the lines further back of the Vedea and Teljorman, and it was behind the Argesu River that they first made a stand, on Dec. 3.

In the meantime, while the Teutonic centre was pushing forward, taking Pitesci on its way on Nov. 29, more German troops kept moving down from the mountain regions of Campolung. The Rumanians were thus caught on two fronts, one facing west, the other north, while in their rear they were hemmed in by the course of the Dimbovitza.

From this untenable position retreat was the only means of salvation. While the right Rumanian wing was thus completely crushed in, the Teutonic army continued its pursuit of the Rumanian centre and gained possession of the Pietrosita-Titu-Bucharest railroad, the only avenue of which the vanquished northern wing of the Rumanian Army might have availed itself for a retreat into the capital. These troops were completely pulverized.

Closing in on Bucharest

As has been mentioned above, the Rumanian centre made a stand on the Argesu on Dec. 3. Undoubtedly there was a chance here of bringing the pursuers to a halt, for the Argesu is some 900 feet wide, runs very deep, and its many rapids would have made the building of pontoon bridges exceedingly difficult, if the Rumanians had found time to destroy the existing bridges. This they did not succeed in doing, and their retreat continued, while on the lower course of the river the Russians, greatly reinforced, attempted to save the situation by a counterstroke with vastly superior numbers. Not only was this attempt frustrated by the powerful fire to which their left flank was subjected by the artillery of the Danube army, but they were forced back and withdrew behind the Dimbovitza.

The capital was now enveloped on three sides and threatened with immediate bombardment, when it was evacuated by the Rumanian troops in the night from the 5th to the 6th of December.

The evacuation of Bucharest was the signal for the retreat of the Rumanian north army, which withdrew across the Jalomita to Ploechti; this was in turn given up on Dec. 7, and the army fell back until it reached the River Buzeu. Ploechti was of military importance for the reason that it is the centre of the railway net of Eastern Wallachia and is situated on the only railway line over which the defenders of the Predeal and Altschanz Passes in the north might have retreated. As it happened these troops had no time to escape, they were caught on two sides on Dec. 8, and the majority of them were made prisoners.

After the fall of Bucharest the Danube army swept through the southeastern corner of Great Wallachia, cleaning out the bend of the Danube. At the same time the Russians that were left in the Dobrudja joined the retreating forces on the western side of the Danube and the Dobrudja detachment of Mackensen's forces took possession of the Cernavoda bridge.

At this writing (Dec. 14) the armies of the Quadruple Alliance are approaching the river Buzeu, where the Russo-Rumanians will have a possibility of offering a more effective resistance along a line of only 100 miles.

Enormous Rumanian Losses

The haul made by the Teuton-Bulgarian dragnet from the time of taking the Translyvanian passes up to the present amounts to 150,000 men. According to the recognized method of computation the further Rumanian losses would be 250,000 in killed and wounded.

More than one-half of the Rumanian Army is thus permanently eliminated. If the Central Powers have not succeeded in annihilating the entire army, there can be no doubt that its spirit is broken and that the remnants that have joined their Russian brothers-in-arms are not in a condition to have a favorable influence on the latter's morale.

Of war material captured so far, 600 cannon are reported. That amounts to the equipment of four to five army corps.

As the campaign stands today there can be no doubt that the Rumanian participation in the war has been wholly of advantage to the Quadruple Alliance. The value of the possession of Rumania for the Central Powers has three aspects—a political, an economical, and a military one.

Teutons' Strategic Gains

Beginning with the last and assuming that, after reaching the shortest line—let us say the line of the Buzeu—the Germans will halt there and move into Winter quarters, the most salient result would be the shortening of the southeastern front by 650 miles, compared with the time when Rumania had entered the war. It has been maintained by proally critics that in spite of this shortening of the line the position of the Central Powers would be inferior to what it was before Rumania joined the war, since the battle front would still be longer, and that hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the Central Powers will be kept engaged who before Rumania's participation were free for service on other fronts. This conclusion is a mistaken one. For, though avowedly neutral, Rumania was all the time considered by the Central Powers as such an uncertain factor in their calculations that all along her frontiers, especially at the Iron Gate, troops had to be kept that must have numbered at least half a million. The shortening of the Rumanian front from 750 miles originally to the prospective shortest line of 100 miles will therefore actually release no less than those half a million men who before Rumania's declaration of war had to be kept on her frontier.

The second strategic success which the Central Powers will have gained through the campaign is the danger in which the left Russian flank will find itself before long. It formerly rested on the mountain positions in the Bukowina, while now the front will extend as far down south as the bend where the wooded Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps meet. It will be in peril of being rolled up or enveloped, a possibility which was less great in the Bukowina. If the Central Powers should not move into Winter quarters, but invade Moldavia, that peril to the Russian flank would arise immediately.

The economic advantage gained from the possession of 25,000 square miles of the most productive territory of Rumania is too generally acknowledged to require many words. It may be summed up by saying that it means the definite collapse of the British scheme of forcing Central Europe into an ignominious peace on account of lack of food and other supplies. The economical insuperability of the Central Powers is raised from the plane of probability to that of absolute certainty.

Political and Moral Effect

The political and moral effect of the success of Germany and her allies is undoubtedly very great all over the world, though in America the press attempts to belittle it. The campaign has revealed the enormous reserve of strength possessed by the Central Powers, their capacity not merely to stick in their trenches and defend them, but to come out into the open in powerful array and deal swift, mighty, and well-calculated blows in an

offensive which by itself represents a war of considerable magnitude. On the other hand, the campaign has shown the helplessness of the Allies in situations which are entirely of their own choice and making. Russia failed adequately to support the Rumanian Army, and all that the western allies did to relieve the desperate situation was the pathetic counteraction across Serbia, which came to a halt a few miles beyond Monastir.

To the neutral nations of Europe Rumania's fate, after that of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, cannot fail to be a warning not to let themselves be dragged into the war by fine promises and with the seemingly inevitable result of extinction for no other purpose than to put off, in the interest of their great allied friends, the dark day on which they will have to acknowledge final defeat—unless peace intervenes in the meantime.

Editorial Note.—On Dec. 10 Emperor William conferred upon Field Marshal von Hindenburg the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross with an autograph letter in which he said:

"My Dear Field Marshal: The Rumanian campaign, which with God's assistance already has led to such brilliant successes, will be valued in the war history of all times as a bright example of the strategic art of genius.

"You have again conducted great operations with rare prudence as regards splendid arrangements, with the greatest energy in carrying them out, and you proposed to me with far-seeing thoughtfulness measures which directed the way to separately marching columns for a united blow.

"To you and your well-tried assistants of the General Staff the thanks of the Fatherland again are due. With proud joy and satisfaction it has learned the news of victory and, full of confidence in such leaders, looks into the future. But I desire to give especial expression of my deepest thanks by conferring upon you as the first of my Generals the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross.

"Your grateful and always very affectionate King, WILHELM."

Will Rumania's Downfall Prolong the War Indefinitely?

["Politicus," who is an important English publicist, in The Fortnightly Review of London, reveals startling facts regarding Rumania's supreme importance to the Teutonic Powers in the matter of food supplies.]

RUMANIA'S downfall would have the most serious consequences not only to the Rumanians themselves but also to the Allies. Let us investigate Rumania's position both from the economic and from the strategical point of view.

Rumania is only a small State. Its area is 50,702 square miles, while that of the United Kingdom is 121,371 square miles. The country is inhabited by only 7,500,000 people. The southern part of Rumania consists of the Danube Valley. It is a level plain. The northern part is formed by the very gentle slope of the Carpathian Mountains. The country is blessed with an exceedingly prolific soil, a favorable climate, and an industrious population. Hence the 7,500,000 Rumanians produce on their narrow territory vast crops of cereals, beans, potatoes, beetroot, tobacco, fruit of every kind, wine, &c. On the Carpathian slope there are huge and exceedingly valuable forests. Minerals, such as iron, copper, lead, mercury, nickel, sulphur, and coal, abound, and the Rumanian oilfields are celebrated for their productiveness. The British blockade is beginning to be exceedingly effective. Germany is suffering keenly from lack of food and raw materials. By subjecting Rumania she can provide a vast store of the foodstuffs and raw materials she requires.

The Germans are attacking Rumania with the greatest energy, not so much from thirst for revenge, as their statesmen and newspapers assert, but from desire for bread, meat, &c. It is not generally known that until recently Rumania was the third largest exporter of wheat in the world—that in the exportation of that grain she ranged immediately after the United States and Russia. During

the last few years Argentina and Canada have come to the front as exporters of wheat, but even now Rumania sometimes exports per year more wheat than does Canada. By conquering Rumania Germany would conquer, therefore, another Canada. It is noteworthy that Rumania produces almost twice as much wheat as the whole of Austria and about 60 per cent. as much as is raised in the whole of the gigantic German Empire.

According to the last Consular Report on Rumania which gives the figures only for 1911, the following were the principal exports of that country:

	Tons.
Wheat	1,458,029
Maize	1,555,332
Barley	475,164
Oats	233,296
Beans	72,271
Flour	64,917
Rye	130,755
Oxen	*22,856
Eggs	8,624
Millet	35,490
Bran	41,455
Wooden planks	237,799
Benzine	124,414
Refined petroleum	318,434
Petroleum residues	200,822
Colza	36,837

*Heads.

It will be noticed that in 1911 Rumania exported more than 4,000,000 tons of grain, flour, &c. Rumania produces, as a rule, about 10,000,000 tons of grain of every kind. If Germany should succeed in subduing Rumania she would undoubtedly follow her traditional policy of confiscating foodstuffs right and left and starving the population. To the hundreds of thousands who have been killed by starvation in Poland and Serbia hundreds of thousands of Rumanians would be added. The Rumanians would no doubt be put on half rations at the best. Instead of consuming between six and seven million tons of grain and exporting three or four million tons, they would be left with about three million tons of grain, while six or seven million tons would go to Germany. The significance of that colossal quantity will be understood only if we convert it into train loads at 150 tons each.

The grain which Germany could draw from Rumania would be equivalent to half a pound of flour per head per day for every one of the 70,000,000 inhabitants of the German Empire.

It should not be forgotten that, in addition to the yearly crop, Germany could confiscate the vast stores of grain and flour which have been accumulated in Rumania during the war. Germany's food position would be secured by the conquest of Rumania, especially as the yearly harvest of that country can be doubled by improved agriculture. Rumania's downfall would obviously nullify the British blockade as far as Germany's food is concerned. Rumania produces not only vast quantities of grain, but also of meat. She had in 1900, the last year for which statistics are available, 2,588,526 cattle, 5,655,444 sheep, 232,515 goats, 1,709,205 pigs, and 864,324 horses.

It is generally known that Germany suffers keenly from lack of petroleum and of the products made from it. Rumania is an exceedingly important petroleum producer. According to the last Consular Report her exports and her production of that commodity were as follows:

	Production of Crude Oil. Tons.	Export of Oil Products. Tons.
1906	971,019	325,327
1907	1,147,483	430,595
1908	1,139,268	465,444
1909	1,355,867	421,165
1910	1,326,495	586,104
1911	1,625,119	677,982
1912	1,806,942	849,447
1913	1,885,384	1,031,350

It will be noticed that the production of petroleum doubled between 1906 and 1913, and that it steadily increased during that period. The production of petroleum in Rumania can apparently be expanded indefinitely and its exportation could be increased very greatly immediately by prohibiting the use of petroleum in Rumania.

The facts and figures given prove conclusively that Rumania's downfall would be a disaster of the first magnitude to

the Grand Alliance. It would almost completely nullify the British blockade. Germany and Austria-Hungary could hold out indefinitely as far as bread, meat, and petroleum are concerned, and their position with regard to wool and leather would be greatly improved. In addition, the Rumanian mines could supply them with considerable quantities of copper, nickel, &c.

Let us now consider Rumania's position from the strategical point of view:

Germany suffers keenly not only from lack of food and of raw materials, but also from lack of men. Turkey and Turkish Asia Minor are exceedingly important to Germany, for she can draw thence not only vast numbers of excellent fighters, but food and raw material as well.

At the beginning of the war the two Central Empires were separated from their Turkish vassal by Serbia and Bulgaria, which together formed a powerful dike. Turkish troops could not be sent to Central Europe and Germany could send only surreptitiously and by difficult raundabout ways to Turkey the guns, ammunition, &c., which the Turks urgently required. When Turkey's position became critical the Allies, with incredible folly, allowed Serbia to be destroyed by a simultaneous attack from the north and east. The downfall of Serbia created a valuable, but scarcely a sufficient, connection between Berlin and Constantinople, for only a single railway line connects the two capitals by way of Serbia. If Rumania should share Serbia's fate, the small breach in the dike created by Serbia's occupation would become a huge gap. A glance at the map shows that, in addition to the Belgrade-Nish-Sofia-Constantinople railway, the Central Powers would obtain three lines of railway leading toward Bulgaria and Turkey. These are the railways which lead from Hermannstadt to Corabia on the Danube or to Bucharest; the line which goes via Kronstadt to Plosci and Bucharest, and, lastly, the railway which goes from the Bukowina to Galatz and Bucharest, or by the Cernavoda Bridge to Constanza. Instead of a single railway line toward Turkey and Bulgaria, Germany would command four. Her transporting and her striking power by railway would be quadrupled. In addition, she would dispose of the Danube from the source to the mouth, and she could transport on it vast bodies of troops and millions of tons of food and stores, leaving the railways free for other transport. There is a canal which connects the Elbe and the Danube. By subduring Rumania, Germany could easily send a large fleet of submarines by way of the Elbe and Danube into the Black Sea. The Black Sea might become a German-Austrian lake.

If the Rumanian Army can no longer create a diversion in the flank and rear of the Bulgar-German forces facing toward Saloniki, the idea of conquering the Balkan Peninsula from Saloniki would probably have to be abandoned. Germany's vast superiority in transporting troops would make such an undertaking extremely perilous. The international troops would at best have to confine themselves to the passive defense of Saloniki. The downfall of Rumania would not only deprive us of all hope of reconquering the Balkan Peninsula, but would very seriously compromise Russia's position. * * *

The destruction of Rumania's army would not merely have a most unfavorable effect on the economic and strategical position, but on the political position as well. * * * If Rumania should share Serbia's fate, history will hold the Allies responsible for her downfall. The experience of Germany's methods and the destruction of Belgium and Serbia should have made a third disaster impossible. There is a limit to excusable improvidence on the part of nations and their statesmen. Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy could scarcely complain if neutral nations, desirous of benefiting themselves, would conclude that it was dangerous to take the part of the Allies, that it was safe to join the Central European Alliance, and Germany would no doubt make the best use of that situation and force hesitating neutrals into the war at her side by her usual methods. * * * We have evidently arrived at a most important moment, perhaps the decisive moment of the war.

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

Lieutenant Gill is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis and a member of the Naval Institute. After eight years in the Atlantic fleet, devoted mostly to gunnery, he served recently in the Naval Academy as instructor in English and history. Lieutenant Gill is now again in active service on the United States superdreadnought Oklahoma. He is the author of various expert monographs on naval topics. The article here presented is the first of a series which he has written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *on the naval lessons of the present war. The series has been submitted to the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, in accordance with the regulations in such matters, and is published with the sanction of the Naval Department.*

I. General View of the Situation

SEA power in the present war has been exerted for the most part behind the scenes. For this reason the potent influence of the silent navies has not been brought home to the public mind. It is hard to realize that the achievements of the allied fleets, accomplished with so little fighting, have had, nevertheless, a far-reaching effect upon the conduct of the war, in comparison to which the much-heralded land battles, involving frightful loss of life and property, are, in their influence toward bringing the war to a decision, small and relatively insignificant.

LIEUT. CHARLES C. GILL

Before taking up the disposition of potential naval power at the beginning of the war, and the transition to the present conditions of divided active control, it might be well to explain the meanings of some of the technical terms used in speaking of naval operations.

The sea power of a nation may be said to comprise all its means for contesting for control of the sea. It includes the battle fleets and their auxiliaries, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, also naval bases and stations, fortified or naturally protected harbors, coast defenses, the merchant marine, (embracing armed and unarmed vessels engaged in commerce and passenger traffic,) in short, everything the country possesses that may be useful, directly or indirectly, for the purposes of naval warfare.

Big-gun ships comprise the main reliance in battle and are known as "dreadnoughts." These are divided into dreadnought battleships and dreadnought battle cruisers, the difference between the two being that a certain amount of the gun power and armor of the battleship is sacrificed in the battle cruiser in order to get speed. Predreadnought battleships differ from the dreadnought battleships in that, instead of carrying all big guns and torpedo defense guns, they carry some big guns and some smaller or intermediate battery guns, thus tapering down to the torpedo defense guns. The armored cruiser is faster than the predreadnought battleship, carrying less armor and less powerful guns.

Both predreadnought battleships and armored cruisers are discredited in that no more are being built, but they are by no means useless, and still form an im-

portant part of the strength of the more powerful world navies. The light cruiser, used for commerce destroying and scouting, is a comparatively light, fast vessel without armor and carrying a light battery of intermediate calibre guns. The light cruiser type has shown considerabe usefulness in the present war and may be regarded as a development of the torpedo boat destroyer, as it also carries torpedo tubes, but the light cruiser is larger and more seaworthy, more habitable and better armed than the destroyer. The torpedo boat is a smaller edition of the destroyer, and the submarine requires no definition. An auxiliary cruiser or a converted cruiser is a merchant ship or private vessel requisitioned by the Government for naval purposes. Such a vessel is usually armed for both offense and defense. She loses her character of a merchant ship engaged in peaceful pursuits and becomes a part of the fighting navy with the status of a regular man-of-war.

On the other hand, an armed merchantman is armed simply for defense. She is not a part of the fighting navy, and her character is determined by her employment. If she is still engaged in the peaceful pursuits of trade the fact that a ship carries one or two guns for defense only does not change her character into that of a man-of-war.

Strategy and tactics comprise the science and art of using these elements of sea power with the object of getting control of the seas. The word *strategy* conveys the idea of preparation for the fighting and *tactics* that of the execution of the fighting.

Potential Sea Control

When nations of maritime importance are at war relative control of the sea, or certain parts of the sea, belongs to the belligerent whose sea power has practically driven the sea power of the other from the areas in question, so that the maritime operations of the former, both naval and commercial, are practically unhindered, while the maritime operations of the latter are for the time being practically nonexistent. For example, it is generally considered that the Allies at present control the Atlantic. This does not mean that the maritime operations of the Central Powers in these waters have been literally extinguished. It would appear impossible, in the face of an enterprising and resourceful enemy, to prevent completely the operations of submarines and occasional commerce destroyers. But as long as these do not materially affect the maritime operations of the Allies it is proper to say that the latter control the Atlantic. There are varying degrees of sea conrol, and the more extensive the submarine and commerce destroying activities of the Central Powers in the Atlantic the less completely do the Allies control this sea area.

Theoretically, in times of peace at least, the seas are free to all, but even then certain areas are said to be potentially controlled by certain nations by virtue of their relatively superior sea power in these respective waters. For example, the superior sea power of Japan in Asiatic waters gives her in peace times what might be called potential control of those seas, and it may be assumed that this potential control increases the weight of her voice in international affairs of the Far East.

In times of war also the potential sea power of neutrals may easily prove important factors in this question of relative control of the seas between the belligerents. For example, suppose that the United States possessed a navy superior to the navies of the Allies; relatively speaking, between the Allies and the Central Powers, the former would still control the Atlantic Ocean, but the superior sea power of the United States would give this country a potential control of this ocean, which might affect the conduct of the maritime operations of all the belligerents, particularly in matters concerning the neutral rights of the United States.

International law is not very clearly codified, and it is natural that different nations should look at things from different angles. When great wars are going on potential sea power may prove especially valuable in securing respect for neutral rights.

Naval Losses to Date

Secrecy forms an important part of naval strategy and is favored by nature. The sea isolates and frequently swallows up all testimony of the fighting done. Hence, in the present war, the Admiralty announcements of both sides have been laconic. Notwithstanding this, however, there is plenty of evidence that the silent navies have not been idle. This is indicated by a summary of the losses sustained. It is reported that, in capital ships, Great Britain and her allies have lost four dreadnoughts and twelve predreadnoughts, while Germany and her allies have lost one dreadnought and three predreadnoughts. The Allies have lost seventeen armored cruisers and twelve light cruisers, against six armored cruisers and twenty-three light cruisers lost by the Central Powers. In other types the figures are less reliable, but the Allies have lost about twenty-seven destroyers, fifteen torpedo boats, twenty-four submarines, and twenty-eight converted cruisers and auxiliaries, while the Central Powers have lost about twenty-one destroyers, fourteen torpedo boats, between thirty and sixty submarines, and about forty-two converted cruisers and auxiliaries. In addition to these, both sides have lost numerous small craft, including air scouts, patrol boats, yachts, and mine-sweepers.

Of course, the primary purpose of battleships is to give battle, but it is to be borne in mind that sometimes there are important naval happenings without attending losses or even without fighting. The escape of the Goeben and Breslau may be cited as an example of conspicuous political significance.

The Goeben and Breslau

It is reported that during the first few days of the war the German battle cruiser Goeben and light cruiser Breslau bombarded the Algerian coast, sank a few ships in Bona Harbor, and then proceeded to Messina, arriving there on Aug. 5, 1914. From the pre-wartime disposition of forces it may be assumed that the Allies had in the Mediterranean in that vicinity numerous men-of-war, including very likely two or three British battle cruisers, several fast light cruisers, and many destroyers. International law required that the German warships leave the neutral port of Messina within twenty-four hours. The chances for escape appeared rather dubious, and the following version of the manoeuvre, purported to be from the log of the Goeben, is of particular interest:

On Aug. 6, 1914, just before sailing from Messina the German commander issued these orders: "News about the enemy is uncertain. I presume his strength lies in the Adriatic and that he is watching both exits to the Messina Strait. Our object is to break through to the east and reach the Dardanelles. I want to create the impression that we intend to go to the Adriatic. In case I so succeeded I will veer round in the night and make for Cape Matapan, if possible throwing the enemy off our track."

As the ships—flags flying and music playing—were reaching the open sea the following wireless message from the Kaiser reached the Admiral: "His Majesty expects the Goeben and the Breslau to succeed in breaking through."

Shortly after leaving the harbor the English cruiser Gloucester appeared on the horizon. The English cruiser was emitting signals in three groups. The word "Mumfu" frequently occurred and it was clear that it referred to the Goeben. The wireless receivers interpreted the signal of the British cruiser as follows: "Goeben making for the Adriatic."

The German wireless officer argued thus: "I can jam him. If I break my waves against his perhaps I can confuse, hold up, destroy his messages. Shall I jam his wireless?" he asked the Admiral.

"Shall we fire?" asked the Commander.

"No," was the answer to both questions. No one apart from the staff understood the Admiral. This is how he argued, however: "This boat is evidently a patrol, intending to wireless our movements to the main British fleet. He shall save us, not ruin us. He shall do his work. We will neither fire at nor jam him. Let him wireless that the Germans are making for the Adriatic, whereas the Dardanelles is our object."

It was dark. The Breslau closed in. It was 10 o'clock in the evening; then came the order from the bridge: "Starboard; make for Cape Matapan."

The watching British cruiser saw the manoeuvre, but before she could wireless the news that the Germans were making for the east the following order flashed out from the Admiral: "Jam the wireless; jam it like the devil."

For hours the Germans were traveling eastward without obstacle, while the patrol boat tried to make itself understood in vain. Where did the error of our enemy lie? In England the excuse was advanced that the

Germans had acquired knowledge of the British secret wireless code and so deceived the latter into waiting. Is it worth while contradicting such stuff? The English should have waited before the Strait of Messina, and nowhere else. But so confident were they that the Goeben and Breslau must try and break through to the Adriatic in order to reach an Austrian port, that they thought it safe to wait in the Strait of Otranto, which is forty sea miles wide. So positive were they on this point that the thought of our making for the Dardanelles never seems to have occurred to them.

When the wireless messages of the Gloucester finally reached the British fleet it was too late. The German ships were en route for Constantinople.

That this episode caused the Allies considerable chagrin may well be imagined. A little later, apparently as an alternative to disarming and being interned, the Goeben and Breslau were sold by Germany to Turkey, a transaction without precedent and involving a question of international law. Sharp representations were made by the Allies to Turkey claiming that the latter had violated her neutrality and demanding immediate repatriation of the officers and crews. Turkey failed to comply with their demands, and it is reasonable to suppose that the presence of the two warships in Constantinople had considerable influence in persuading the Government to join Germany and Austria in the war.

As another example of the kind of naval activity frequently overlooked because unmarked by noteworthy fighting, the work of destroying the enemy's cable and wireless lines and safeguarding one's own, may be mentioned.

Cable and Wireless Stations

Means of transmitting information are most important factors in modern strategy. These are now so efficient that it is extremely difficult for commerce destroyers of the nation of weaker sea power to escape the net drawn about them by the stronger navies dominating the seas. That the German ships on foreign stations well realized the part wireless and cable would play in their final downfall is evidenced by some interesting attempts made by them to destroy wireless stations and cable stations.

An instance of this was the visit of the Nürnberg and a German collier to the British cable station at Fanning Island in the mid-Pacific. The dull monotony of life on Fanning Island, scarcely more than a desert rock situated about four hundred miles south of the Hawaiian group, received a severe shock, when, on the morning of Sept. 7, the German cruiser Nürnberg paid its eminently informal call.

The cable employes were hard at work, when they were paralyzed to see a German officer at the door of the operating room with a revolver. "Take your hands off those keys, all of you!" he commanded. The men were made to line up against the wall while the sailors, with axes, smashed the delicate and costly instruments. Heavy charges of dynamite were planted and the cable was blown to atoms. In the meanwhile the collier grappled for the cable further out to sea with the intention of doing additional damage. Still another party planted guncotton and dynamite in the engine rooms, the boiler rooms, refrigerating plant, and in the dynamo rooms. The explosion from these charges was terrific, but no one was hurt. A search was then made by the officers, and a number of papers were taken which revealed that several valuable instruments were buried in reserve for just such contingencies, and that a quantity of hidden arms and ammunition existed, all of which were quickly uncovered and confiscated.

Later on the Nürnberg formed a part of Admiral Spee's squadron, which, after the victory off Coronel, attempted to raid the Falkland Islands in the same way as Fanning had been raided. But this time the British Navy did the surprising, and instead of a defenseless wireless station the Germans found Vice Admiral Sturdee on guard with a battle cruiser division. This superior force had just arrived from England the day before. The ensuing engagement resulted in the destruction of the German squadron.

Fate of the Emden

Another instance of cable attack, also unhappy in its results for the raiders, occurred in the Far East at the Cocos

Islands. The valiant Captain Muller of the Emden attempted one of his bogus-funnel ruses as a means of taking by storm the cable and wireless station on Keeling-Cocos Island. But the ruse was detected—and well ahead—by those in charge on shore, who promptly advised by wireless several British men-of-war near by. This led to the Emden's ultimate doom. Moreover, a rush cable message was sent out to the Navy Office at Melbourne, and the alertness and intelligence shown by the cable and wireless Superintendents showed that they had well learned the lesson taught by the raid on Fanning Island. The Emden landing parties did, indeed, succeed in cutting two cables, but were too late. The intelligence which proved so fatal had already passed over the wires.

The story of the telegrapher's part in the sinking of the Emden is one of those records of ready wit and efficiency which make the best of romance. The guns of the Sydney sent the Emden on the rocks, but those guns would not have come into play had not the telegrapher at Cocos Island quickly recognized the enemy in all her disguise and dispatched the warning message throughout the world which brought the Sydney up in time. It is almost disturbing to think that before the boat's crew had landed from the Emden the warships were moving to the rescue and London was making arrangements for repairing the cable and wireless station.

The superior sea power of the Allies, however, has made German attempts on allied wireless and cable stations difficult, and, when successful, of only temporary embarrassment, while the overseas German stations, without ships to defend them, have passed permanently into the hands of the Allies.

It is thus seen that in estimating the work done by the belligerent navies, there is more testimony to be considered than that set forth in a mere table of ship losses.

Significance of Sea Control

The consideration of sea power and what control of the sea signifies opens the way to a general estimate of the relative sea power of the countries involved in the European war, and their respective sea areas of potential control just before the war opened.

The Allies had superior sea power and consequent potential control in the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea, North Sea—in short, in all sea areas excepting those adjacent to the ports and naval bases of the Central Powers, namely, the Adriatic near Austria's ports, the North Sea and the Baltic adjacent to Germany's ports, and the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the Bosporus, under the control of Turkey.

Again, if a similar estimate of the situation at present is made, we find that there has been no material alteration. The fighting incident to changing the potential control into active control has followed a course quite to be expected, and maritime operations have been singularly free of surprises. The Allies made a notable attempt to wrest control of the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora, and Bosporus from Turkey and her allies, but it failed, and, with the possible exception of the battle off the Jutland Peninsula, there has been no other active struggle to alter the areas of sea control as practically determined by the pre-wartime disposition of sea power. This apportionment of the seas is manfiestly disadvantageous to the Teutonic powers, but the sea power of the latter, the part their navies play, and the waters they control, are by no means negligible.

Plans of Warring Navies

Broadly speaking, Great Britain's plan of naval campaign at the outbreak of hostilities aimed, first, to destroy the enemy fleets with superior forces, or, failing in this, to confine the enemy fleets and restrict his trade by a system of distant blockades; second, to convert potential control of the high seas into active control by destroying, capturing, or bottling up enemy men-of-war operating on foreign stations.

On the other hand, the weaker German and Austrian navies instituted a different kind of campaign. The Teutonic powers planned, first, to operate the home fleets so as to protect their coast line and control as wide as possible sea

areas beyond, thereby preventing a close blockade and permitting commercial intercourse with neighboring neutral countries; second, to use naval vessels abroad so as to inflict greatest possible damage on their enemies before being cornered and destroyed by superior allied sea power or escaping to the shelter of home or friendly ports, as was the case when the Goeben and Breslau eluded numerous enemy ships in the Mediterranean and steamed safely through the Dardanelles to Constantinople; third, to interfere with and damage enemy commerce with submarines and commerce destroyers, such as the Möwe; and, fourth, the Teutonic powers planned to lessen the disparity of force between their navies and the superior navies of their enemies by so-called attritionative warfare, harassing and menacing the enemy in all possible ways, instituting raids with fast air and sea squadrons, attacking with mines and torpedoes, and watchfully seeking opportunity to fall upon a detached portion of the enemy fleet with a superior force.

How have these plans worked out? What has Teutonic sea power accomplished? What has allied sea power accomplished?

Early in the war a German cruiser squadron under Vice Admiral Count von Spee defeated a British cruiser force under Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock —but a month later this victorious squadron was destroyed by a superior British force off the Falkland Islands. German commerce destroyers, of which the Emden is a historic example, have done considerable damage to allied shipping. The exploits of submarines have astonished the world. The British shores have been raided both by air and sea attacks. In minor engagements as well as in the battle of Jutland, Germany, hitherto without traditions of the sea, has made a record which, ship for ship, places her fleet second to none.

But to what purpose? The superior naval power of the Allies has slowly but surely swept the German flag from off the seas. With no navy to protect them the German colonies have fallen one by one. On the other hand, the colonies of the Allies are secure, and a source of help and comfort to their mother countries. The seas are open highways to the Allies. Supplies and munitions of war constantly stream into their ports. Transports carry their troops all over the world. The fleets of the Central Powers are hemmed in comparatively close to their home shores. The grip of the blockading navies is ever tightening its hold.

[*The next article of this series will appear in the February issue of* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

The Political Upheaval in Russia

By Isaac Don Levine

RUSSIA is at present emerging from one of the most vital crises in her tempestuous history. The long and bitter struggle between Russian bureaucracy and democracy is at a stage where all indications point to the latter's triumph. Indeed, the victories already attained by the people through their chosen representative—the Duma—and the definite consequences of these victories are absolutely without parallel in the annals of modern Russian political history.

The crisis in Russian national life, which reached its climax at the opening of the Imperial Duma and Council on Nov. 14, was the result of a series of events that occurred in the Slavic empire in recent months. The chief perpetrator of these events was Boris Sturmer, the deposed Prime Minister. A reactionary of the strongest dye, he brought Russia to the brink of revolution through his internal and foreign policies.

Sturmer, appointed to the Premiership in February, 1916, began his Ministerial career with a drive against the popular forces making headway in Russia. He inaugurated, first of all, a new crusade against the already muzzled press. The military censorship grew in rigidity steadily and extensively during his administration. The curbing of public opinion was not, however, the only step taken by the Premier in his campaign to deprive Russian democracy of the power it had already won in the direction of the nation's fortunes.

Thus, the appointment of extreme reactionaries to Cabinet posts was a policy of Sturmer calculated to have the same effect as the heavy press censorship. But, deplorable as these appointments were, they would not have resulted in profound dissatisfaction had they proved stable. But this they could not be. For the bureaucracy of Russia constituted in ordinary times a class of ignorant and inept tchinovniks. When Sturmer attempted to return this class to its rôle of yore in the most critical period of human history he could not but fail miserably. For his bureaucrats demonstrated their defects so promptly that their dismissal soon became a necessity. As a result of this, some Ministries changed heads three or four times in the course of 1915.

These Ministerial changes provoked much feeling in the popular ranks, for they could bring nothing but harm to the interests of the nation, as they were impeding the Government's activities.

Duma's Prerogatives Threatened

Another serious cause of unrest was the Government's encroachment upon the prerogatives of the Duma. There is an article in the constitution of the Russian Parliament, known as Article 87, which permits the Government to enact laws without the help of the Duma. The Government has always made much use of this article, but never as much as in the last few months. Sturmer took advantage of the long intermission in the session of the Duma to pass some very obnoxious and revolting measures. One of these was more than a mere blow at democracy; it was a dangerous stab at the vitals of the Russian Nation.

What is the most vital thing in Russian national life at this moment? It is the resolute and unanimous intent to prosecute the war to a successful issue. Russian democracy patiently stood the suffering inflicted upon it by the bureaucrats for the sake of unity and victory. For it is in victory that the people of Russia see the promise of a new, regenerated country. The fight for internal political reformation has been postponed by all the radical elements in the empire in order to win the war. But the Government proved itself not very eager to labor for this object. The actions of Sturmer showed that the bureaucracy was more interested in losing than in winning the war.

The Russian people have not depended

on their Government to win the war. After the collapse that followed the invasion of Poland and Lithuania by the Teutons, Russian democracy rose to the succor of the army that had failed because of the Government's incompetence. Vast organizations have been created. The All-Russian Zemstvo Union, the Union of Municipalities, the War Industries Committee, and many other popular bodies are helping the War Ministry in its work of equipping, supplying, and caring for the army.

A Blow Bitterly Resented

It was at these vital organs that Premier Sturmer struck a blow which filled Russia with rage and rebellion. In April the Cabinet announced its decision to forbid national conferences and conventions of the various social organizations. The pretext for this decision was that these bodies were engaged in revolutionary activities. Prince Lvoff, the head of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, thereupon addressed a protest to General Shuvayeff, War Minister, who was known to be in sympathy with the popular organizations.

"I have repeatedly pointed out to you," wrote Prince Lvoff in a recent note to the War Minister, "the abnormality and impossibility of the situation created for the organizations that are working for the interests of the State; for the Government, in spite of its distrust of these organizations, continues to lay new orders on the Zemstvo Union."

But the War Minister could not revoke the Cabinet's order. He could only refer the protests for the consideration of the Cabinet, which he did. It was the answer of the Cabinet to these protests that made Russia stand aghast, full of indignation.

A circular was issued by the Government on Oct. 4 which put all meetings, councils, conferences held by social bodies under the supervision of the police. When one remembers that the budget of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union alone had reached the colossal sum of two and a half billions in the first two years of its activities, and that the other organizations are also performing vast operations, frequently of a confidential character, one can well imagine what it means to have the intricate and immense machinery of the social bodies under the constant supervision of the Russian police, which can interfere with, or entirely interrupt, its movement.

No other construction could have been put on this act of Sturmer than a desire to hamper the progress made by the people toward the winning of the war. In any event, this was the way Russia interpreted the Premier's act. Had this been the sole movement in the direction of contradicting the popular will and state of mind, events might have shaped themselves quite differently. But Sturmer already had to his credit at least three major deeds that served to enhance the suspicion with which his attitude toward the war and its objects was regarded throughout Russia.

Resignation of Sazonoff

The first of these three factors was the resignation of Sazonoff as Foreign Minister. This was forced by Sturmer, and it provoked a storm of indignation. For, as far as the determination of Russia to stick to the Allies and prosecute the war to the end goes, Sazonoff had the fullest confidence of all classes of the people. A stanch friend of England, Sazonoff was to the Russian people the only member in the Government in whose presence they saw the coming triumph of democracy in their own country. His retirement was, therefore, a deep wound to the Russian people.

But it was the consequence of his retirement that reverberated most profoundly in the Russian heart. For the portfolio of Foreign Minister was taken over by Premier Sturmer. This Russia could not bear calmly. The fact that Sturmer was a descendant of the Baltic Germans was in itself responsible for many disquieting reports. The fact that soon after Sturmer assumed office rumors of a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers began to fill the world was portentous enough. The fact that there is known to exist a certain group in the Russian Court favoring the conclusion of such a peace was never lost sight of by those who guard and lead the various forces of popular Russia. But it

was necessary to witness such an act as the assumption of the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs by Sturmer in order to give form and substance to the wave of nervousness that seized the nation when it was faced by the possibility of a separate peace.

Appointment of Protopopoff

And then something happened that made the possibility look like a probability. This was the appointment of A. D. Protopopoff as Minister of the Interior. Protopopoff, a wealthy landlord and manufacturer, associated with certain Petrograd banks, was never a political leader in the Russian sense of the word. He is a politician in the American interpretation of this term, i. e., a man of ambition, a builder of a career, a seeker of the spectacular and vainglorious. Thanks to his shrewdness and affability he managed to become a member of the Duma and one of its Vice Presidents. He belonged to the Octobrist Party, which is the central group of the Progressive Bloc that comprises the majority of the Deputies. He got into the limelight, however, only last Summer, when he headed the Russian Parliamentary Delegation to Western Europe.

It was on his way home, while in Stockholm, that A. D. Protopopoff met in conference an attaché of the German Legation there. When this fact leaked out it created a sensation in Russia. True, Protopopoff apparently proved that the conference took place at the initiative of the German Ambassador in Sweden. But the fact of the conference was in itself an indictment. At least the Society of 1914, which aims to destroy all German influence and activity in Russia, and which includes among its members Russia's leading public men, so regarded it.

This society maintains an open blacklist. The name of any public man found guilty of relations with Germany is recorded there. The Propaganda and Commerce Committees of the society took up the charge of Germanophilism made in the press against Protopopoff, investigated them, and recommended the blacklisting of Protopopoff to the Executive Council. At this juncture, to the profound astonishment of the nation, Protopopoff was appointed Minister of the Interior. It was a perplexing, confusing, mysterious move on the part of Sturmer. It is no exaggeration to say that no Ministerial appointment in Russia for the last decade had been as bewildering to Russia as this. No more surprising appointment was ever made by the Czar.

Those who interpreted Protopopoff's entrance into the Cabinet as signifying a change for the better were soon to be disillusioned. He announced his program as that of Sturmer. He donned a gendarmery uniform which no Minister had worn, not even the arch-reactionaries Durnovo and Stolypin, since the days of von Ploehve, who was assassinated in 1904. Protopopoff turned away from the principles of the Progressive Bloc to which he belonged. He became an object of derision through these acts. He also became an object of suspicion when the Executive Council of the Society of 1914 decided at its meeting of Oct. 3, soon after Protopopoff's high appointment, to present before the general meeting of the society the recommendation to blacklist him. The effect of this decision on the nation was tremendous. The three most important posts in the empire, the Premiership and the Ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs, were held by two men suspected of pro-Germanism.

The Problem of Poland

In addition to the Sazonoff and Protopopoff factors there arose one more condition of a nature to provoke the nation. This was the Government's attitude toward the Polish problem. Sturmer's original solution was one of the causes of Sazonoff's resignation. He proposed to give Poland only general self-government. Later the Cabinet decided that all announcements on the part of Russia in regard to its Polish program would be premature. Protopopoff, in the course of his first audience with the Czar, also advised postponement of action on the Polish question. Meanwhile, it became generally known that the Central Powers were preparing some kind of a political move in regard to Poland. Russia wanted to forestall any such move, but its Government did not; and when Germany and Austria jointly announced

POPE BENEDICT XV.

This Wartime Portrait of the Pope, With Its Face of Pain and Mystery, Was Painted Recently by the French Artist Besnard. It Has Attracted World-wide Attention

NOTABLE ITALIAN LEADERS

At Top: Duke of Aosta, Admiral Corsi (Minister of Marine), and the Duke of Abruzzi. Centre: General Alfieri, General Morrone (Minister of War), and General Dal'olio. At Bottom: Signor Orlando, Minister of Interior; General Morrone (Again), and Luigi Luzzatti, Noted Publicist and Former Minister.

(Root Newspaper Association.)

early in November the creation of a Polish Kingdom the effect on Russia was enormous. The opposition to the Government gained powerful impetus.

On top of all this, an economic condition arose that carried more danger with it to the Government than all the political factors combined. This was the chaos in the food supply organization of the country. Russia has been suffering from the high cost of living more than any other country in the world. Prices of some articles reached fabulous proportions. But when leather was selling at premiums the Russian turned to rags and wooden sandals to protect his feet. When kerosene was selling at prohibitive prices, tallow candles again became popular. Sugar was dispensed with by a large part of the population.

Faced by Starvation

But a time camé when the country suddenly found itself without bread. A famine was threatening the nation in the Fall, and this in spite of the fact that Russia had hundreds of millions of surplus bushels of grain! Where was that vast surplus? It was not for sale. The peasants, the landlords, and, especially, speculators, held it back.

What was the reason for this? It was a clumsy attempt made by the Government to solve the bread problem by fixing prices. The prices fixed by the Government were too low. The owners of the bread would not sell it. Meanwhile, starvation was staring into the eyes of the nation.

To add to the confusion the Government empowered local officials with requisitionary powers for the army. As a result the chaos was increased. In one province, for instance, the Governor held back 50,000,000 bushels of grain. The army demanded of him only five of these millions, yet the rest was meantime out of reach of the market.

When the state of mind throughout the country reached a menacing degree, when the cry for a solution of the bread problem was raised from all the corners of the empire, the Government lost its head completely. The Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of the Interior were fighting for control of the food situation. Protopopoff proposed several solutions, but he could not go ahead without the Cabinet's consent that the whole affair, which was in the hands of the Ministry of Agriculture, should pass into those of the Interior. It was at this stage that the Government's incompetence reached a revolting point, for the Cabinet could not make up its mind what to do with the food supply question. Vacillation from one plan to another consumed days and weeks. The exasperation of the nation knew no bounds.

Dark rumors of revolt began to fill the country. Only the fact that the Duma was to meet on Nov. 14, and that the leaders everywhere counseled patience till the Duma's meeting, controlled the passions of the excited nation. Here is what a leading deputy of the Duma, A. Kerensky, said on the eve of its opening:

> Never before was the Duma's opening session preceded by such a stormy state of mind. Our immediate tasks are colossal. The difficulties of last year seem insignificant when compared with those of the present moment. The democratization of the Government is not a theoretical demand now, but an urgent political problem. The change is no longer dictated by the mind, but by the stomach.

Stormy Scenes in the Duma

Such was the state of affairs in Russia at the opening of the Duma. The political and economic conditions furnished the basis for the most concerted attack ever made in Russia against the Government. All factions and groups joined in it. Socialist and extreme reactionary united in denouncing the Government. By far the most remarkable phase of the crisis was this unprecedented union. The Black Hundreds, who were instrumental in the origination of pogroms and massacres a short time ago; the reactionary landlords and capitalists of the conservative parties, the moderate Octobrists, the liberal Constitutional Democrats, the radical Labor Party, and the Socialists, all presented one solid wall of opposition.

The President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko, a moderate progressive, made the first speech at the opening session. The speaker exposed the most important of all the Government's faults, making the striving for a separate peace his subject.

His allusions to it were accompanied by thunderous outbursts of applause. The Premier and the Cabinet left the Duma after Rodzianko's utterance. The allied Ambassadors were accorded a tremendous ovation at the speaker's reference to their countries. The attack on the Government was expressed in the following words by the President of the Duma:

The foremost duty of the Duma is to make a calm and thorough valuation of the situation, and to remove immediately that which ought not to be and which interferes with the nation's reaching its only marked aim. The war must be won at all costs and risks; this our national honor and national conscience demand. This not only our national safety but the welfare of the future generations demands. With the help of God we shall attain it. * * * But what are the paths leading to that goal? We all know them: Order within the country, faith in our powers, firmness of spirit, and the truth firmly stated here, within these walls.

The Government must learn from us what the country needs. In the course of a struggle and an exertion of national faculties the spirit of the country must not be dampened by unnecessary restrictions. The Government must not follow a path different from the people. With the confidence of the nation it must head the social forces in the march toward victory over the enemy along the path that harmonizes with the aspirations of the people. There is no other path to be followed. Any deviation from it means delaying success and postponing victory. * * *

In close union with our allies we wage the bloody conflict. * * * It is necessary to remember here that there is no discord among us. Our friendship is still developing and growing firmer. * * * There is no trick to which our enemy will not resort with the treacherous object of wrecking our alliance. In vain, however, are his efforts. In vain his hostile intrigues. Russia gave her word to fight in common with the Allies till complete and final victory is won. Russia will not betray her friends, and with contempt refuses any consideration of a separate peace. Russia will not be traitor to those who are fighting side by side with her sons for a great and just cause.

Attacks by Popular Leaders

But the voice of the people was yet to be heard from the tribune of the Duma. Rodzianko's diplomatic utterance lacked the bluntness and directness of the attacks that were to follow. The declaration of the Progressive Bloc, which consists of a majority of members, briefly touched upon all the misfortunes that have befallen Russia in the course of the Sturmer administration, and concluded with the statement: "In the interests of victory the present Government must give place to men united by a single mind and ready to act with the support of the Duma and to carry out the Duma's program."

At the following session of the Duma Paul Miliukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, in a brilliant speech indicted the Government for seeking a separate peace with Germany. The text of his speech, and of many others, has not been allowed to be published by the censorship. A scathing arraignment of the Government was also made by Shulgin, an eminent Conservative. In all the utterances made in the Duma one note was ever present: The necessity of the resignation of Sturmer. Another demand was the creation of a Cabinet having the confidence of the Duma, i. e., the setting up of a responsible Ministry.

With these two demands the Duma began a demonstration against the Government that was to last as long as it was in power. The fight between bureaucracy and democracy had thus narrowed down to a most spectacular contest between the Duma and the Prime Minister. While the Duma protested, the Government suppressed for publication most of what was said in the Duma. But there was one thing it could not suppress. That was the blank spaces created in the newspapers through the original suppressions. And these blank spaces told the nation "in white and black," as the Petrograd Dyen said, what was occurring in the capital.

The third day of the Duma's attack on the Government found Russia in suspense. Sturmer threatened to dissolve the Parliament. A united nation, strained to the utmost, watched with alarm for the next move. It came from an unexpected quarter, in an unexpected manner, dramatically sealing the fate of Sturmer as Premier.

General Shuvayeff's Speech

On Nov. 27 there suddenly appeared in the Duma the Ministers of War and Marine, General Shuvayeff and Admiral Grigorovitch. They announced that they had a statement to make. The War Minister said in part:

I consider it necessary to share with you some of the observations and ideas obtained from the period through which we are passing. The bloody and cruel war has now lasted twenty-seven months. It was not our beloved Emperor who desired and sought to start this war. We all know that neither our sovereign nor our valiant allies received the right response in the enemy camp to their efforts and endeavors to avert this universal conflagration. And no wonder! In this enemy camp for decades there was cultivated, raised, and strengthened the idea, expectation, hope, conviction of the necessity of conquering and capturing the dominant rôle among all nations by force of arms and violence, disregarding truth and justice. No wonder, also, because in this enemy camp the swords were sharpened and armaments prepared for decades, and the hour was only awaited when it would be possible to surprise the neighbors by falling upon them with the intent of crushing them. * * *

But calculations are one thing and life is another. * * * Each day brings our perfidious enemy nearer defeat. And to what change do we owe this? To the fact that the war is waged not only by the army but by the entire nation. This realization is daily permeating more and more the minds of the nation. [After illustrating with figures the accomplishments of the national efforts in the interests of the army, the speaked said:] This is what our common and co-operative effort gave us. Allow me to hope and ask for your help in the future in this common work for the equipment of our valiant army.

As the President of the Duma has said, we must win at all costs and risks. This is the demand of our country's welfare, to which everything else is subordinate. As an old soldier, I express my fullest conviction that we shall win. There is no power on earth that could vanquish the Russian Empire.

The Minister of Marine briefly stated to the Duma that he came there to support the War Minister in his declaration that "the nation's defense demanded our united and co-operative effort." The Duma never witnessed such a scene as that which followed the Ministers' speeches. A tremendous demonstration occurred. Roditchev, the Duma's golden-tongued orator, mounted the tribune and said:

It has rarely happened at our sessions that the necessary word has been said unexpectedly and weightily at the opportune moment. The representatives of the army tell us that in accordance with the wish of the Emperor and the will of the people our army will fight until the end. And that is precisely what we want, that is precisely why we are sitting here.

The salient fact about the event was pointed out by Paul Miliukov to a newspaper correspondent. He said:

The War and Marine Ministers have declared themselves on the side of the Duma and the people. We, on our part, have said that the Duma is with the army and the people.

The Duma's Great Victory

The chief result of this historic moment in the life of Russia was that the army, hitherto the support of the bureaucracy, openly declared through its representatives its union with and support of the democracy. The Government was paralyzed. It was helpless without the army. The only thing to do was to give in. Sturmer resigned. "The Duma has won the first victory," said M. Adjemov, a leading Deputy. "It is as yet a far cry to the satisfaction of all our demands; but it is the first time in the history of Russia's Parliament that Government heads have openly given to it their moral support."

The Duma, therefore, caused the fall of the Prime Minister. This was the first case of its kind. But the Duma was not satisfied. It wanted a "responsible Ministry," one having the confidence of the people. It was therefore rather disappointed when Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, Minister of Communications, was promoted by the Czar to the post held by Sturmer. Trepoff is a man of much broader vision than his predecessor. The first thing he did was to unmuzzle the press. In his declaration in the Duma he definitely and firmly declared the Government's resolution to continue the war to the end.

Dardanelles to be Russian

Undoubtedly to allay the passions of the nation, Trepoff announced that by an agreement concluded in 1915, and subsequently adhered to by Italy, the Allies definitely established Russia's right to Constantinople and the Dardanelles. He also announced Russia's decision to grant full autonomy to Greater Poland. He said in part:

For more than a thousand years Russia has been reaching southward toward a free outlet on the open sea. This age-long dream, cherished in the hearts of the Russian people, is now ready for realization. * * *

From the beginning of the war, wishing

to spare human lives and sufferings, we and our allies did our utmost to restrain Turkey from mad participation in hostilities. Turkey received formal assurances guaranteeing her, in exchange for neutrality, the integrity of her territory and independence, and also conferring on her certain privileges and advantages. These efforts were vain. Turkey surreptitiously attacked us, and thus sealed her own doom.

We then concluded an agreement with our allies, which established in the most definite manner the right of Russia to the strait and Constantinople. Russians should know for what they are shedding blood, and, in accord with our allies, announcement is made today of this agreement from this tribune.

Absolute agreement on this point is firmly established among the Allies, and there is no doubt that after she has obtained sovereign possession of a free passage into the Mediterreanean, Russia will grant freedom of navigation for the Rumanian flag, which now, not for the first time, floats in battle side by side with the flag of Russia.

I thought it my duty not to conceal from you the difficulties and sacrifices which we have still to endure in order to bring the present war to a victorious conclusion, but no difficulty and no sacrifice will stop Russia and her brave allies on the path of reconstruction and consolidation. A bright future will be the heritage of all nations fighting for a just and holy cause.

Our heroic troops and fleet are doing their great work without pause. The first task which falls on the rest of us is to devote all our strength and every hour of our time to productive work. Russia needs the common labor of every one, based on regular distribution, according to individual capability. It is the patriotic duty of every one not to undermine the country's power but to do his utmost to strengthen it. The history of the world has never known so decisive a moment. We must organize all the power of the nation and hurl it against the enemy. Nothing will resist that force.

The Government's immediate program must be directed to winning a complete and conclusive victory, cost what it may. The war must continue till German militarism is destroyed beyond all possibility of recrudescence in the early future. The war must be crowned by victory not only over the enemy without but the enemy within. The war has opened the eyes of the people, and they realize now that Russian industry, education, science, and art have been under the yoke of Germanism. * * *

Remember that, however cruel the enemy blows may be, the final victory is ours. It is surely approaching us. Let us march united to meet it.

The food crisis, the acute internal and foreign political questions, all that which was chiefly responsible for the political upheaval that shook Russia to its foundations, was settled for the time being by the appointment of Trepoff. But the crisis is not past yet. A great political principle, around which Russia rallied in the critical days, is not yet settled. The issue as to whether Russia is to have a Ministry responsible to the Duma, i. e., whether Russia will become a true constitutional country with a parliamentary form of Government, is still at stake.

Imperial Council Converted

There is in Russia, besides the Duma, also an upper chamber, called the Imperial Council. Half of its members are appointed by the Czar from former Ministers and high tchinovniks. The other half is chosen by the wealthy landlords and capitalists and by the educational institutions of the country. The Imperial Council was always supporting the Government in the past, disregarding the figures who were at the helm of it. Russia never looked for aid, relief, or initiative to come from that body.

The best measure of the tremendous political upheaval that Russia is undergoing can, therefore, be had from the fact that the Imperial Council, by an overwhelming majority, allied itself with the Duma. When the Council convened on Nov. 14 the Government was attacked there with unprecedented violence. The Polish Deputy Shebeko, in a brilliant speech that was met with stormy approval, attacked the Government for its vacillation and inaction in reference to the Polish problem. At one of the first sessions an interesting incident occurred. A Government bill providing for the reorganization of a certain technical institute was taken up. An amendment to the bill read that in accordance with the custom of sixty-five years Jews are not to be admitted to the institute. The Government representative defended this clause. When the Council voted on it, it was rejected by sixty-five against sixty-three.

The Imperial Council is the very foundation of the Government. The significance of its allying itself with the Duma is incalculable. Its support of such a radical demand as a "responsible Ministry" proves how profoundly Russia was affected by the bloodless revolution.

Austria's Change of Emperors

FRANCIS JOSEPH, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, died at 9 o'clock Tuesday evening, Nov. 21, 1916, at Schönbrunn. He was born Aug. 18, 1830, hence was in his 87th year when he died. He became Emperor Dec. 2, 1848, on the abdication of his uncle, Kaiser Ferdinand. His reign of sixty-eight years was the longest in duration of any European monarch in modern times. His health was normal, for one of his advanced years, almost to the end; he was able to attend to his official duties within twenty-four hours of the end, and was not taken to bed until a few hours before his death.

Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, his grandnephew, the eldest son of Archduke Otto, younger brother of the murdered Francis Ferdinand, whose death precipitated the war, succeeds to the throne. The new Emperor has taken the title Charles I. He was born Aug. 27, 1887, son of Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony. He attended the Vienna public schools, and in his youth shocked the sticklers of Court etiquette by his democratic manners. He married on Oct. 21, 1911, Princess Zita of the Bourbon House of Parma, one of a numerous family; two of her brothers are serving with the Belgian Army. She was only 19 when she married, and has borne two sons.

The new Emperor, on taking over the Government and confirming the present Premier, Dr. von Koerber, in his functions, issued a proclamation in which, referring to Francis Joseph, he said:

"I will continue to complete his work. I ascend his throne in a stormy time. Our aim has not yet been reached and the illusion of the enemy to throw down my monarchy and our allies is not yet broken. You know me to be in harmony with my peoples in my inflexible decision to continue the struggle until a peace assuring the existence and development of the monarchy is obtained. I will do all in my power to banish as soon as possible the horrors and sacrifices of war and to reobtain peace as soon as the honor of our arms, the conditions of life of my countries and their allies and the defiance of our enemies will allow."

The German Emperor sent the following telegram after the death of the aged Emperor:

"We of the younger generation were accustomed to see in his venerable figure examples of the finest virtues of rulers and truly kingly devotion to duty. The German Empire loses in him a loyal ally. I personally lose a paternal and highly honored friend.

"God's inscrutable will has called him away in the middle of the greatest world war, and has not permitted him to see the result of the struggle and the return of peace. May God give him eternal rest, and to you strength to bear the burden which falls upon you at this grave time."

Emperor Charles replied:

"I thank you for the sympathy which you, dear friend, have shown, and for the genuine friendship which you manifested toward the dead Emperor, who held you in such high esteem. As your and his loyalty to the alliance stood firm as a rock in this world war, so shall it remain for us."

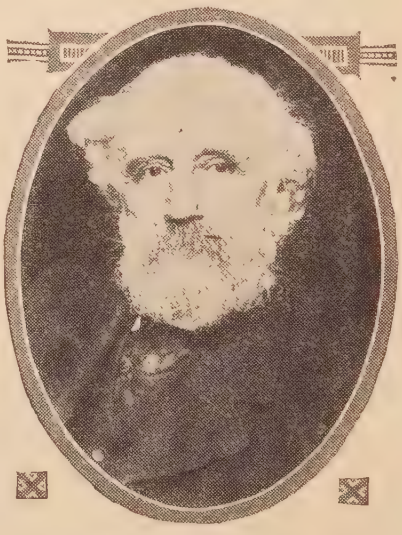
The von Koerber Ministry, which held over after the Emperor's death, resigned Dec. 12, 1916. No details of the cause are given out. It is assumed that the new Emperor intends to surround himself with a Cabinet not so completely under German influences. It is generally believed that Emperor Charles realizes that his empire will be threatened by German absorption or suzerainty after the war unless a more independent course is steered by him before the war ends.

Private Savings as a War Weapon

Address by Alexandre Ribot, French Minister of Finance, in the Chamber of Deputies

[Delivered Nov. 9, 1916.]

I AM about to make known to the Chamber the general results of the second national defense loan. The task of collecting the subscriptions in all the villages and cities of France has been long and laborious, as will be understood when I say that we have opened books not only at the Treasury but at every Post Office, at every window of the Bank of France, and at all other banks, so that no office force should be deprived of the honor and satisfaction of contributing its mite to the national defense.



ALEXANDRE RIBOT
FRENCH MINISTER OF FINANCE

When the subscription closed—after the period of twenty-four days which we had allowed—the task became one of summing up the results; this also is a long undertaking, requiring about ten days. Only yesterday was I able to determine the practically final figures in the operation.

The results have been added up in the various provinces by the Sub-Treasury officials; in Paris by the Treasury Department, and also by the Bank of France, which lends us, in all these operations, an increasingly efficient aid. The Bank of France has not only taken subscriptions at its counter windows, it has also this time reported those taken in a certain number of other banks, and it has required a great deal of time to verify the results. The total which it announces is considerable — 3,890,000 francs, ($778,000.) That is the contribution of the Bank of France to the loan. The public accountants and banks have furnished a similar amount. There has been a universal rivalry of zeal, but what concerns us now is the grand total.

We were accustomed to say that if this loan could bring us 10,000,000,000 francs we would consider it a success. I believe that is the general opinion. The 10,000,000,000 mark has been passed. At the present moment the total returns amount to 11,360,000,000 francs, ($2,272,000,000!)

Of the annuity bonds (rentes) that have been subscribed for—about 568,000,000 francs—almost all are paid for already, only 4 or 5 per cent. being bonds on which payments will be made by degrees in accordance with the plan proposed by the Treasury. We have allowed six months in which to pay subscriptions. The very small subscribers have made use of this privilege. They are the ones who have wished to draw upon their salaries at the end of the month for the 15 francs which were necessary to subscribe for a 5-franc annuity, and who will faithfully pay over the other installments by drawing upon their salaries in the coming months.

The fact that the paid-up subscriptions are in the vast majority shows that the subscribers wish to depend only upon economies already achieved, that they are not even discounting the economies of tomorrow, and that all idea of speculation

is excluded from the subscription just completed.

You will ask me—and you have the right to know—what proportion of the total sum collected is represented by hard cash, what proportion by bonds, and what by obligations. In the preceding loan the cash was 47 per cent. of the total; today it is 54½ per cent., or about 5,500,000,000 francs. The bonds are about 35 per cent., or almost 3,500,000,000 francs; the obligations are 9½ per cent., or 950,000,000 francs. Finally 7,400,000 francs in 3½ per cents, of which no great amount remains to be converted, have been employed in the subscription.

The proportion of cash varies according as the subscription is made in the provinces or in Paris, and according as it is made directly by the subscriber or through the medium of the banks. The explanation is easily given.

Drawing on Private Savings

When a subscriber comes to the pay window of a public accountant he usually brings money which he has taken out of his drawer reserved for domestic and personal savings. This is done especially by the small subscribers. They begin by opening their little private hoards. They find hidden away there a few coins that had been forgotten; thus, in the cash which we have received, we have found 160,000,000 francs of gold, which have come in very opportunely for the Bank of France at the moment when we have to make—and are very glad to make—shipments of gold to our friends and allies of England to meet the difficulties of foreign exchange.

Thus the small subscribers bring their savings, and bring them usually in cash, so that in the vaults of the General Treasuries—although we have not kept separate accounts of the results in the Sub-Treasuries, in the Treasury, and in the provincial banks—the proportion of money is 66 per cent. In Paris, at the Bank of France, it is only 47 per cent., because the subscriptions from the provinces and those from Paris have not been kept separate.

In the Parisian banks, which bring their subscriptions to the central vaults of the Treasury, the proportion falls to 40 per cent. The explanation is self-evident. When a subscriber has an account in a bank he brings first any savings which he has kept in his own possession, but completes his subscription by drawing on his account. The director of one of the large banks in Paris told me that one-half the funds were brought by the subscribers themselves, and that for the remainder they gave orders to turn over to the Treasury a sum drawn from their account.

The banks themselves have accounts with the Bank of France and thus have cash at their command, but they also have portfolios of Treasury bonds. In payment for subscriptions they turn over indifferently either bonds or cash.

This explains why in Paris, at the postal stations, where the smallest subscriptions are received, the proportion of cash has been the largest. There is no need, however, to exaggerate the interest we have in collecting cash rather than bonds. In the hands of the bearer the one is worth as much as the other, because a bond today, because of its short-time demandability, is really money. For the Treasury it is the same thing, because if the Treasury can use the money brought in today or tomorrow to make payments, it will be spent tomorrow in cashing the bonds deposited with it today. Consequently in both cases there are real and immediately usable funds placed at the disposal of the Treasury.

[Here a Deputy, Hubert Rouger, interrupted to ask whether the furnishers of war supplies were subscribing considerable sums. M. Ribot answered:]

Yes, certainly, the great firms that are working for the war have had the honor of making their contribution. I can say, since you give me the opportunity, that a rumor had been spread to the effect that the war profit tax would work special injury to the loan. I never believed it. I had too much confidence in the patriotism of my country. I can add that neither the discussions on fiscal questions nor the vote on the war profits tax diminished the nation's zeal and devotion to the accomplishment of the national duty.

You will not have failed to notice, gen-

tlemen, that the proportion of bonds is considerably smaller than one could have believed in advance. Before this loan, after deducting reimbursements and renewals, Frenchmen held Treasury bonds for a net sum of 15,000,000,000 francs; there came in for renewal in perpetual annuities only 3,500,000,000. The proportion is almost the same from one year to another: 25 per cent. last year, a little less this year, 23 per cent.

This proves that the National Defense bonds have obtained a success in this country which surpasses our highest hopes. Those who hold them consider them an investment that they are extremely loath to part with. Indeed, the Minister of Finance is not the man to call them a poor investment, with their 5 per cent. interest and almost complete convertibility.

I should prefer to see all these bonds transformed into perpetual annuities, (rentes.) I like perpetuity when it is a matter of national debts. But there is no need to worry over the preference which the public gives to the bonds, these bonds that have penetrated into every household, that are in all private boxes today, as well as in the large portfolios. These investments will be continued by renewals until the end of the war, and even after the war.

In England at the present hour the total of Treasury bonds amounts to 27,000,000,000 francs. We have not reached that point; before the present loan our total was 15,000,000,000. As 3,500,000,000 were liquidated in exchange for perpetual rentes, we have reached a proportion that can cause no uneasiness. We give 5 per cent. for these bonds, and we cannot give less. England gives 5½ per cent.; a month ago she was giving 6 per cent.

These bonds are the war treasure of France. If we had not had them at the beginning of the war we should have had all the trouble in the world to meet with long-term loans the ceaselessly increasing and now enormous needs of our national defense. As I said, 3,500,000,000 of bonds have been converted. As for the obligations, these have come in in a much smaller quantity—only to the amount to 950,000,000 francs.

The Army of Economizers

I cannot now ascertain exactly the number of subscribers, and I do not wish to submit figures that will be subject to revision. I can state, however, that the number is at least equal to that of last year. The army of economizers, that army which I salute every time I mount the tribune, remains as strong and compact, with its effectives renewed, perhaps, but as powerful as last year—3,100,000 or 3,200,000 persons.

In these circumstances I can state that this loan is truly a national loan, because everybody has wished to take part in it—the rich, because it was their most imperious duty, as well as the most modest and humble citizen. The fact that will show you how much we owe to small subscribers is this: that the average subscriptions for rentes does not exceed 185 francs; 110 francs in the provinces, a little more in Paris, naturally, but the average for all France is 185 francs.

It is therefore truly France's loan, a democratic loan, a national loan, as befits our great country, crowning it with a new honor before Europe and the whole world.

[After an analysis showing that the second loan had brought the Government a little more in actual liquid resources than did the first loan, M. Ribot continued:]

And remember that this loan was floated in a country some of whose departments are still occupied by the enemy; remember also that it was done after two years of war. Certain superficial observers, having thought they saw signs of weariness in the country, have sought to begin a campaign that would be criminal if it were not so senseless—a campaign consisting in saying to the peasants, whose robust good sense they underestimated, that the way to shorten the war was to refuse the National Government the means of defending the soil invaded by the enemy! * * * This campaign was immediately brought to nought by an outburst of good sense and indignation throughout the country.

Well, the country understood us, and

responded superbly. It rose en masse and brought us its savings. Oh, there are still reserves left, happily, for tomorrow, and we shall have to appeal to the country again; but this year, at least, it has given us the means to fight on until victory comes. * * *

All the societies, all creeds, all the organizations in the country, the Chambers of Commerce, the Chambers of Syndics, the unions, notably those of the workingmen and the railway employes, the mutual benefit societies, the army, which has doubled the amount subscribed and the number of subscribers as compared with 1915—all France has sprung erect, all France has understood its duty and acted upon it, forgetting the quarrels of yesterday, putting aside all differences until tomorrow, because when the country is in danger there are neither parties nor bitter memories; there is only one thing, the flag of France, which must be defended, which must be carried to victory!

[French War Loan Cartoon]

A Powerful Weapon—the Peasant's Savings

"With kicks of boot and blows of stocking!"

France and the New Commandments

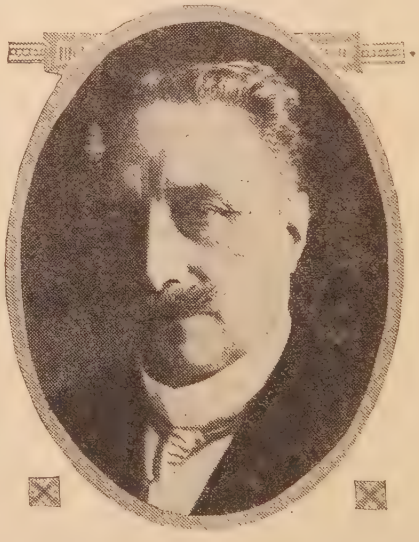
Address by Paul Deschanel

President of the French Chamber of Deputies and Member of the Académie Française

[Delivered in Paris, Oct. 26, 1916, at the annual meeting of all five academies of the Institute of France]

GENTLEMEN: The Germans have invaded us more than twenty times; five times since the Revolution. From this fact there arise certain essential duties for us, commandments of patriotism: to remain united; to know Germany better; to make France better known; never again to forget; to foresee.

Let us hearken to the voice of the trench and the tomb; what comes from there is a cry of love. Never has the French family been more united. Frenchmen were following different roads, but they have come together at the summit. The same devotion, the same ideal! The heroes facing death know that before the brief flame of life is extinguished in them it lights another, immortal. And the enemy does not comprehend that the thing which was tearing us apart is what is now uniting us: the passion for right.



PAUL DESCHANEL

France of St. Louis, of Joan of Arc, of St. Vincent de Paul, of Pascal; France of Rabelais, of Descartes, of Molière, of Voltaire; France of the Crusades and France of the Revolution, you are sacred to us, and your sons are equal in our hearts as they are in the face of peril. Those who do not discover the common peak under the same rays have not looked long enough or far enough.

Yes, this sublime array of youth goes to death as to a higher life. Will that higher life be the life of France? The great silence of these deserts full of men, where the cannon alone speaks, will not hover above them forever. Controversy is the soul of progress. It is because it has been lacking in Germany that the world is on fire.

Let us glance at the live points. I do not know whether the phrase, "conflict of the classes," still expresses the meaning of those who formerly employed it, for since 1914 not a single voice in Germany has been raised against the invasion of Belgium and France; but never have men seen more clearly the grandeur of poverty, the obligations of wealth, the truth that souls are not measured by conditions. There are the things that one possesses and the things that one values, and the two comprise the whole patrimony of a nation. The little white crosses which mark out battlefieleds from the Marne to the Seille and from the sea to the Vosges are terrible masters of equality. May they draw the living closer together!

The same spirit should lead us in the problem of Church and State. It is not enough to say that Governments have no authority in matters of dogma and that religions have no authority in matters of Government. The State and the Church, even separated, meet each other in various domains. May the spirit of wisdom everywhere drive out fanaticism! Ah, let us chase out of our language

those old words, made for old ideas: intolerance, tolerance. What! Do we have to tolerate each other, endure each other? The right word is not tolerance, but respect.

The thought that does not respect faith is not truly free; and the faith that infringes upon liberty, in place of increasing its own power, loses it. He who scorns the religious forces exposes himself in politics to strange miscalculations and he who wishes to impose a religion alters its source.

If the virtues of today are those of tomorrow, victorious France will astonish the world with the swiftness of her upward flight, even as she has by the stubbornnness of her resistance. Already our enemies are preparing the works of peace, just as they prepared the war beforehand; another assault, no less fierce. There, too, we must concentrate our efforts.

And why are careers isolated in our country? One of the forces of Germany is the accord of the universities and the armies, of the professors and officers. In France they are separate. If they had worked together, things might have taken a different course at times.

To Know Germany Better

Is the war, which has taught Frenchmen to know each other better, teaching them also to know Germany better? For two years an entire literature has attempted the task—a little late! At each new invasion France wakes up and cries: "What! It's Germany, the Germany of Schiller and Goethe!" The ignorance of one nation toward another baffles comprehension; one might think that each nation inhabited a different star.

It is the land that makes the man. Prussia, as M. Lavisse has said, is a German State founded outside of the German boundaries. Having no frontiers of its own, in order to live it has to attack. Either grow or perish. Who says Prussia, says conquest.

To save herself from anarchy Germany has had recourse to Prussia. Prussia has built her up. German unity has been made by war and cemented by conquest. Thus it comes that her strength has driven Germany to the same acts as her weakness. To this fact she has adapted a theory: the chosen nation, born to command others. Germany is acting in the name of the Eternal. She must exterminate evil, and she does evil in order to bring about the good. Each philosopher, each historian, adds a new formula to the doctrine. Fitche said: "Allman," (Germany;) "all manhood." Hegel demands that the State shall be "venerated as a god," that it shall have absolute obedience; and he regards war as a moral necessity. Treitschke holds that the highest duty of the State is to develop its power, even at the expense of treaties. Nietzsche lauds selection by force and creates the "superman." Lamprecht invents the "tentacular State," whence we have Delbrück's law regarding naturalization; and the Generals, from Clausewitz to Bernhardi, teach their soldiers that the more ferocious a war is, the more humane it is, because it is so much shorter. A formidable arsenal of sophisms! Artillery no less dangerous than the other kind!

Universities, schools, pulpits of all denominations, administration, press, books, (700 a year on war alone,) poems, songs, public gatherings, farm leagues, industrial leagues, colonial societies, all pour into the people the idea, which becomes action, that everything is at the service of the State, that everything serves national ends. The army, the fleet, the bank, the factory, the counter, all unite in the same task. The "manifesto of the intellectuals," which revolted us, is, despite certain tardy reservations, what all thinking Germany teaches: an instruction born of profound racial instincts and confirmed by age-long traditions, save in the hours when Germany received light from Greece, from Italy, and from France.

German Passion for History

The German historians are political leaders. At the very time when they are communing with the past of the nation they are shaping its future. The German is a historical being. He lives with his gods and his ancestors. In them he admires and exalts himself. Hermann is as present to him as Hindenburg.

Verdun, in his eyes, is the greatest of our fortresses, because it traces its distinct existence back to the treaty which divided up the empire of Charlemagne. He is forever avenging himself for Louis XIV. and Napoleon. Forever there is the same conflict against the cursed civilization of the Latins, against the world of perdition. "We hate in our enemies," said Heinrich Heine, "that which is most essential, most deeply hidden in them—their thought." And always there are the same violences, the same crimes, more frightful, but the same.

The deeds of 1870 were only one stage. Everything indicated this: The harangues of the Emperor; the resounding praise that he gave in 1909 to a study by his Chief of Staff, General von Schlieffen, the great preparer of the war of 1914; "the Treaty of Frankfort is only a truce"; the speeches and writings of the Chancellors and Generals, the repeated provocations, the purely strategic railway lines toward Luxemburg and Belgium, the military laws of 1911, 1912, 1913, voted to the sound of applause in the Reichstag; the scholastic books. Everything was ready; nothing was wanting but the occasion, the pretext. A year before the Austrian ultimatum Theodor Schiemann wrote: "To have war with France, nothing more is needed than to let loose Austria against Serbia."

The invasion of Belgium, the burning of Louvain and Rheims, the assassination of Miss Cavell, the torpedoing of steamships, the murder of Jacquet, the execution of Captain Fryatt, the uprooting of the civil populations in our invaded provinces, the rallying of all the professors of law to justify these crimes—these things indicate a nation overcome by vertigo, like those hordes on the Yser which rushed forward in serried columns, drunk with ether. One divines above their heads the bloody virgins of Walhalla and the fierce divinities of their impenetrable forests. "Let insolence germinate," says Aeschylus in "The Persians"; "what grows up is the fruition of crime; one gathers a harvest of sorrows."

And now we hear repeated every day: "We must destroy German militarism, the Prussian military caste." Yes, without doubt; and even in Germany the privileges, the abuses of that caste have called forth jeers, protests in the press, in fiction, in the theatre, in the Reichstag. But we know how the Saverne affair ended. It is the army that has created independence; it is the army that guarantees the power and wealth of the empire. Germany is proud of it, loves it, has made a cult of it. Her "intellectuals," better informed on that point than the stranger who judges others by himself, cry: "We resent it that the enemies of Germany dare to oppose German science to what they call Prussian militarism. The spirit of the army is the same as that of the nation."

The truth is that in Germany, as elsewhere, national sentiment has been strongest; it has carried all before it, rivalries of caste, of class, and of creed. To judge a nation aright one must look upon the whole of it at once, like the aviator who hovers above the ocean and sees currents which others cannot see.

Making France Better Known

If Frenchmen ought to know Germany better, they ought also to make France better known. "A wornout nation!" said Bismarck. "A degenerate people!" cried William II. Wornout, degenerate, the France of Pasteur, of Berthelot, of Henri Poincaré! A wornout nation, a degenerate people, the France of Renan and Taine, which for forty years, in all lines of thought, in poetry, philosophy, history, drama, fiction, criticism, has magnetized the minds of the world! "A degenerate nation," the nation that has produced at the same time illustrious musicians and pleiades of painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, such as the world had not seen since the Renaissance! "Worn out," the nation which, between two wars, has created the second largest colonial empire in the world! And tell me: In what country, in what epoch, have all the hopes and aspirations of mankind found finer orators?

Our institutions were supposed to be unworthy to endure, and yet they resist the most enormous upheaval of all the ages. The republic was not to be al-

lowed to conclude alliances, and yet France has never had more allies, or more powerful ones.

And mark the climax! Yes, even after Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, even after Valmy, Jemmappes, and Fleurus, France touches the highest peak; for Athenian civilization was founded on slavery, and the armies of the Revolution were restricted armies, while today it is all France that is fighting—for all men! Through her we are living the greatest life that men have ever lived, for what is the life of humanity if not an increase of justice?

At the same time that Germany was calumniating us she was attempting to swell out her own rôle and take our place. It is the picture of Overbeck at Frankfort over again, "The Triumph of Religion in the Arts," and the fresco of the "Schools of Philosophy" at the University of Bonn, from which France alone is absent.

Contemporary Germany pretends to supremacy in science. Now, most of the time Germany does not invent, she imitates; she utilizes the discoveries of others; there, too, she annexes. She has nothing that we need to envy in mathematics, in astronomy, in physics. Too often our chemists have let themselves be robbed by her. France is always first in medicine, in surgery, in physiology. In botany and zoology she has remained a fecund initiator. The most recent inventions—wireless telegraphy, the automobile—are daughters of her genius.

What has France done to vindicate her titles? Before the war, through the Alliance Française, through the offices of the universities and great schools, through the institutes of Florence, Madrid, Petrograd, London, we were beginning to defend ourselves. Since the coming of the war excellent labors of propaganda have been undertaken, in which you, my dear confrères, have done your part valiantly. * * *

Yes, we have here a new crusade in which we must mobilize all our forces. It is the struggle of two spirits, one of which assumes to dominate or absorb national consciousness, while the other wishes to assure the free expansion of divers kinds of genius, regarding civilization as the collective product of both the great and the small nations.

The end of this dream of dictatorship will be like the end of other dreams of hegemony. In preceding centuries the greatest empires have collapsed one by one like gigantic monuments that could no longer support their own height. Once more the public right of Europe is about to be avenged. Force bears the same relation to right that the body bears to the mind: life circulates in the body, but it is the thought that governs.

The Duty of France

For us Frenchmen the prime affair is to protect the frontier. So long as the German armies are a few days' march from Paris, as they have been for forty-three years, the world will not be tranquil. It is a pity to evoke through our anger of today that of our scholars and writers of 1870 against the bombardment of the Cathedral and Library of Strassburg, of the Museum, the Val-de-Grace, the Salpetrière. * * * Every time that the vulture, whose shadow has not ceased to darken France, digs its talons into our flesh there are the same cries, the same imprecations, the same oaths of vengeance. Alas! a few years later the sons no longer feel the sufferings of the fathers: the past becomes too heavy! "Generosity!" men murmur. Toward the enemy, perhaps, toward the enemy who goes on arming himself more heavily and boasts of it, but not toward those who have perished, nor toward those who, because of it, will perish!

Gentlemen, sixteen years ago, standing under this cupola, I had the honor to say to you: "Watch the Balkans. Study the basin of the Vardar. The duel between the Germans and the Slavs is threatening. France will be dragged into it. Let us be united, let us be ready!" And I recalled this thought of my predecessor, Edouard Hervé, that perhaps some day upon the Danube we could reconquer the Rhine. But France was then thinking of other things.

Perils of the Future

Will she understand the danger of tomorrow any better? Will she see clearly

the peril which Prussia, as mistress of a Germany and an Austria-Hungary, diminished perhaps, but welded together and forming a solid mass of 100,000,000 people, will be to permanent peace? May the foresight of our people equal their courage! And may Europe put itself on guard against an abusive extension of that principle of nationalities which Germany invokes when it serves her purpose and violates when it does not, and which, rigorously applied, would strangle us and cause such nations as Switzerland and Belgium to fly into pieces!

Will our school children tomorrow know the war of 1914 any better than their elders knew that of 1870? Will the education of our youth in every grade be a perpetual preparation for the nation's defense? A people whose military virtue declines is condemned to death. True, as against Germany we shall continue to defend arbitration; if it should save us from even one war it would be sacred; but it presupposes a law, and then a force. To organize this force should be the care of all nations that do not wish to pass under the yoke. Meanwhile, to guarantee our rights, we and our allies should remain united and strong.

Every year Germany celebrates the feast of Sedan. I ask that France shall celebrate the memorable day of Aug. 4, 1914, when the accord of all her children was sealed, and also that she shall celebrate the immortal combats of the Marne and Verdun. The Cathedral of Rheims, with bleeding arms, curses the crime forever. To forget would be treason. But France will not forget this time; she can no longer forget; in their heroic appeal her dead have risen, they are standing, they are watching her!

Edmund Gosse's Description of Rheims as It Is Today

Mr. Gosse is one of the most charming of England's living masters of style, and he is at his best in an article in The Fortnightly Review entitled "Rheims Revisited," as indicated in the subjoined descriptions of that cathedral and city.

WHAT remains of the population of Rheims mainly consists of the poor inhabitants of the suburb of Flechambault. We cross the river, and then the Aisne à la Marne Canal; still little that is sensational. Here some windows broken; there a chimney chipped. Bent on producing his coup de théâtre, Captain Bloch-Laroque whirls us through a street or two, and abruptly, violently, we are in the desolate Place du Parvis, and draw up exactly opposite the great west front of the cathedral.

It is difficult to express without an appearance of affectation what the emotion is which this sudden sight produces. The cathedral in its present state has been described as a ghost, but that does not seem to me to be a happy similitude; the structure is too solid, the aspect too material for that. Say rather that it is a corpse. To gaze at it from the Place du Parvis is like being confronted with the dead body of some beautiful great lady, whose presence has always sparkled before us in the splendor of her high vitality. Here she still is, but empty of life, shorn of all her vivacious glory, with no motion in her hands, no light in her hair; from being an object of majesty and pride reduced to be an object of anguish and pity. No longer would it seem extravagant to hear, as I was presently to hear from the lips of residents in Rheims, that when the humblest inhabitants of the outer suburbs crept in to see their cathedral burning, they wept and wrung their hands and wailed aloud. The queen of their desire was dead.

We recover our powers of calm observation, and as we gaze up at the vast façade towering above us we try to define the change in the general character of its appearance. Of this I can give no more exact idea than by saying that a cobweb seems to have been drawn over

the whole of it. There it is before us, colossal and superb, but we rub our eyes. What, we ask ourselves, can be the cause of this dimness, this immaterial look?—for the cathedral is "pinnacled," indeed, but, as Shelley would say, "in the immense inane." After some moments of reflection the cause of this cobwebbed effect flashes across the mind. In its pristine state the sculptured detail of the great west front, with its traceries and its pierced galleries, its tiers on tiers of triumphant saints and angels, was sharply drawn everywhere, with a profusion of lines all pure and clear. Now, no salient part has been actually removed, but the sculptured detail has been chipped and calcined, broken and stained, so that all the exquisite harmony of the lines is suppressed, veiled, made inexact and ineffective. It cannot be too distinctly explained, I think, to those who have not seen the Cathedral of Rheims that it is not precisely a ruin, but it is like some delicate object of art that rough children have been playing with. It retains its shape and substance, but it is dirtied and chipped and degraded.

With regard to the west front, moreover, I think it is only proper that the extent and character of the damage done should not be misstated. It is easy to pile up adjectives and swell the tragedy, which is dreadful enough without any such exaggeration. Let it be admitted at once that the City of Rheims presents scenes of mutilation, not so important, of course, but infinitely more extensive, than the west front. For one thing—and this was a great surprise to me—the sculptures around the three great doors were protected early in the siege by a most complete and ingenious system of sandbags. Behind this fortification I was permitted to squeeze myself, and, so far as I could judge, the statues which we know so well are in the condition—already considerably worn by time—in which they stood before the war. Several heads and hands are broken off, but—I speak without book—it seems to me that some of this damage was done already.

There can be no question that the most complete and searching damage to the cathedral was caused by the fire and not by the projectiles as such. The action of the flames, which were driven by the draft caused by the holes in the roof and windows strongly against the exterior as well as the interior of the west front, has corroded the stone, which presents from outside a very odd hue, a sort of blanched red or dusty rust color, from which rains have washed away all the blackness of smoke or soot, and have left a dreadful livid pallor, very shocking to the eye. The result of this penetration of the calcining flames is most manifest in the statues which form the second row above the ground over the three great doors. Here the heat from within seems to have positively dislodged and thrust out many of the statues, and to have so far scaled the surface of the others that it has become difficult to distinguish the design in detail. On the sides of the right-hand doorway, and to some lesser degree elsewhere, there are curious shallow hollows, like the marks left by fossils detached from a chalk cliff, which I take to be the result of blows from shreds of German shells. * * *

At the first attack thirty bombs were seen to strike the cathedral in quick succession. These were principally effective on the upper part of the northern tower, the wall of which they smashed; a flying buttress was struck and broken; a part of the balustrade under the great rose window was crumpled up like cardboard; these and other injuries were noted as early as Sept. 17. Day by day the attack grew more intense and the evidence of its progress more vague and agitated. A shell penetrated the roof of the apse; three others exploded on the porch, destroying several statues and smashing half the glass of the great rose window and most of the windows of the gallery. Then followed the vindictive, and, to my mind, incomprehensible destruction of the Archbishop's Palace and of the adjacent Salle du Tau; and, finally, an inflammatory obus set fire to the straw which had been laid down in the nave for the German wounded, and the whole interior of the church incontinently roared like a furnace.

It is a mistake to think that the ca-

thedral is a ruin open to the sky. The vaulting, though its upper surface was destroyed, remains unbroken, and such gaps as the bombs created seem to have been temporarily filled up. The aspect of the interior is dry and neat. The progress of the fire can be traced by a dark line on the floor. The choir was invaded by it and the stalls were burned, but the flames just lapped the foot of the high altar without injuring it. Portions of the building which seem peculiarly open to the attacks of fire have escaped miraculously. The remarkable but not beautiful organ, a modern work, is untouched, and, if my memory serves me right, the famous horloge du choeur, which has marked the division of the sacred offices for generations, is intact. I was not able clearly to discover what has become of the innumerable works of art which made the interior of the cathedral a museum. First and foremost, of course, one's inquiries were made about the unsurpassed series of tapestries, which I had the pleasure of seeing wholly exhibited on Easter Sunday so long ago as 1882. One is assured that the best of these are safe in Paris; but undoubtedly some of them were burned.

Once more we emerged into the mournful Place du Parvis, which two little boys in blouses and one old woman seemed but to make more pathetically deserted. * * * Nothing that we have yet seen can compare for annihilation with the state of the archiepiscopal palace, which faces us when we turn our backs on the Lion d'Or. It is difficult to give a conception of the appearance of what was once this famous and sumptuous building of the late fifteenth century. There seems, at first, to be absolutely nothing on the site to see. A low edge of the base of the walls runs around four sides of a vast empty space; it is like a dustman's tray with a little collection of rubbish at each corner. This is what remains of the noble palace founded by Archbishop Briçonnet in 1498. * * *

Within comparatively recent years the wealth of Rheims has been concentrated in the Quartier de Cérès, where old houses have been ruthlessly removed to make room for substantial residences and showy shops, which aimed at rivaling those of Paris itself. Here, in a relatively small compass, the wealth of Rheims was collected, and it is quite evident, when one examines this district, that the Germans deliberately and, it must be added, with devilish skill contrived the destruction of all that meant financial prosperity to the ancient city. Without wasting ammunition on the suburbs where the poor reside, or on either of the outlying portions of Rheims, they concentrated their fiery rain on the rectangle of streets where the rich merchants and the vine-growing millionaires had built their mansions and stored their possessions. There is nothing reckless in the Schrecklichkeit of the Huns.

The great artery which flows through Cérès from northeast to southwest is named in its centre the Rue des Tapisseries. This fine street, which becomes the Rue de Vesle, was incumbered with a frenzied population of civilians flying toward Paris on the evening of Sept. 17, 1914. A lady who took part in the flight, Mme. Isabelle Rimbaud, has recently given a most moving account of it. Under a gray sky loaded with rain, over a causeway deep in mud, amid the shrieks of children and the loud weeping of women, sounds which were drowned every few minutes by the roar of the bombardment, a huge mass of distracted civilians, elbowing one another, crushed by the passage of carts and carriages, strove to escape on to the road to Paris before the sinister night should completely hem them in.

It is curious to contrast this vision of a whirlwind of fugitives with the absolute silence which now reigns in this tissue of cross-streets. We wander along them, up and down, hither and thither, without sight of a human being; not a dog, not a cat prowls around these desolations. Not Pompeii itself—and the regular plan of the Quartier de Cérès has something Pompeiian in its character—not the Campanian city, which the cinders of Vesuvius buried eighteen hundred years ago, can be more desolate and silent and woebegone than the once so prosperous and wealthy centre of Rheims.

It is to be borne in mind that the wild

confusion of débris and ruin has long ago been removed from the streets themselves and has been heaped within the inclosure of the houses. German prisoners were set to this irksome task, and they have carried it out with the thoroughness of their race. The result is that the streets present an aspect of neatness that is almost dreadful, because it makes the destruction look so deliberate. There can now be no illusion that earthquake has done this thing.

Of course, different degrees of destruction exist. There are streets at the sides of which, as, for instance, in the Rue St. Pierre des Dames, it is almost difficult to know what the crumbling remains of brick and metal can ever have represented. Were these shops, or private houses, or institutions? It is impossible to be sure. The whole space so lately inhabited with elegance is turned into a vague species of Stony Arabia. There remains on my mental retina the vision of one horrible mountain of indescribable rubbish in the Quartier Béthany, out of the slope of which arises to its original height an isolated Baalbek fragment of wall, with its bedroom wall papers and even its window shutters still dolefully existent, in spite of rain and sun. The squalid sights of which this is an example are poignant to a degree that baffles description.

But all the ruins are not of this kind. In the Rue de l'Université, which was the street of the most expensive and brilliant shops, the bombs have done their work with a most fantastic irregularity. What is not entirely smashed is here not hurt at all, and we have the discrepancy between huge gaping spaces of jagged nothingness and buildings that have hardly lost their pristine smartness. I could scarcely tear myself away from the grotesqueness of one enormous bon marché—I suppose the Magazin du Louvre of the Rémois—the whole interior of which had been gutted, with the exception of one or two counters and a staircase, and the exterior of which, a sort of grinning skeleton, still bears between its most shocking mutilations a large slab of black marble, absolutely unscarred and unscratched, on which we read in large gold lettering the ironic inscription, "Prix fixe absolue sans escompte." Alas! it will be long indeed before any enterprising customer tries to get "escompte" in a shop at Rheims!

Belgium's Agony

Protests From All the Neutral Governments Against Forcible Deportations

THE deportation of civilian Belgians into Germany for forced labor has evoked from neutral nations the first formal protests officially communicated to any of the belligerents since the beginning of the war.

The protest which the United States Government presented officially to the German Chancellor on Nov. 29 is as follows:

The Government of the United States has learned with the greatest concern and regret of the policy of the German Government to deport from Belgium a portion of the civilian population for the purpose of forcing them to labor in Germany, and is constrained to protest in a friendly spirit but most solemnly against this action, which is in contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of noncombatants in conquered territory.

Furthermore, the Government of the United States is convinced that the effect of this policy, if pursued, will be in all probability fatal to Belgian relief work, so humanely planned and so successfully carried out, a result which would be generally deplored, and which, it is assumed, would seriously embarrass the German Government.

Germany's Official Answer

Germany's answer to the American protest was dispatched on Dec. 11, and was made public through the German press on Dec. 13. The full text is as follows:

The Government of the United States of America has protested against the transportation of Belgian workingmen to Germany and against their compulsory employment for work, basing this on the view that these measures are in contravention of humane principles and of international practice as to the treatment of the population in occupied territory. The German Government thinks that the Government of the United States has been incorrectly informed regarding the cause and the execution of the measures, and, therefore, considers it appropriate first to explain the facts in detail.

In Belgium unemployment for a considerable time has been extending in a perplexing fashion among the industrial workingmen. This prevalence of unemployment has been caused by the English policy of isolation, which has cut off Belgian industry from the importation of raw material and the exportation of manufactured goods, and has thus brought the greater part of Belgian industry to a standstill.

By this measure almost half of the workingmen in Belgian factories, numbering altogether, in round figures, 1,200,000, were deprived of the possibility of earning a living, and many more than 500,000 Belgians who formerly supported themselves by industrial work were made dependent upon public relief. Adding the members of their families, this number is increased threefold, or, in round figures, 1,500,000 persons.

From the standpoint of Belgian economic right, upon which these unemployed inflict a heavy burden, as also from the standpoint of public order and public morals, which are most dangerously affected by general unemployment and the accompanying consequences, this situation makes it extremely desirable and urgent that efficient measures for improvement be taken. This necessity has been recognized and pointed out also by fair-minded Belgians for a long time.

Under such conditions the Governor General of Brussels on May 15, 1916, issued an order by which, upon persons enjoying public relief and declining without adequate reasons to accept or to continue to do work corresponding to their abilities, confinement or coerceive labor was imposed.

Belgian industries being in a depressed condition, it was impossible to procure work for all the unemployed, or at least proper employment, within Belgium itself. The only thing possible, therefore, was to assign them to work in Germany, where a large number of Belgian workingmen had already voluntarily accepted work, were well fed, were receiving high wages and were enjoying far-reaching liberty of movement. For those workingmen, however, that did not support their families coercive labor was used.

These measures are completely in accordance with international law, for according to The Hague Convention relating to war on land, (Paragraph 43,) the occupying power is obliged to undertake the maintenance of public order and public life in occupied districts, and for this purpose, as far as the country's laws prove insufficient, to act by complemental orders. The maintenance of public order, without doubt, implies that able-bodied persons as far as possible are not to be thrown upon public charity, and, by idleness, become a public

calamity and nuisance, but that they must be held to work.

The order has been carried out with all possible consideration and without harshness. If isolated mistakes have happened in the selection of persons sent to Germany, and if, especially, the measure has been extended to persons where the conditions of the order of May 15, 1916, are not fulfilled, the cause has been that the Belgian authorities frequently failed to co-operate in drawing up a list of the unemployed or reported in incorrect fashion. Care has been taken that such mistakes shall be repaired as quickly as possible. For, above all, it shall be insisted that only such persons shall be sent to Germany as receive public assistance and find no work in Belgium, or refuse the work offered to them in Germany.

The Pope's Allocution

At a secret consistory at the Vatican on Dec. 4, 1916, the Pope is reported to have protested energetically against the deportations. The following allocution by the Pope was officially made public as bearing on the Belgian question:

It is well to recall, aside from the laws of God, that even if the law of man were obeyed at present, peace and prosperity would reign in Europe. If we neglect or disdain laws and authority, discord is the sure result. This is the highest social law. As a result of ignoring this law we see every principle of right violated in Europe, acts committed in defiance of the laws of God and man, peaceable citizens and even young boys taken from their homes to fight, amid tears of wives and mothers. We see open cities and defenseless inhabitants exposed to aerial attacks, and we see by land and sea nameless horrors. I cannot but deplore again these crimes and condemn all those by whom they are committed.

Holland's Protest

An impressive protest was received by the American press associations to be circulated throughout the United States as a specific "Appeal to the American People." It was sent by the Holland section of the League of Neutral States from Amsterdam, signed by President Niemeyer and Secretaries De la Faille and Walch. The text follows:

Your President has said that sooner or later a moment would come when the war would make the position of neutral nations unbearable. For us Hollanders that moment has arrived, not through our own sufferings, but because we cannot longer passively contemplate the ghastly suffering inflicted by Germany upon Belgium, our neighbor.

The eloquent protests of the Belgian Government and of the higher clergy have acquainted you with the facts. A glance at the section of The Hague regulations of 1907 which deal with the law of war on land will make it obvious to you that the sole reason why the prohibition of this modern slave dealing was not included was because no delegate imagined it would ever be necessary.

Indeed, one must turn to the history of the early ages of long past centuries before international law existed to find a parallel to the enslaving of the Belgians. The Hague regulations stipulate that the "honor and rights of the family must be respected," but the German Government deliberately drags the Belgian families apart.

To us this cruelty is more vivid every day. Every day numbers of fugitives, in spite of the deadly electric wire which the Germans have erected along the frontier, succeed in escaping to the Netherlands. From them we learn the painful details of the unutterable despair of the women and children who are left behind and of the agonizing scenes which take place when husbands, brothers, and sons, dragged from their homes and womenfolk, are packed into cattle and freight cars and thus transported to an unknown destination and to an unknown fate.

To put an end to this—to arrest this hellish scourge, which at this moment lacerates the whole of Northern France and Western Russia—there is but one way open, and that is collective action on the part of the neutral nations.

And for you, citizens of the mightiest of the neutral States, it is, in our opinion, the right and duty to take the leadership upon you. Only if you place yourselves at our head can any success crown our efforts. This tyranny is not to be borne in patience, and the neutral nations can no longer stand idly by while in Western Europe the most primitive laws of humanity, observed even by uncivilized races, are trampled under foot.

We appeal to you to urge your Governmen* to energetic and decisive action and to call upon other neutral nations to rally around you. That they will find faith and strength in your leadership is evidenced by the stream of messages expressive of sympathy and a desire to co-operate which have reached us from the moment we published our intention to make this appeal to the American people. We do not hesitate to take it upon ourselves to speak with firm conviction in the name of humanity, and our hope is firmly fixed on that sense of justice which has always formed one of the most cherished traditions of citizens of the United States.

Americans, we are convinced that you will not disappoint our expectations.

Formal protests were also lodged with Germany by Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

Meanwhile the exile of the Belgians continued without interruption. It was stated on Dec. 5 that at Antwerp 4,000

men were under orders to present themselves every day at the railroad station. A report from Antwerp describes the procedure as follows:

When the men present themselves at the station, the reports say, the Germans make every effort to induce them to sign contracts for work, among the inducements being an offer of wages of 6 marks daily. Those failing to sign are told that they will receive only 3 marks and be forced to work in the camps. Married men who sign receive an advance of 40 marks and single men 20 marks and are allowed to go home for two or three days before starting. They also receive a promise that they will be sent to Liége or Longwy if they sign.

Despite strong pressure, most of the Belgians have refused to sign. Those presenting certificates of employment in general are released, but those without certificates are placed on trains and sent to Germany. More than 100 men employed in one factory were sent to Germany in one contingent, some of the workers being more than 50 years of age.

In the provinces the men are placed in single file; those selected are told to go to the right, and those released are told to go to the left. Many were so stunned or bewildered that they failed to obey the directions, but, as their cards contained no indication that they were released, if they happened to turn to the right they went to Germany.

In general, the German soldiers treated the men well, but the rulings in most cases were made arbitrarily, although some were released as a result of intervention by Burgomasters and employers, who gave assurances that the men were regularly employed. The Germans apparently have attempted to confine the deportees to young unmarried or unemployed men, but toward the end of the line, when there was some indication that the total required in a certain district would not be reached, factory workers were taken. When the employers protested, they were told that such action would have been unnecessary if the Burgomasters had turned in lists of unemployed.

Seemingly the Germans are making efforts to obtain skilled labor. In virtually every case in which the relief organization has been compelled to intervene to obtain the release of its workers it has developed that they were skilled. Railroad workers are particularly liable to be ordered deported.

A small number of workers, holding cards showing they are in the service of the Relief Commission, have been taken, and it is reported that these cases have been the subject of a protest by the neutral Ministers at Brussels.

It is reported that it is the intention of Germany to deport 400,000 or 500,000 Belgians, and that up to the end of December nearly 100,000 had been transported.

Official Text of Belgium's Protest Against Deportations

Following is the full text of the Belgian Government's protest to the neutral powers against Germany's forcible deportation of civilians:

THE Belgian Government has already, on several occasions, denounced to the neutral powers the violations of the rights of man and the principles of humanity of which the German authorities in Belgium have been guilty.

The latest information received from the occupied part of Belgium confirms some new facts which the Government of the King had refused to believe. They will prove revolting to the public conscience in any country where right and honor are respected.

A decree, dated from the German General Headquarters on Oct. 3 last, subjected to forced labor all able-bodied Belgians who, either from unemployment or from any other reason, were dependent on others for their maintenance. The individuals to whom this decree applied might be obliged to work outside the locality where they reside—that is to say, deported into Germany in a state of semi-slavery.

The great difficulty of communication with occupied Belgium has prevented the Government of the King from receiving all the information it wished to obtain on the manner in which this order of Oct. 3 was applied.

The Government knows now, however, from a reliable source, that the deportation of the able-bodied men is proceeding en masse. Rich or poor, if they are unoccupied or out of work, they are inexorably seized. On Oct. 24 last more than 15,000 men had already been taken in the two provinces of Belgian Flanders alone. Whole trainloads of these miserable people have been going toward Germany. Others have been sent to the invaded departments of France. The men, crowded in open trucks, exposed to wind and weather, were in a most miserable condition. Their morale, in spite of cold and privation, was not shaken, and even while suffering this new form of oppression they went away singing patriotic songs.

The raids have taken place at Courtrai, Alost, Termonde, Bruges, Ghent, Mons, and in numerous rural and industrial communes. The men were assembled, examined like cattle, and those found strongest sent away to unknown destinations.

At Bruges, the Burgomaster, an old man of 80, who since the beginning of the occupation has given an example of noble patriotism, has been deposed for having refused to help the German military administration in its revolting task. The town was fined 100,000 marks ($25,000) for each day's delay in the enrollment of the victims.

May Extend to All Belgium

Until Oct. 24 the deportations took place, chiefly in the "zone d'étapes," (close to the German front.) In the rest of the country the Civil Government no doubt hesitated before taking a step which violates not only the spirit and the letter of The Hague Convention but also the solemn promise made to the population by means of placards on July 25, 1915, that no acts contrary to their patriotic feelings would be required of them.

However, the Government of the King, having learned that the registration of unemployed is now going on in all the occupied territory, has reason to fear that the horrors of deportation will shortly extend to all the provinces.

The Cologne Gazette, in an article which the newspapers published in Belgium have been ordered to translate, tries to justify this iniquitous measure. It enlarges complacently on the dangers of idleness to which many workmen are exposed, and throws the responsibility for this on England, who prevents the importation of raw materials into Belgium. The organ of the German Government pretends also to legitimize the forced labor on the grounds that Belgians will only be employed in quarries, chalk pits, and other industries having no connection with the war.

This last argument is valueless, as we know what an important part is played by the products of quarries and chalk pits in the strengthening of trenches and fortifications with cement.

To the pretensions of Germany to repudiate all responsibility for the lamentable state of the Belgian working classes we reply that work would not be lacking for them if the invader, primarily responsible for this situation by his aggression, had not disorganized industry, taken away raw materials, oils, and metals for his own use, requisioned a quantity of machinery and tools, threatened to take away even the driving bands, of which a detailed list has already been made. The occupier has besides sworn to consummate the ruin of the Belgian metal and glass industries by prohibitive export taxes on products sold in Holland (the only market still open to Belgium) in order to prevent competition with German goods.

The Belgian workman has always been well known for his hard-working quality. If for two years he has too often been out of work, it is because the only work open to him was that offered by the invader. His patriotism prevented him from accepting it because, in doing so, he would indirectly have helped in the war waged against his own country.

"Objects of the Invader"

The invader, by means of his barbarous system of deportations, has a double object. First, to terrorize the population, to bring families to despair, and to force the workers to lend their aid to the German occpuation. This manoeuvre is facilitated by the announcement that all those who receive public assistance for their maintenance will be subjected to forced labor. The workman who, out of devotion to his country, refuses to serve the enemy will know henceforth that he exposes himself to exile and slavery. Deportation is, thesefore, a coercive measure in order to constrain the workman, against his conscience, to accept the offers of work which he refused.

The second object of the German authorities is to replace by Belgians some German workmen, who thus become available to fill up the gaps at the front. Men are required at any price. If it were not so, if the object were really to prevent idleness among our workmen, why are they not employed on works of public utility near their families and their homes? Not only has this not been done, but we hear from a reliable source that employed men have been taken away and others deliberately thrown out of employment so that an excuse might be made to requisition their labor.

According to the German press itself, a fairly high salary is offered to the workers if they consent to volunteer, and consequently to undertake any kind of work which might be asked of them. The idea, then, is clearly to bring these miserable people to lend a direct help in the war, in the hope of improving their lot. The deported Belgian has to choose between famine and treason.

The Government of the King denounces to all civilized nations these unworthy proceedings, which shamelessly ignore the laws of humanity as well as the rules and conventions of war with regard to the rights of an occupying power.

The Government protests energetically against the application of a system which the vain explanation of the enemy cannot prevent from being branded as a new and worse form of slavery and as the crowning dishonor of the German occupation, which pretends to preserve so jealously the rights of the Flemish population.

An American Reply to General von Bissing

By James Gustavus Whiteley

Secretary General Central Committee of the Belgian Relief Fund

THE brutality of Germany is equaled only by her hypocrisy. Germany's brutality in sending thousands of Belgians into slavery will never be forgiven by the civilized world, but Germany's sanctimonious pretense that she has enslaved these innocent people "for their own good and for the good of Belgium" only adds hypocrisy to crime.

A wolf who lives boldly by his depredations may be entitled to a certain amount of consideration, but a "wolf in sheep's clothing"—a wolf who pretends to act as the shepherd of the flock—receives only contempt.

Germany has invaded and ravaged Belgium. She has massacred men, women, and children. She has wantonly destroyed towns, villages, and farms. She has taken the machinery out of the factories and sequestered the large stocks of raw materials. She has taken possession of the trunk-line railways for military purposes and has dug up and removed small railways which formerly served Belgian internal commerce. She has imposed heavy taxes on the whole country and exacted innumerable additional fines from local communities. She has by force taken large sums out of the Belgian banks. She has paralyzed all Belgian commerce, which is not only deprived of its factories and raw materials but also of its means of communication. Even the telephones are reserved for "military purposes only." Farmers cannot gather their crops without a permit, they can feed their cattle only with a specified quantity of fodder. The goods of the merchant and the farmer are under German control. They can be sold only by permission of the German authorities, and at prices fixed arbitrarily by those authorities. Having destroyed practically all work in Belgium, the German Government asks why the Belgians are idle, and sends them in droves as slaves into Germany to relieve German workmen who may be used as food for powder in the trenches.

Germany is now making a hypocritical and vain attempt to blind the world to this great crime. General von Bissing has caused a long "interview" to be cabled to America, calling his action a "blessing" to the Belgian people. Writers who have visited Belgium under the chaperonage of German officers have been induced to contribute articles telling of the "beneficent rule of Germany" and pretending that the Belgians are a backward people, whom the Germans are trying to uplift by superior Kultur.

These "inspired writers" pretend that the Belgians are idle, illiterate, destitute, dangerous to public safety, and likely to become a charge on public charity. Therefore, they should be sent into slavery in Germany.

That the Belgians are unemployed is due to the action of Germany in destroying the trade of a nation which was recognized as one of the most industrious in the world, and whose port of Antwerp rivaled the German port of Hamburg.

That the Belgians are illiterate is absolutely untrue. In education, Belgium stands high among the nations of Europe. According to statistics at hand, illiterates in Belgium are about 12 per cent. of the population, (approximately the same as in France.) If Germany wishes to be the schoolmaster of the world she might well begin with her friends—for example, Austria—where the illiteracy is over 18 per cent., or Bulgaria, where it is 65 per cent., or Turkey, where nobody seems able to calculate it.

To improve the education of the Belgians, Germany has deliberately destroyed their largest university (Louvain) and has taken from the University of Liége its scientific equipment. On the other hand, the German Government, in a vain effort to win the sympathy of the Flemish population and to cause dissension between the Flemish and the French speaking people, has offered to establish a Flemish university at Ghent. This

proffered bribe has been scorned by the Flemish population; distinguished Belgian scholars like Professor Frederick and Professor Pirenne, who refused to become members of the Faculty, have been deported to Germany.

That many Belgians are destitute is the result of the "blessings" conferred by German rule. Germany "blessed" the Belgians with fire and sword; she "blessed" them by confiscating their property and by paralyzing their industries; she "blessed" the whole country with a war tax at the rate of $96,000,000 a year; she "blessed" towns and villages by additional exactions; she "blessed" individuals by fines for alleged offenses; she "blessed" the Belgian banks by forced loans, the most recent one being about $150,000,000. Had some of these "blessings" been omitted the Belgians would not now be in such destitution.

General von Bissing pretended that the unemployed constituted a danger to public safety. Cardinal Mercier told him that he (von Bissing) well knew that there existed no such danger. Von Bissing then abandoned this excuse and set up another. He claimed that the unemployed had been abandoned by the Belgian Government and would become a burden on public charity. General von Bissing knows well that Germany does not contribute one penny to support the destitute in Belgium. If the Belgians had depended on German charity they would have starved long ago. It has required about $75,000,000 a year to relieve the destitution which Germany has brought upon the Belgians. Of this amount generous Americans and other neutrals, together with natives of the allied countries, have contributed about one-fifth; the remainder (approximately $60,000,000 a year) has been supplied by the Belgian Government.

For two years Germany has tried in vain to break the spirit of the Belgians. She has despoiled and murdered. She now seeks to grind the people to powder and scatter them as slaves.

Will the civilized world stand by and see a brave people perish from the earth?

Robbing Belgium by Means of Fines

A neutral correspondent of The London Times thus describes the method by which Belgian cities and individuals are being robbed by the invaders:

THE announcement that the Aldermen and City Councilors of Brussels and Antwerp have been arrested and fined for not obeying an order of the Governor General indicates to what extremes the oppressors will go in their campaign of terrorism. This arbitrary proceeding has a double object; ostensibly the intention is to obtain a list of poor Belgians of military age with a view to deportation, but the extortion of money from richer citizens of any age is also aimed at. The Germans are determined to extract the life blood of the country to the very last drop.

Since the Burgomaster of Brussels, M. Adolphe Max, was carried off to prison at Celle-Schloss, in Hanover, the duties of First Magistrate have been discharged by M. Maurice Lemonnier, the Senior Sheriff, whose wife a short time ago received notification that she had been fined $200. No particulars of the offense charged against her were given. In these circumstances she refused to pay, whereupon furniture and ornaments to the value of $240 were taken from her house and publicly sold. It was not until after this sale that Mme. Lemonnier was informed that she had been condemned for being in possession of a forbidden publication. Some spy—and the city is swarming with them—had supplied the evidence, and she was not allowed any opportunity of refuting the accusation.

The punishment of Burgomasters and local officials for failing to furnish lists of unemployed workmen is another sample of German "justice." Men of military age are required rather than the mere unemployed, who are so numerous

at the present time that it is difficult to keep count of them. The Belgians have always been such industrious and provident people that there was little poverty before the war; there are no "poor rates" in the country, and workhouses on the English system do not exist. It was not until stages of extreme distress were reached that a Belgian would allow his name to be put upon the list of the "assistance publique."

The Germans have insisted upon the municipal authorities maintaining their usual administration, because it facilitates a scheme of daylight robbery. Not only can they fine Burgomasters and their subordinates for failure to perform impossible tasks, but they can ascertain the financial status of individuals upon whom levies can be made on the slightest provocation or pretense.

In the early days of the war millions of francs were demanded from each town that was entered, and a campaign of plunder and insult has been carried on ever since. The town of Tournai has just been called upon to pay $50,000 for refusing to furnish a list of unemployed.

There is hardly a commune within the occupied territory that has not had its exchequer depleted by iniquitous fines. Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent have been drained dry; only a few weeks ago the town of Courtrai was fined $60,000 because a telegraph wire was broken by a storm, and the Commissaire of the arrondissement in which the mishap occurred was locked up for ten days. Tradesmen and private individuals are now being picked out for extortion. At Gembloux a rich merchant was fined $30,000 for some offense in connection with the sale of sugar. Several Antwerp firms have been fined $5,000 each, and $500 fines are becoming quite common for most trivial offenses. A market woman who refused to sell vegetables to a German was fined $200. Any one heard singing or whistling "La Brabançonne" or "The Lion of Flanders" is arrested, and if the culprit cannot pay a fine he is put into prison.

The German police in Brussels have been greatly increased since Nov. 3, and on the day of King Albert's fête patronale a raid was made on houses in which it was suspected patriotic celebrations were taking place. Any one found in possession of the Belgian colors, or exhibiting a portrait of the King or Queen, was fined according to his means. Money is being dragged out of the people on the slightest pretense. There is hardly a family some member of which has not been caught in a trap and forced to pay.

Attempts are made to inveigle people who send parcels to prisoners of war, for it is considered that a better use can be found for their money; and permission to send these parcels, which have to go through the Minister of War in Berlin, is now only given to those who avow themselves friendly to the German cause.

I hear that it is no longer permitted to send sick and delicate children into Holland for the benefit of their health. Formerly large parties of these children were conducted to the frontier, where they were met by nuns or benevolent ladies, who took the children to their homes. After a time restrictions were imposed, as it was imagined that the children carried messages from their relatives in Belgium, and it was ordered that they should be housed in institutions approved of by the Germans, where they were under observation. Going and coming back the children were searched at Esschen and often had to submit to harsh interrogations.

The good people of Holland can bear witness to the physical improvement of the children who made these visits; they all arrived with pale and sunken cheeks, but soon became plump and rosy after a course of good food and careful treatment. Now these trips have been stopped and the rate of mortality among children in Belgium is likely to increase rapidly. Tuberculosis is rampant in many parts, and nearly all the babies born this year are sickly and rickety. In the districts where German soldiers are or have been quartered in any number disease is very prevalent among the women and young girls. These afflictions are adding to the horrors of the situation.

The Heroic Battle of the Yser

A Belgian Official Study

The Belgian Government at Havre commemorated the second anniversary of the battle of the Yser on Oct. 30. At the same time the Paris press gave much space to a historic study of that battle written by Commandant Willy Breton, an officer of the Belgian General Staff. The essential passages of that brochure are translated in the course of the subjoined article.

THE battle of the Yser was the most tragic page in the glorious history which the soldiers of King Albert have been making in the last two years and a half. The Yser was an epic, the supreme effort of a people fighting against destiny; it was the gesture of a nation that refused to die.

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM

At Liége, where a few thousand men held in check 125,000 Germans, laying low the Kaiser's battalions in entire ranks in the open spaces between the forts, the fighters were fired by the intoxication of the first encounter, and they knew that those who survived could fall back upon the field army protecting Central Belgium; besides, there was the firm hope of prompt aid from France and England. Even at Antwerp, though the defenders could not long hold out against the heavy German guns, they still fought with confidence in a swift revenge. In spite of the occupation of Brussels, a large part of Belgium still remained free; the kingdom still existed, with its own organization; Belgium was still there, torn and panting, but alive and heroic.

The Yser, on the contrary, was the sombre battle that one fights with rage in the heart and despair in the soul; a battle in which every soldier had the profound feeling that he must conquer by a miracle of energy or resign himself to die.

From the 16th to the 31st of October, 1914, it was the destiny of Belgium that was at stake on the banks of the little river whose name was then made famous. The Belgian field army had escaped from the perilous trap at Antwerp across the plains of Flanders. In the fogs of Autumn, along roads choked with carriages and transport trucks, harassed by the enemy, the soldiers of King Albert had been marching for days and nights. And all at once, having reached the line of the Yser on the 16th of October, this army, worn out with two and a half months of hard fighting, reduced, isolated, its artillery caissons half empty, made a stand against the enemy and prepared for a supreme struggle. It was a matter of defending the last shred of territory, the poor corner of soil that alone remained of independent Belgium—four old cities and a few humble villages.

What was the strength of that army, and what was its task? Commandant Willy Breton of the Belgian General Staff has given the answer in a historical study supported by official documents.

"The field army," says General Breton, "at the moment when it established itself on the Yser, was reduced to 80,000 men, and had only 48,000 rifles, with 350 cannon of 75-millimeter calibre and 24 mortars of 150-millimeter size. There remained, besides, only such supplies of munitions as had been able to accom-

THE INUNDATED REGION OF THE YSER, WHERE BELGIANS WON THEIR GREATEST VICTORY BY OPENING THE DIKES TWO YEARS AGO

pany the army, just enough to fight a last hard battle, but impossible in any event to replenish.

"Deprived of a great part of their equipment, clad in uniforms covered with clay and mud, the men appeared to have reached the limit of human endurance and to be incapable of making another effort, however brief. It was at this crisis that the King addressed to the army his admirable Order of the Day. Appealing to the tenacity and courage of his soldiers he stated that it was necessary to continue the struggle until they had joined the armies of the Allies, with which connections had just been established.

"'In the positions where I shall place you,' he commanded, 'let your eyes gaze forward alone, and regard as a traitor to his country any one who shall pronounce the word retreat unless the formal order has been given!'

"The King did not disguise the fact that a supreme struggle was at hand. What he demanded of his troops was that they should fight to the death.

"A mass of 150,000 Germans, formed of new troops, and supported by at least 500 cannon of all calibres, including the heavy pieces that had just smashed the defenses of Antwerp, was about to break itself against this Belgian Army, which was clinging to the last shred of its native soil, physically overmatched, but animated by the purest spirit of sacrifice and devotion. Only on Oct. 15 had this army succeeded in reassembling on the Yser. The next day, the 16th, the battle began.

"From the 16th to the 20th of October the German effort steadily increases, the conflict goes on developing. On the 20th Nieuport and Dixmude are in flames. The enemy succeeds in penetrating into Lombaertzyde, but cannot get through. He wishes at any cost to break the line of the Yser before reinforcements can arrive. He redoubles his blows.

"It is at this juncture, in the night of Oct. 21-22, that an event of extreme gravity takes place. Under cover of the darkness the enemy has made a dash across the bridge of Tervaete into the dangerous loop which the Yser throws out toward the east at that place. The hour is agonizing in the extreme, for if the enemy extends his advantage it means that the piercing of the front is inevitable. The Belgian troops, worn out as they are, succeed in holding him; but the next day they have to abandon the bridgehead at Schoorbakke.

"On the 24th the Germans attempt a supreme effort against Dixmude. Fifteen successive assaults rage about the bridgehead, fifteen assaults which be-

come hand-to-hand combats in the black night, and which break themselves against the courage of the French marines and of the Belgians, certain units of which count seventy-two consecutive hours of fighting!

"On the 25th the Belgian command, seeing no other means of prolonging the resistance, plans to inundate the ground between the Yser and the railway. The flood is to serve as a last rampart. The preparatory work is begun. The 27th and 28th are calmer days, though the bombardment continues. Imperceptibly the water has begun its work. The enemy, who does not yet suspect the intervention of this new adversary, is preparing for a last effort. He takes Ramscapelle, from which he is driven out on the 31st, and his retreat is transformed into a rout when he suddenly perceives the flood mounting everywhere around him, cunning and invincible. * * *

"The battle of the Yser is ended. During these 360 hours of desperate combat the Belgian Army has constantly given all its power, without rest or pause. Crouching in their newly dug trenches, or in the mud of ditches, without covering, ill-fed, exposed to all the changes of weather, the men have held fast in spite of all. But in their ragged uniforms they no longer look like human beings. The number wounded in the last thirteen days of October exceeds 9,000; the killed or missing are more than 11,000. The sick and collapsed are numbered by hundreds. Of the military units only fragments remain. The officers have suffered especially; one regiment has only six left.

"But, thanks to its stoical, voluntary sacrifices, the Belgian Army has barred the way to Dunkerque and Calais; the left wing of the Allies has not been turned; the enemy has not gained possession of the coast from which he expected to menace the very heart of England. For the Germans, therefore, the battle ended in total and bloody defeat. It is the name of a glorious victory, on the other hand, which King Albert caused to be embroidered on the banners of his heroic regiments: Yser!"

The day after the battle of the Yser the Germans announced that there was no longer any Belgium or any Belgian Army. In this they were mistaken. In less than two years the shattered remnant of the army so sorely tried on the Yser was reconstituted and reorganized so that it is today a larger and much stronger fighting force than the whole Belgian Army in the first days of the war.

It is guarding the western front from Nieuport on the English Channel to a point about opposite Bixschoote, a total of twenty or twenty-five miles of trenches, through which the Germans have never been able to break.

In the words of a French commentator: "It was at the Yser that the Belgian soul was fully revealed to itself; it was in that great battle at the end of October, 1914, that the Belgians gained a full consciousness of their worth as a nation, that their will to live free and be sole masters of their destiny was affirmed with the most moving grandeur. The soldiers of King Albert who have defended the lines on the Yser have paid with their blood for the right of their country to govern itself."

[HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR]

A Scottish Minister's Touching Stories of the Wounded

The Rev. Lauchlan Maclean Watt, minister of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, is contributing to The Scotsman occasional sketches from the front which combine the emotional quality of the late Ian Maclaren with an exquisite literary art of their own. In the article here presented he tells of instances of courage and pathos among the wounded.

IT is truly a great thing to see that the day of willing devotion to the noblest ideals is not yet gone from the life of our people. Suffering and death are faced without repining, and men say farewell to the promise of their youth ungrudgingly, feeling that the investment for the sake of the future of the world is worth the cost which they are paying. To the greatest life and death are very simple alternatives, lying easily to either hand, accepted without complaining.

One day I was going through a tent of suffering men just after a big "stunt." It was a day of much and great agony for those who were in actual bodily pain and for those of us who had to try to help them to endure it. I saw two men carried in and laid on beds side by side with each other. One was obviously very severely wounded. The other was swathed in bandages over his head and down over his face, apparently blinded. For a moment I hesitated, thinking it might be better to come back when, perhaps, the agonies of the one might be somewhat abated. But I put my hesitation aside. I found that the two men were brothers who, fighting in the same trench, had been struck down by the same shell. Late that evening an ambulance came for me as a man was dying, and I found it was the soldier I had spoken to earlier in the day.

The camp lay beautifully still, for the clouds were heavy and the stars were veiled. I stepped into the tent, into the breathing dark. The beds were swathed in shadow, only one red lamp hanging from a central post.

They had brought the brothers quite closely together, and the man with the bandaged eyes had a hand of the other in his own. The dying man took mine in a grip of ice. "Padre," he whispered, "I am going home. And I wanted you to come again to me. Write tenderly to my people. This will break their hearts. And pray that my brother may be spared." There is no ritual for a moment like that. One could but ask Him who was broken also for others to be near this broken man whose body was pierced unto dying for the sake of those he loved. We whispered together there a few lines of "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," and a verse of the immortally wonderful "Lead, Kindly Light." And then he put his arm about my neck and drew me closer. "I tried to do what was right," said he. "O Christ, receive my soul. Have mercy upon me." I heard a man near me, in the dark, say "Amen." And I knew the fellows were not sleeping. They were lying there, in their own pain, thinking of him who was passing that night into the great beyond. Then I said, very quietly, the last verse of the hymn he had whispered:

So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone,
And with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since and lost a while.

The silence lay between us for a little, till the dying man asked, "What o'clock is it?" And I told him. "I'm so sorry for disturbing you so late," said he. "Good-bye, padre, till we meet again." And with a sigh he passed away.

I heard a quiet step near me, and I looked around, with the dead man in my arms. I should not have been astonished if I had seen the very Christ, with His wounds shining there, behind me, in that

quiet tent, now so terribly, infinitely still. It was only the woman with the red cross on her breast, the angel of the sick and weary in their pain, seeming always to us, in such a moment, the nearest we can get to Christ, for tenderness and help. And so I laid the dead man down upon his pillow; and had to turn immediately to the living one to comfort him.

As long as I live I shall lift my hat to the red cross. It is, of course, the symbol of the highest sacrifice earth's history ever knew; and it is still the mark of the tenderest devotion and most perfect self-surrender for the sake of others. Every man in khaki, and every man that has been a soldier, and every soul that has a soldier boy to love, should salute that symbol which speaks of love amid the hate and turmoil of war. For it means womanhood consecrated to gentle service, reckoning neither wage nor worry in aught it does, and it takes the sting from broken manhood that has ventured for the sake of honor and of duty, through comradeship in suffering, to the verge of life, and beyond it.

War takes a man in the splendid vigor of his full manhood and flings him out of trench and battlefield a bleeding thing. The devoted women of the hospital tent shrink from no duty when the suffering and mire-stained man is brought to them. There can be no greater self-mastery and no more sublime self-forgetfulness than the washing of the bodies of the stricken and the dressing of the terrible wounds that have broken their murderous way into the fair flesh of the soul's house. And how they work! It has to be seen to be understood, and once seen it can never be forgotten. Faithfulness, tenderness, and loving devotion are the marks of those ministering angels, "when pain and anguish wring the brow." There is no question of adherence to hours. It becomes a question of adherence to duty when a rush is on. There is no strike for shorter hours, or an increased wage, or a war bonus with them or the brave men whom they serve. The men, even to the roughest "grouser," appreciate it fully. "O sister! go to rest now," I have heard them say, pleadingly, to the tired woman with the red cross on her breast and the white cross in her heart.

So, also, with the lads who drive the ambulance cars. I have felt my heart fill as I watched them bringing in the wounded. Gently as a mother carrying a sick child in her bosom, they creep with their agonized burdens over the rough roads, calculating every inequality, thinking through every stage of the journey. I remember, at midnight, standing by one that had just been brought in. The first to be lifted out on a stretcher was a fine fellow, an Irishman, with his right arm blown off. The doctor, with his lantern, leaned over and asked his name. But the suffering man looked up in his face and said, "Sir, before we do anything, please thank that driver. He's a Christian and a gentleman."

The common sorrow of the allied nations binds them very tenderly together. I used to see a fine expression of this in the town where I was first stationed, where some women who had a garden, on the way to the cemetery, were wont to do a very beautiful thing. As, almost daily, the heavy lumbering wagons with the dead came rolling along, those kindly hearts came out and laid on each coffin, above the union jack, a bouquet of exquisite flowers. Then the wagons rumbled on toward the graves. It was a sweet tribute to the brave strangers who are fighting in France, so many of them giving their all in sacrifice for liberty, love, and home in this hideous uprising of all that was monstrous in the dark ages that are past.

One perhaps learns most by unlearning. I used to think of the spirit of pain as intensely, even immensely, vocal. I remember, especially, when I was young, a great gully in the north, beside the sea, up which the waves came dashing in perpetually recurrent warfare, the flood seeking ever higher, only to be drawn away down the sloping shingle again, shrieking, to the main. Often in the daytime I would listen, and, in the dark, would linger near, held by the awe of the unsleeping tragedy of that vast elemental grief which sways about the edges of the world. I told my heart, "This is the spirit of the world pain

finding voice." But now I know otherwise. I have learned better in the school of suffering, in the land of war. The spirit of pain is silent—tholing, at its deepest. It looks at you out of those suffering eyes. There is no cry in it. For the mystery of duty is within its depths. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is its truest picture. So it comes to be that the nobility and manliness of the brave combine, with unforgettable splendor of ineffable beauty, the darkness of our times. When they do speak there is a majesty of stillness about their utterance, vast as the mid-deep, far away, out under the stars.

The lads are uplifted by the nearness of the Unseen. I have before me two genuine documents, letters of two fine boys who went godward up the highway of the sun—the way of sacrifice. They speak for themselves. No novelist's imagination could create so fine an utterance. One was scribbled in the trenches, the other in the hospital ward, to those who had the best claim on the best the writers had to give. Said one:

"I am in the trenches, and in half an hour we go over the top. Our artillery is going at it hammer and tongs, the biggest bombardment in English history. It is just like huge express trains rushing through the air in hundreds. All of us are happy in the prospect of a clean fight after so many weary months as passive spectators of anything but warfare, except on rare occasions. If I get through all right I shall add a postscript to this. If not, mother dear, I know you will not be beaten by a Spartan mother who had no heavenly Father revealed to her to look to for comfort, but yet could say, 'Come back with victory, or not at all.' With heaps of love. * * *"

The other is suffused with the same straightforward spirit of fearlessness and faith.

"I was so glad to see your answer this morning, but am sorry I have not enough strength to write much. A good few died of wounds in this hospital through weakness, but I am leaving all doubts with God, as He holds the key of all the Unknown, and I am glad. So if I die before long, and I cannot see anything more sure, I hope to meet you all in God's good time. My wound is numb. It is in my thigh, and I have no pain. * * * I am now at the balance, to live or die. So good day, and God bless all. * * * "

There was nothing really extraordinary about these boys among their fellows. But one is struck by the frequency with which the men, after a deep emotion, touch literature in their letters. Of course the secret of true style lies in a real experience. Some of them, it is true, tell absolutely false tales, and their letters are sentimental poses. But of the letters of dying men there can be no mistake, and these boys wrote these on the threshold of the eternal mystery. They are types of a large proportion of the army of today, fighting, suffering, and dying as those who have looked in the face of the Invisible, and are inheriting the promise, "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." It is surely an incentive to the people at home, for honor and remembrance.

King Alfonso's Aid for War Prisoners

Mme. Gabrielle Réval, writing for La Revue des Deux Mondes, tells this touching story of what the King of Spain is doing to relieve the suspense of relatives of "missing" soldiers.

THERE are hearts that are broken by waiting; hearts that long for certainty, and others that hope against all hope. They look for miracles, or seek, on the earth, some beneficent power to help them to find again the "missing" one, whom they do not wish to lament as dead. A name flies, repeated from mouth to mouth; it is that of the King of Spain. Everywhere you hear: "Apply to King Alfonso XIII.; through him we obtained news; through him prisoners condemned to be shot have been saved; through him the sick and gravely

wounded have been sent home; through him we have been able to send help."

It is thus that, by the voice of the people, I learned the generous and charitable use which his Majesty the King of Spain made of his royal power. The neutrality preserved by his Government forbids him to take part in this war, but it does not forbid him to show himself a man; and this King, who takes upon himself the sufferings of others, spends himself day by day, unwearyingly, in order that the captivity of brave men may be less cruel, and that the grief of French families may be softened by the news which it gives him joy to obtain.

I have seen in the offices of the Palacio Real, which one might now call the Temple of Compassion, 200,000 letters from France, from Belgium, from England, which addressed the same supplication to the King. From this nameless multitude rise great names, that of Maître Theodor, the venerable President of the Brussels bar; that of Mme. Carton de Wiart, of the Countess de Belleville, of Mlle. Thullier, of Nijinsky, the famous Russian dancer, of the journalist Jantchestizky, of the Bohemian professors saved from death or from captivity by the direct intervention of the King, who fights with strokes of the telegraph to save these lives, hurries his Ambassador, presses on the negotiations. * * * Miss Cavell would have been saved, like her two companions, Mlle. Thullier and the Countess de Belleville, if the measures set in motion by the King's pity could have been begun sooner.

Each morning offers a new conflict; but in the evening the young King can sleep well; like the Roman Emperor, his day has not been lost. It is one of Alfonso's days that I would like to record, such as I have seen him live it during my stay at Madrid; but first I wish to evoke the noble and chivalrous figure of this young sovereign, so popular in France. * * *

"I beg of you, Madam, to say that the prayers I offer for peace by no means signify that I wish for peace at any price; that would be an offense for France, and I love France! But my duty as the sovereign of a neutral country is to desire that the sufferings which strike other peoples so cruelly should have ar end."

These are King Alfonso's own words. * * * The King received me in a white silk drawing room, which, in its taste and decoration, reminds one of the lesser rooms at Versailles. * * * The King is 30; he hardly looks 25. His face is surprisingly mobile. If his features recall those of the Princes of the House of Austria, the vivacity of his look, the expression of his face, the charm of the tender and humorous smile are an inheritance from France. His eyes are brown; all at once they sparkle, and then suddenly they cloud over. These youthful eyes are not compelled to the prudent reserve imposed on the words of a King; in their wordless language, they express a soul generous and tender.

"I have admired, in the letters written to me from France," he said, "the self-sacrifice of families struck by the war. Not a complaint. All for their country! What nobility of feeling! What a happiness for me when I can answer these letters by the announcement of good news!"

I know that, by the King's order, good news is telegraphed to French families. But if the answer coming from Berlin is bad, in order to soften the grief which he must cause, it is to the parish priest or the Mayor of the commune that his Majesty's private secretary addresses the letter:

I regret to bring to your knowledge that, in accordance with a letter which I have just received from his Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, in spite of the most careful researches undertaken at the Spanish Embassy and the Red Cross, with a view to obtaining information concerning * * * it was only possible to learn that he died while generously giving his life for his country.

I shall be grateful to you, if you will be so good as to transmit, with all possible consideration, this sad news to * * * and I beg you at the same time, in the name of the King, to express to * * * his Majesty's very sincere condolences and sympathy. * * *

Alfonso's Work for Prisoners

His Majesty knew well that I was acquainted with all the details of the work which he has created for prisoners and for those who are repatriated. He expressed his ardent desire to do still more to soften the fate of our captives and to be able to extend to the Russians and

the Portuguese the same investigations, which would extend his work to Mesopotamia and Africa. And his Majesty also spoke to me of the problems which must come after the war for the nations to solve:

"What will be the political and economic situation of Europe with regard to the New World? * * * Gold, torn by the war from the older nations, poured in waves upon the young nations—may not this bring a displacement of wealth, dangerous for the economic future of Europe? * * * The influx of gold into America may, perhaps, bring about a stream of emigration thither which will weaken the older nations. * * * By what policy can Europe defend herself against these dangers of another order, and re-establish the economic equilibrium broken by the war? * * * So many questions which will dominate the future dictate new alliances; questions which affect Spain as well as France and the other nations. * * *"

The soul of the royal work for the discovery of the missing is Don Emilio-Maria de Torres, Minister Plenipotentiary and private secretary to his Majesty. It is in the offices of his secretariat, in the Palacio Real, that this work is installed; it was soon so crowded there that it became necessary to give up to it four halls, and then eight, in order that the collaborators, becoming more and more numerous, might work comfortably. In May, 1916, the work of the King, already a year old, occupied at Madrid twenty-eight persons, who began their day at 8 in the morning and sometimes worked far into the night.

One might say of Don Emilio-Maria de Torres that the functions which his sovereign has confided to him make of him a Minister of Mercy—giving to this word, Merced, all that it implies in the Spanish language, of charity, sweetness, patience, gentleness. * * * I have often seen his eyes grow dim as he read the heart-breaking letters which compose what Don Emilio himself sadly calls "the anthology of sorrow * * *"

The greater part of these very touching letters are written by humble folk, who remember that formerly the Kings of France were called fathers of the people. And were not these Kings the ancestors of Alfonso XIII.? Peasants, workmen, farmers, small tradesmen, people of little education, who have not been willing to have any intermediary between the King and themselves; they have written in their own way, which is a good way, often on the humble paper at a penny a sheet, which the grocer sells, often on sheets with business letterheads, or on a page torn from a schoolboy's exercise book; those best informed have bought large paper and carefully molded their handwriting.

The most simple of these missives of the people are naturally the most touching. I shall quote a few of them, without giving any names, in order simply to reveal this treasure in the hearts of the humble. * * *

Letters to King of Spain

"To his Majesty Alfonso XIII.: Simple working people, at the declaration of war we had two sons who were our joy; one, for the last ten months, had been with his regiment; he went away, happy and proud to do his duty; he never returned. He was at Charleroi, at Guise, and was wounded on Aug. 29, 1914. From that day he disappeared, leaving us in cruel uncertainty of his lot, in anguished waiting for news that never comes. The second was not yet twenty; following his brother's example, he signed a voluntary engagement for four years. Hitherto God has guarded him. If we had had more sons, with pride we should have seen them go forth to defend our France; but to live for eighteen months without knowing anything, each day asking ourselves if the supreme sacrifice has been consummated, is an exceedingly heavy anguish for mothers.

"Her gracious Majesty the Queen, watching her royal children, has, I am convinced, a heart full of sadness and pity for all those mothers whose sons are no more. All our efforts have hitherto been vain. Perhaps through this letter we shall gain some result.

"May your Majesty deign to receive the very humble and very respectful homage of a poor mother who is infinitely grateful."

Another French mother writes:

"I suffer terribly because I do not know what has become of our dear boy, and I think that I should prefer to know for certain that he was dead, to have a tomb to which I could go to pray, rather than to live so long in cruel incertitude, which burns you up like a slow fire. It is horrible, Sire, the more so that the unhappy boy's two brothers have already fallen on the field of honor. If our dear son Charles is dead, we are childless.

"An unhappy mother, who has placed her last hope in you. * * *"

A wife, whose writing is very tremulous, and who addresses the King as if in prayer, writes:

"Sire: I have recourse to your goodness for my husband, who disappeared on Sept. 27, 1915, before Souchez. * * * Your Majesty, receive my most respectful sentiments."

And this very touching letter is from a little girl, who ruled her white paper and wrote in the large writing of a school child:

"Sire: I have the honor to address this letter to you, to ask you for news of my brother. We are all full of anguish and my mother is seriously ill; she can find no consolation. Would you be good enough to give me news? Here is his address. * * * I salute you and thank you."

When it is impossible to find the missing—dead or living—the letter of the relatives is finally filed. Alas! I saw, in one of the halls of the Royal Palace which are given up to them, 150,000 of these letters, which represent the mystery of 150,000 existences concerning which, perhaps, nothing will ever be known. A whole army is contained in this little space, under a cross surrounded with oak and bay leaves. It was the King's wish to set the Christian symbol and the sign of hope over these letters which bear witness that men lived, were loved, and died in the dark to save their country. "Out of death shall come forth life," a pious hand has written on the pediment of this dolorous reliquary of the patriotism of France.

A Canadian's Stirring Battle Picture

By Corporal J. A. Holland

Of the Canadian Division of the British Army in France

This remarkable narrative of personal experience on the Somme was originally written as a letter to Richard Southam of Toronto. The author was formerly advertising manager of the Consolidated Rubber Company in Montreal, and is now a Lieutenant of Artillery at the front. The battle described is that of Sept. 15-16, 1916, which resulted in the capture of Martinpuich and Courcelette, and in which the armored "tank" cars made their début in history. "Canada's day of triumph," as Corporal Holland called it, could not have been more vividly described by Kipling.

I AM to be a Lieutenant of Artillery and I will be sent to England—shortly, I hope—for polishing up and instruction in the miracle of guns and gunnery. I need the rest and change, and no matter how strenuous the training may prove it will seem like a holiday to me, because, believe me, we have been through the deepest depths of hades. Lord, will I ever forget it! It began on the evening of the 15th, when our guns opened up a bombardment which has never been equaled in intensity since the war began. Fritz's batteries were, of course, not idle and shocks of sound simply rocked the air in solid waves, giving one a humming sensation in the head that felt as if one's brain must burst. But that was only the beginning. An attack was preparing all along the line, and our objective was a ridge spanned by one thousand yards of shell-splattered and bullet-swept valley fronting Courcelette, a strongly fortified village 300 yards further back. Our second objective, the ground between our front line and the Huns' wire-protected ridge, had been quarried by high explosive—a mass of chasms in soft, crumpled earth, which would seem impassable to anything without wings.

Orders are orders, however, and in this war English troops are daily doing the seemingly impossible. So why should we worry? We didn't. We simply crouched in our battered burrows—recently Hun trenches—and waited for the word to move. The Hun gunners were scoring uncomfortably frequent hits and stretcher bearers were having a busy and dangerous time. We had about eight hours of this to stick before our final barrage would open up and show us the way to Fritz. At the first blush of dawn our planes came over—flocks of them—and, flying very low, kept a close watch on the enemy's every movement, indifferent to the furious fire concentrated upon them by A. A. guns and M. G.'s. They amused us and kept our minds occupied until we were all startled out of a year's growth by the first blast of our final bombardment. Thousands of guns had been roaring up to now, but tens of thousands were coughing in hoarse earth-and-air-shaking rumbles simultaneously at this moment.

Millions of titanic hammers were beating ceaselessly on steel tanks, so it seemed. Nerve-shaking concussions followed on the heels of hurtling shells in dense waves of stunning sound, stupefying and bewildering. This was the unleashing of all the terrible modern machinery of destruction; the hellish discoveries of war-inspired chemical research controlled by scientists and directed with infallible accuracy. Some one saw the twin green flares burst high on our right—I didn't—and the barrage lifted like a sheet of flame beyond the ridge top. That was the signal for our battalions waiting in the first line.

They were over—a chain of blurred figures against a background of swirling smoke; another and another. A year's back debts of suffering would be paid for today.

I couldn't charge, I had other work to do; but I didn't realize this until I had covered over forty yards of badly pitted earth at racing speed. I came back reluctantly, battling with a fighting craze that was strange to me—an awful hankering to shoot and stab and dabble in blood. It "gets" some people that way and its suppression brings tears. I cried, heart-breakingly.

Out of the bowels of the earth crawled a monster—a quivering, toadlike thing, glistening gray in the half light—an unearthed mammoth—a thousand years old, shaking the caked earth from its scaly sides, but purring in a strangely familiar way.

A "tank," by all that's wonderful!

What a name for this marvel—this weird, weary dinosaur whose bowels are racketing engines, whose teeth are machine guns, and whose hide is two inches of proof steel, which can climb over cliffs and into valleys, and is impervious to all the weaknesses of wheeled things.

A "tank!"—a mocking, ridiculous name given to hide a marvelous invention. Yet there is humor in the beast. Its every movement is funny. Its design is a joke—a flatiron on edge. Its pace is ponderously slow—a wabbling waddle tilting to impossible angles—dipping, rolling, and sliding into and emerging from impossible chasms. Its motions would draw gales of laughter from a circus crowd.

But as one's mind plays with the possibilities of the monstrosity—yet untried—its ability to overcome every obstruction and its punishing gun power, one is filled with an unholy joy that at last we are to go the Huns one better; give them a *clean* reply to poison gas and liquid fire. The "tank" is following hard on the heels of the eager infantry. Hard is the word. Dipping and plunging like a dismasted Dutch lugger in a storm-tossed sea, floundering perilously in the shell wallows, but pursuing an irresistible course through the fire-scorched valley, "Old Faithful" is making a beeline for the Hun trenches. And the infantry have seen and are cheering him furiously, frantically. But even the first rush has caused us lives and wounds. The stretcher bearers are picking up the wounded; the dead must wait. Deliberately they go about their work, though the bullets are droning through the air like hiving bees, and big "crumps" are kicking up earth and stones very near by. Over the rise—our ridge—comes the first batch of prisoners. Two guards with

flashing bayonets walk steadily behind their crouching, hurrying figures. Erstwhile boastful Bavarians frankly frightened of death, singing in the air.

The word comes to me that we have gained our first objective—the rise barely discernible through the smoke-whorls which mercifully veil the dead-incumbered slope. The barrage, which has been maintained with unabated vigor, has lifted again, recording another line of trenches taken. The Hun batteries are firing " into the blue." Our 'planes have done marvelous work today. German artillery observation has been completely destroyed. His guns are " sightless."

The time has come for me to report back—I hate to go, but orders are orders. When I get into the Bapaume Road I am sure to meet some wounded-walking cases. They will have news. Here comes a chap with a bullet-shattered arm swathed in blood-stained, first-dressing bandages. A smile of absolute content overspreads his grimy, stubbled face; the wet, caked trench mud clings to him like a shell. He has a " Blighty." No, he doesn't need any help—a little pain, that's all. Got it at the " sugar factory." A sniper hidden in an old boiler. Four of them paid for it, though. No, the Germans won't fight when they are cornered; some stand or kneel and surrender, others run and are bayoneted or bombed in the dugouts. They don't know how to fight " clean." Treacherous devils if given half a chance. We can go through them till the cows come home. My friendly, wounded hero spoke of them as one would talk of vermin. His was the view of a gentleman fighter discussing things. I left him at the advanced dressing station, a raised patch of dry, sandy earth half a mile behind the front line—a battlefield of yesterday.

Wounded — ours and German — lie everywhere. Every form of flesh mutilation given by shell, bullet, bomb, and bayonet can be seen here; but agonies are endured with stoical calm. The rough ministrations and anointings of raw, torn flesh with iodine are borne without audible whimper, though many are lapsing into unconsciousness from sheer pain. Speed is more essential here than the careful work of the hospital ward. Out on the Bapaume Road, bordered by the grim ruins of battered German trenches, are strings of ambulances and motor lorries waiting for and hurrying away with their pain-racked burdens—Canadian boys who were whole and vigorous an hour ago.

Around and about us everywhere are the tireless batteries roaring deathlike defiances at the German lines. Odd " crumps " from Fritz's " sightless " batteries are kicking up the earth not one hundred yards away. His guns are groping blindly for human targets; his last desperate effort to find our concentration camps ere he is driven back on the tide of defeat. Three hundred yards down the road is the " cage " where the Hun prisoners are arriving in disconsolate, war-weary groups. Before them are the straggling chalk trenches which they held a short month ago, bitter reminders to beaten men.

Our slightly wounded press close to the barbed wire, and in spite of the grinning sentries are doing a lively trade in souvenirs, badges, buttons, shoulder straps, &c., for which they are swapping cigarettes. These Huns are desperately anxious to please, and they are frankly fed up with war. Already they have sensed the kindness of their captors and, despite the fearsome stories of English brutality with which their officers have stuffed them, they seem more than willing to take us on trust. Now orderlies are moving among them with dixies of hot, steaming tea, baskets of bread and cheese, and all the miseries of war are forgotten in the joy of satiated hunger.

There are English cigarettes to follow —our answer to Ruhleben—the British way of retaliating for unnamable tortures inflicted on our soldiers in German prison camps.

Optimism overspreads every grimy face and, warmed with food, these prisoners of war are laughing and chatting like society people at grand opera. All except one man, a German Lieutenant, maddened at being herded with " swine privates." He stands alone at the far corner of the inclosure, the cynosure of all eyes. His venomous protest made in

perfect English, and particularly the part about "swine privates," has been heard by our boys and greeted with smiles of amused contempt. Some officer! It needs no great powers of observation to see that he is both feared and hated by those "swine privates," but the iron discipline that has been driven into their souls is still sufficiently strong to prevent murder. After the war (who knows what will happen?) the smoldering fire which burns in these men's eyes may break forth; freedom may snap the bonds. But what an ill-assorted lot they are—dregs of a nation's manhood sacrificed on the altar of power lust. Every age from 18 to 40 is represented, and physique varies accordingly. There are very few stalwarts; the bullet-headed, thick-necked Huns who set the ruthless iron heel on France and Belgium in 1914—high priests of force and fear. Our tall, slightly built, clean-limbed youngsters standing idly by look, as they are, masters of the herd. A beaten Germany has sent these men to the last sacrifice, and through a miracle they have been spared at the very edge of the abyss.

They realize now to where they have been led; the whole colossal lie is exposed to their still incredulous minds. What will happen in Germany after the war? I leave with that speculation persistently crossing my mind.

The battle still rages. The Canadians have taken Courcelette. The impossible has been accomplished and the advance continues. We have beaten Germany's last troops—the Bavarian Guards Reserve—on ground of their own choosing and the tattered remnants are trickling steadily into the "cage"—the rest will fight no more. It is Canada's day of triumph.

But I have also seen a portion of the price that was paid, and my imagination carries me to the shell pits and battered trenches where our dead lie. Somewhere in the shambles are tried and trusted friends, grand men, endeared to me by the kinship of training days and the harder service of the field. Their going fills me with sadness and a great loneliness. The "old boys" can now be counted on one hand. Since that ever memorable day we have had more victories paid for in lives, but the taking of the ridge and Courcelette will rank as Canada's greatest achievement until perhaps the Hun makes his final stand on the Rhine.

The Fatal Tower of Bovent

A remarkable yet typical example of the conflict waged on the Somme front between big French guns and colossal German defenses of concrete has been placed on record by a war correspondent of The London Morning Post in the interesting story here related regarding a German tower at Bovent.

AT Bovent the Germans decided to construct in a small wood or orchard—in its present state of dilapidation the most expert of gardeners would be puzzled to say which of the two it originally was—an observation post which was to be capable of overlooking a wide extent of the French lines. The position was a good one, and the French would undoubtedly have utilized it by contriving some ingenious outlook place, which would have been completely hidden in the foliage. They would have built in all probability something quite flimsy, which would be destroyed by the first shell which found it and could be as easily set up again.

Not so the Germans; they set to work to build an observation post as if the dismal lines of trenches on the Somme had been dug for all eternity. One can conceive the commander of the German battalion, stationed at that point, telling his men: "We are now going to dig and fortify with reinforced concrete shelters and an observation post such as have never before been seen. The war may last for twenty years, but my officers and I will be quite safe inside them against the heaviest shell ever invented. It is unfor-

tunate that most of you will have to be satisfied with such protection as you can get from the parapet of the trench, but then you will have the immense satisfaction of having dug and armored the most colossal of all shelters."

So the German officer built for himself the Tower of Bovent, and would no doubt have been very incredulous had any fortune teller warned him that he was digging his own grave. The German sappers worked with a zeal that had in it perhaps something of the zeal of the builders of the Pyramids, who were slaves. They burrowed under the earth like moles and built eight roomy shelters thirty feet underground, where no shell could penetrate. These shelters were connected by subterranean passages and provided with a number of exits, so that if by an unlucky chance a bursting shell should block up any one of them the others should be still available. For reasons that will shortly appear, history will never know how many bolt holes the Germans had made for themselves.

The crowning glory of their work was a tower that rose some five or six feet above the ground. So long as Summer lasted it was hidden by the foliage of the trees and undergrowth; no doubt when Winter came it was to be converted into an innocent-looking mound of earth. The tower was constructed of great blocks of reinforced concrete. It resembled the conning tower of a battleship, and at the top of it there were two narrow slits facing the enemy, through which the observer could watch the French lines or a machine gun could fire. The shelters were also protected with lumps of concrete that could be regarded as proof against any artillery.

The Summer foliage was still hiding the tower when one day it struck a French artillery Lieutenant that there was something not quite natural about the corner of a wood or orchard near Bovent. It was certainly an ideal place for a German lookout, so it occurred to him that it might be worth while to send a few salvos of "75" shells on the suspicious point.

His enterprise was rewarded. The "75" shells soon made short work of leaves and branches, and there appeared to view the naked gray concrete of the tower. It was then the affair of the big guns. The moment for the attack on Bovent was drawing near and the gunners were asking for nothing better than a well-defined target. The German officers, who, with their orderlies and the telephonists, were safe thirty feet underground, were in no way disturbed by the discovery of their tower. It was proof against anything but a direct hit from a very big shell, and their shelters they believed could defy anything.

So, quite unconcerned, they passed the time as usual. They had a piano, and two of them began a game of chess. Then the big French shells began to whizz, and the life of the men in the trench below the tower became anything but pleasant. It was this trench that the French poilus had named the "Tranchée de l'inoubliable Grand-père," after General Joffre the Unforgettable. Soon it was difficult to distinguish between original trench and shell holes. The tower got no direct hit, but its appearance became more and more ragged as splinters began to tear off its outer coating of concrete. The steel that reinforced the concrete appeared in hooks and twisted bands, and its once smooth surface grew unkempt and scarred.

Down below, the Germans worried not at all about the appearance of their tower and went on with their games. Then, if the scene is rightly reconstituted, there came an alarm which really affected them. It was announced that the French had begun to fire gas shells on the position. The gas, being heavier than air, is particularly deadly in shelters below ground, and the Germans were not slow to put on their masks, which, with their metal protuberances that suggest a pig's snout, are one of the most hideous productions of a hideous war.

It cannot be long after that there came a terrific explosion, which was the last sound those thirty Germans heard in this life. Their shelters seem to have resisted the shock, but the concussion was more than the human frame could bear. A very large French shell had landed about ten yards to the left of the tower, im-

mediately above the shelters. Its explosion opened a hole in the ground about fifteen feet deep, hurled blocks of concrete about as if they were straws, and blocked the entrances to the shelters.

When the French infantry carried the position an adventurous soldier managed to squeeze his way down through one of the entrances, and saw the extraordinary sight of some thirty Boches, including two Colonels, lying dead with their gas masks on, and apparently not a single wound among them. It was impossible to bring the bodies up, so the French engineers simply blocked up more securely the entrances which the shell had obstructed, and the tower and shelters, built with such an expenditure of labor, have merely become their builders' grave.

The Eagles of the Czar

Most Dreaded of the Cossacks

Ludovic H. Grondijs, author of "The Germans in Belgium" and "Notes of a Dutch Eyewitness," has written an article for L'Illustration, from which this interesting excerpt has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

YOU must realize what Volhynia is like. The enemy occupies a region which, even before the war, offered few attractions to the inhabitant or the traveler. For whole days you can travel hither and thither throughout the country without seeing anything but forests and marshes. Beeches and birches cover immense spaces, cut by roads which are among the very worst in the world. No roadbed. The road is only a broad strip, borrowed from the fields, whose irregular outline it follows, with mud, or, in dry seasons, terrible dust. After the rain these tracks are deep in water. Carts sink to the axles, or even as deep as the traveler's feet. After a thaw they are impassable.

Suppose now that determined men should slip through the lines and begin to people the forests which the enemy has left behind him. They hide in these dreaded marshes, in these woods which can only be occupied in part. These men are the "Eagles of the Czar," who threaten the lines of communication, of supplies, lying in wait for the invader, following in his tracks, surrounding him with their menace, giving him the coup de grace if he lags, if he wanders, if he flees. To fulfill their mission the Eagles of the Czar must work singly, but they know how to find each other when there is need for it. Separated themselves from any base, isolated like brigands, they "work," animated by the most ferocious determination, with the deepest disdain for death.

Informed that 500 Eagles of the Czar were going to go forth to pierce the enemy lines, I went one morning to a great square where the ceremony of departure was prepared. I saw on the left a troop of cavalrymen and on the right an equal number of Cossacks. The cavalrymen were all very young men; many of them wore the Cross of Saint George. The Cossacks were of all ages. Russia has not called up the reserves of the cavalry of the line; therefore her soldiers are all of the young active classes. The Cossacks, as is well known, are all mobilized, the young and the old alike, and all, old or young, responded eagerly to the appeal when there was a call for the Eagles of the Czar.

I scan these men attentively. Among them there are some who are little more than children. These young fellows, for whom life holds the fullest promise, seem to attach no importance to life. Indeed, it is only with life's decline, at the hour when existence has no more charms for him, that man hugs the earth and refuses to die.

Among the Cossacks I notice the most diverse types: Cossacks of the Don, of the Ural, and others who come from the frontiers of China. Their noses are like the beaks of birds of prey, their heads are shaven, they wear long mustaches. Some are lithe as serpents; others have

the square strength of buffaloes. All wear tall caps of astrakhan or lambskin.

The priest who is to celebrate the religious ceremony has had his assistant place a little table before the troops. They are waiting for the arrival of the General who organized the corps of the Eagles of the Czar. He is signaled. The 500 volunteers range their horses in a half circle. The General arrives, places himself at the centre of the troop, and cries in a loud voice:

"Good health to you, Eagles!" Like thunder his men answer in a single shout: "Good health to you, General!" * * *

The chant of the officiating priest rises, with the gravity of his bass voice; from time to time the responses of the assistant bring a note more musical and lighter. At the end of the ceremony the priest wishes the Eagles of the Czar a safe return, and they answer him with a deeply moving chant:

O God, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance. * * *
Give victory to our most Christian Emperor, Nicolai Alexandrovitch,
Over his enemies, and by Thy Holy Cross, save all that liveth. * * *

The General cries, "Long life to the Czar!" And this cry is repeated a dozen times with such ardor that my heart is strained with emotion and with grief. All these young men, in the flower of their age, think only of setting out on their adventure, to their deaths, and their last enthusiasm is for their Emperor. It is an ecstasy which rises like a wave in their hearts and then ebbs; their faces become once more impassive. They will die —the Emperor and Holy Russia will live.

I exchange a few words with their officers, who, in their picturesque uniforms, with their long riding breeches and their short cloaks, seem to spring from the Napoleonic epoch. I shall never forget the features of one of them—the face of a restless child, long, thin, under an enormous cap of gray fur, an elegant young fellow who spoke several languages. He had, under this youthful, even girlish exterior, an eye so resolute, so implacable, that I could not turn my glance from his face. I bid "au revoir" to the officers and to some of the soldiers. One of these last answers: "We shall not see each other again!" And the glances of his companions express their approval.

Is it solely the taste for adventure that inspires such men, or has not the fragrance of sacrifice for a great cause descended into their souls?

Are they really setting forth without hope of return, and do they desire to die, clutching the dead body of a hated enemy, or do they still cherish a hope which continues to beat its feeble wings?

The enemy will show them no mercy, for they themselves will make no prisoners. They go out without taking any food, for to be light as birds they must seek their food in the fields, or in the knapsack of an enemy they have slain. They go without camping kit. They will sleep in the forests, rain or shine, always alone with their horses and their spears. No ambulance accompanies them. When they are wounded no gentle hand will stanch their wounds; they will die in their blood, or a comrade, in pity, will give them the happy dispatch. * * *

A brief order echoes over the plain. The Eagles of the Czar defile before the General, who salutes them; they turn to the right, and disappear in the direction of the enemy.

These men are the heirs of the Cossacks who harried the rear guard of Napoleon's army. But the task of these men is harder. In 1813 they were fighting an army in retreat, therefore they were fighting on their own ground. Today, in order to get close to the invader, they must cut off behind themselves all chance of escape. They will slip, dirty and disfigured, through dark forests and treacherous marshes. They will harass the enemy wherever they can. They are free. They will fight in their own way, alone or in groups. They can choose the form of their death.

The last Cossacks pass before me. They are as proud as Princes, and certain of them are magnificent brigands. One of them carries a harmonica under his arm. His companion carries two spears. The crowd is silent. For a long time we follow with our eyes these faces and these silhouettes marked against the sky and seem to me already to be shades departing toward death.

How German Soldiers View Actual Warfare

LIEUTENANT LOUIS MADELIN, an eminent French historian and soldier, who spent twenty-six months at Verdun and was an eyewitness of the German offensive there, has collected hundreds of letters taken from German prisoners and German dead at that time, and has published a digest of them under the title, "L'Aveu: La Bataille de Verdun et l'Opinion Allemande," ("The Confession: The Battle of Verdun and German Opinion.") His aim has been to present the most striking letters and passages revealing internal discontent in Germany—a growing resentment against the authors of the war.

"After the middle of March," says Lieutenant Madelin, "Germany learned, little by little, that the Verdun drive was a failure; learned it in spite of a shamelessly lying press and of bulletins stupefying in their imposture. It was the most immense deception that a people ever experienced.

"Then all the pent-up feelings of the nation burst forth. * * * I have found in these letters very few cries of hatred against France, such as were raised at the beginning of the war in an enormous concert. For already, in their unanimous desire for peace, (during those five months of anxiety, of hope, of effort, of deceptions, and of rancor, this was the leitmotif—Peace! Peace!) Germany was beginning to understand at last that there were persons in her midst 'who have caused the war,' and who are, besides, 'profiting by it.' 'Criminals' one of these letters called them.

"It was in the light of the battle of Verdun, lost by the German Crown Prince in the august presence of the Emperor, with the best German blood, that the truth gradually appeared. This is why it is worth while to group these documents, which constitute a page of German history and psychology, written by Germany herself, and which I here submit to the judgment of the readers of all countries."

The book, though written in the French language, is documented with facsimile copies of letters in the original German. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents English translations of some of the more noteworthy passages.

Beginning of the Battle

Before the attack at Verdun a German soldier of the Eighth Fusilier Regiment (Twenty-first Division) wrote to his mother:

"My Dear Mother: I must tell you that we have come to a great moment: we have received the order to take by assault Hill 344, near Verdun, and Verdun itself. I am writing you this letter on the 21st of February at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The artillery has already been firing for eight hours with the heaviest guns, mortars of 42, 38, and 30 calibre. There is going to be a fight such as the world has never seen. Our chiefs have instructed us and told us that our dear families are expecting great things from us. * * * We hope that our enterprise is going to succeed, and that God will be with us. We have been chosen for this greatest task, which is going, perhaps, to bring a decision in this frightful struggle. Everybody would be very happy if it were the end, for then we could all go home; but misfortunes come so swiftly, especially when one has to take a fortress like this, the greatest fortress of France."

A letter written from a German home on March 20 to a soldier at the front said: "Concerning the fall of Verdun the people here have two different opinions. One party holds that by the fall of Verdun we shall arrive at a decision between France and Germany. The other says: 'We have Verdun, it is true, [sic,] but we are far from having France.'" From Hanover, on April 14, comes the same note: "We believe that

the war will not last much longer, and the general opinion is that after the fall of Verdun the war will soon end." By the 19th of April, however, a tone of disillusionment and anger begins to be heard: "The men are being dragged by force to butchery."

Bitter Disillusionment

Long before this the fighting around Douaumont and Vaux had convinced the German soldiers of the terrible nature of their task. The notebook of one of them contains this cry of dismay:

"March 24, 1916. Before Fort de Vaux.—I have no need of writing anything further than that. All the rest is implied. Yet I wish to keep on hoping. It is bitter, very bitter! I am still so young! What's the use? What good does it do to pray, to supplicate? The shells! The shells!"

A man who has been in the assault on Hill 265 writes on March 23: "From the first moment the projectiles were whistling over our heads. We received a terrible fire from the machine guns and artillery the instant we leaped forward to attack Hill 265 and carried the first trenches, shouting hurrahs! Unfortunately, we suffered heavy losses. Of my squad, which comprised nineteen men, only three remain. Whoever gets out of this with a wound that merely sends him home (Heimatschuss) can call himself lucky, for many are losing their lives here." Another, who had been in Russia, wrote on April 3: "In Russia it was child's play compared with the artillery fire here."

Le Mort Homme, which the German official bulletin of March 15 announced as captured, continued to offer an impassable barrier to the German assault. Lieutenant Madelin notes that a letter of a German officer "comes to give the lie to the false communiqué." The letter is by Lieutenant R. of the Seventy-first Reserve, who was killed before the Crow's Wood on April 9. On the preceding day he wrote:

"My dear Walter: I am sitting at this moment in my hole, and am thinking of you. Ah! What a difference between my quarters here and life in Germany! For a week I have been living in dirt without a chance to wash myself. Nonowow was not an agreeable place, but this hell before Verdun is a place of mortal sadness. Tomorrow our regiment is to attack between the Bois des Corbeaux and Le Mort Homme, which, moreover, the French have always held, and where they have excellent observatories. The circle is closing a little around Verdun, but my opinion, based on the extreme precision of the French artillery fire and the innumerable array of their heavy guns, is that we shall not take Verdun. It would cost too many men. To capture it would require months of fighting."

Officer's Graphic Letter

Lieutenant H. of the Eighty-first, on the right bank of the Meuse, echoed these sentiments on April 15:

"My dear Parents: Probably you are waiting with impatience for a sign of life from me. I hope that this letter will reach you, but it is not easy to mail letters here.

"My beautiful time as a staff officer of the Fifty-sixth Regiment ended several days ago. Our losses in officers are rather heavy, so that I have had to take the Eighth Company as commandant. At present I am with my company in the very first line, crouched in a small mudhole which is supposed to protect me from the enemy shells dropping ceaselessly. I have already seen many things, but never before have I seen war of a character so frightful and indescribable. I would not describe it for you in detail, even if I could, for I would only give you useless anxiety.

"We are under a frightful artillery fire day and night. The French are making a monstrously stubborn resistance. On the 11th of April we made an attack to take the French trenches. We had begun with a considerable artillery preparation lasting twelve hours, then the infantry attack was loosed; but the French machine guns were absolutely intact, so that the first wave of assault was immediately mowed down by their fire when it left the trenches. Besides, the French in their turn let loose such a barrage fire from their artillery that an attack was no longer to be thought of. Now we are

here in the first-line trenches, about 125 yards from the French.

"The weather is terrible—cold and continual rain. I wish you could see what a state I am in, with boots, trousers, overcoat all soaked and covered with a layer of mud an inch thick.

"All the roads are held ceaselessly under the French cannon fire, so that we cannot even bury our dead. It is pitiful to see these poor fellows lying dead in their mudholes. Every day we have more killed and wounded. Only by risking life can we carry the wounded to safety. We have to go for our meals three kilometers to the rear—to the wheeled kitchens—and even there we are in danger of death. Every day there are men killed and wounded at their meals, so that many prefer to go hungry rather than go and seek food.

"Almost everybody in our company is ill. To be in the rain all day, completely soaked; to sleep in the mud, to be night and day under a frightful bombardment, and that for eight consecutive days and nights, breaks the nerves completely. From the point of view of health I am still fairly well off; but my feet are completely soaked and frozen, and I am frightfully cold up to the knees.

"I hope I shall have the good fortune to come out of here alive; I wish it, for one cannot even be buried properly here. Don't worry uselessly about me. We have to hang on. Good-bye! Let Willie see my letter; he can send it back to you later. Best wishes to all. MAX."

Growing Discontent

These uncensored letters reveal more serious food shortage than was generally known to exist in Germany at that time, and as the fruitless battle dragged on, internal discontent increased. In many of the later letters Lieutenant Madelin found sentiments such as the following, written April 19:

"My Dear Husband: It is frightful; the men are driven by force, as in a slaughterhouse. Naturally, it is only the poor, for the rich do not go so far toward the front. At the beginning of the war one read in the newspapers that such or such a rich man had been killed, but now it is only the poor that fall on the field of honor. Thanks for the honor! You men yonder are getting yourselves blown to pieces, and we at home are dying of anxiety and sorrow for you."

Another woman wrote from Hünfeld about the same time: "Of those who caused the war, no one is dying."

The "war for food" also is the theme of many angry letters. A housewife of Düsseldorf wrote to Soldier Blumenfeld of the Thirty-ninth Reserves on April 23: "Almost every day the general war of women. They fight in the street like tinkers. You poor devils fight at the front, and we women fight for a mouthful to eat." One wife asks to be told the truth, once for all. "Now, my dear," she writes to Soldier K. on April 25, "tell me frankly whether you think Verdun will be taken. It is said here that you will never get Verdun."

A German Banker's Letter

To this disturbing question a sufficient answer is afforded by the letter of Banker S., an officer of the reserve on sick leave. On April 26 this solid citizen, financier, and soldier wrote to another officer at the front as follows:

"The economic situation in Germany unfortunately leaves a painful impression, and if war with America is to be added, the population will end by dying gradually of hunger. Meat, for instance, has not been seen at all for a week in K.; * * * the town furnishes spoiled meat to the indigent, but no one can eat it. Sugar, coffee, tea, &c.—all are confiscated.

"The doctors have already ascertained that the civil population of Germany is suffering from insufficient nourishment. The manufacturers of war supplies alone are making millions, and are well satisfied with the business. All the others are sighing and recriminating. Besides, not a man believes peace is near, and a possible war with the United States even finds much favor here, because the silly people believe that by a more energetic submarine war we could soon finish with England. It seems, too, that in Germany the people still hope for the fall of Verdun. There will be a fine disillusionment at the end."

Lieutenant Madelin remarks that the writer of this letter is no unfortunate, soured by misery. He judges from above, but after having viewed things closely. His letter is in a way a summing up of the whole mass of correspondence. The author adds that a still more forcible summary is found in the words of the German father who wrote to his soldier son: "This war will not be ended with arms. The side that has something to put in its stomach the longer is the one that will win, and that does not mean us."

A German Wife's Letter to Her Husband

The following pathetic letter from a loving wife was found by a Canadian officer on the body of a German soldier after a charge on the Somme battle front:

OH, my dearest, I have almost lost my senses—do write often. I have had no news of you since Sept. 25, though after that I received a letter dated the 23d, for which I thank you with all my heart. Honestly, darling, I fret too much for you, but I know that you are worth it. But, dearest, I fear that when you return I shall look too old for you, for, dear, I look very haggard. There are strange lines around my mouth which were not there before, and I have also grown thin. Yesterday I went to Altdamen and father said, "Good heavens! you are drying up." I am ill, and I'd rather be dead if there were no hope of seeing you again; but the thought of seeing you always cheers me up a little.

As to the war and everything in connection with it, there is nothing more to be said. If I write about it I only make it harder for you. I only say that I am getting gray hair from this war. I could scream with desire for you, dearest, my longing for you is so great. And then I would like my own home—no, nobody can replace it to me here. It was already hoped for certain that the end was coming, and that we could all go to our homes, women as well as men; but now again we shall go through another terrible Winter, and when it comes to an end we shall go through another Summer, and so it is, and so it will continue. What we ought to think we do not know. Some say that the war is only half finished.

Well, dear, when you return our Zotti will go to school. But who knows how everything will be then, for many a heart has ceased beating, and so many mothers and children are left to their fate! * * * Everything is so unjust, just as with the selling of wheat. What isn't worth anything the poor people get, and the rest the gentry receive—they have all the money while the war lasts. Germany is insane. This or that person thinks himself better than another. I would know what to do if I were in the field—but I will say no more about it.

Your little Zotti is still well and cheerful, but he has a great longing for his dear papa. He often says to me: "Papa stays away a long time. Isn't the war over yet?" But if his father should really come back, perhaps on leave, then he would go to the station with a great bunch of flowers. Hoping that this will soon be fulfilled, and with countless kisses, your G. and little Zotti.

[Little Zotti's father fell in action soon after receipt of this letter, and one more woman's broken heart was added to the millions which the war has produced.]

Uncensored Austrian War Letters

DMITRI OBLONSKI IN RUSSKOYE SLOVO, MOSCOW

M. Oblonski, a war correspondent widely known in Russia, came into possession of twenty-seven letters written by Austrian soldiers and meant to be dispatched to their homes through special messengers, without being censored. The letters constitute a valuable addition to the human documents of the war.

AND, my comrades, we are all awaiting with impatience the day when all this will end. How it will end is a matter of indifference to us. One must be here, one must go through all that we are going through, in order to arrive at the stage where it becomes a matter of indifference whose the victory shall be. That does not interest us; all that matters is the question of when we shall be enabled to rest."

This excerpt from an Austrian soldier's letter indicates the degree of spiritual weariness pervading the armies of the Dual Empire. This unexampled weariness of war is the theme of every one of the twenty-seven letters at hand.

"If it should continue like this for another three months I shall not be able to hold out. I shall go insane. Even now I cannot sleep, cannot think, cannot even sit quietly in one place. Constant alarm rends my soul. I cannot even pray. Pray for me. * * *"

This was not written by a youngster, but by a fully matured man, for a little further on in this letter he speaks of the fact that should the war continue for another year his oldest son would also have to live through the same horrors. The author of another letter discusses in detail the question of the victims of nervous prostration in the ranks of the Austrian Army.

"Men go to pieces with unbelievable rapidity," he writes. "They collapse for no apparent cause, even during the weeks when we are kept in the rear as reserves. These victims first cease to eat, rapidly losing weight; their noses become sharpened, their eyes sink deep and light up with a feverish glow; their hands begin to tremble. Gradually the sick man grows less and less communicative; he avoids his comrades, he seeks solitude. Finally he is taken to the hospital. Not long ago one of our soldiers suddenly became insane. It happened at night. We were in the second-line trenches, so that we could sleep restfully. Suddenly, in the middle of the night, I and some of my comrades were awakened by loud singing. We listened. Some one near us was chanting at the top of his voice the same phrase again and again: 'Merciful God, save me, for the sake of my children!' We found the singer and asked him what was the matter with him.

"'Don't you see,' he replied, 'that surrounding us is a sea of blood? Here one tide is coming, there is another, and another still. And so I pray to God to save me. Why, I left several children at home!'

"The poor fellow had to be taken away to the hospital."

The subject next in importance in these Austrian soldiers' letters is that of the increasing disorder in the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian Army. The men are dissatisfied with their commanders. "Our officers altogether lost their heads," says one letter. "Nobody knows anything. Quite frequently it happens during these days like this: We are put aboard a train and told that we are sent to some place. In an hour we discover that we are being dispatched in the opposite direction. Don't imagine that this is done for the sake of keeping military movements secret. No. It is simply that in the last moment a new order has been received from headquarters."

A petty officer, dispatched from the Styr to Tlumach, writes: "Before my departure for here I nearly fell into captivity, exclusively because of the demoralization in our headquarters. The Russians were advancing at a rapid rate.

Our first line was already broken in several places. An order came for us to retreat. This order enumerated the villages through which our route lay. Joseph serves with the staff and read the order himself. And when we began to retreat one of the villages was already in Russian hands. Luckily the force holding it was small. We fought our way out, but were near capture. We all fail to understand what is transpiring with our Generals and officers. They do not at times know what they are doing."

The disorder among the commanders is reflected profoundly in the lack of food and comfort for the rank and file. Almost all the writers complain about the meagreness of the food. "We are far from getting our hot meal every day." "More and more often it is occurring now that we pass the night in one locality, while our kitchens are in another. For the kitchen folk it is, of course, of no consequence, but for us it is far from cheerful to go to bed with empty stomachs." "D——n it! We are beginning to starve formally. You understand that I cannot be pleased with this. I won't be able to stand it very long." The author of this last piece of intelligence did not have to stand it much longer, for he was killed near Tysmennitza.

Here is an excerpt from another letter concerning the movements of detachments:

"You cannot imagine what enormous marches we are forced to make. A march of twenty-five to thirty miles a day is now a mere nothing. This, of course, is a small matter, for we are at war, and war is our business as soldiers. But what is bad about it all is that we are driven about for nothing, i. e., today we are sent in one direction and tomorrow in the opposite. Recently I even began to curse, for we were handled in a really beastly fashion. We walked a whole day along a railroad. Some of us inquired: 'Why are we sent on foot? Why not put us aboard a train?' But the officers and the railway officials at every station told us that there were no trains. At the same time several empty cars passed by us. They were wide open, as if challenging us. Was this not a swinish act?"

Some of the letters discuss the Austro-German relations. The passages devoted to this subject lead to two conclusions. First, the Austrians are beginning to give credit to their German ally for its organizing abilities. "Where the commanders are German, we do not starve," writes one Austrian to his wife. Another takes the question up at more length. "The Germans—this is an altogether different business. They never lose their heads, they work like machines. It won't happen under them as under our staff officers that several companies come to the same place to pass the night. Under their command we are not forced to make any unnecessary marches. Everything is calculated by them with mathematical exactitude." A third writer says: "One ought to give credit to the Germans. They take care of our supply lines and our sleeping quarters better than our own officers."

The second conclusion to be made from these letters is that the hatred felt by the Austrian toward the German has grown much stronger. There are no curses so deep, no ill wishes so black, that the Austrians hesitate to bestow them upon the heads of their allies. The first reason for this hatred is rather universal. The Germans are the real culprits of this war. At least, they are responsible for its prolongation. "They are our real enemies." "The Germans have finished Austria." "If it had not been for Wilhelm, I would have been with you and the dear children long ago." Such are the expressions found in these letters.

The second reason for the hatred of Germany by the Austrians is the cruelty of the Germans. "Are we then considered as human beings in their eyes? We are cattle to be sent to the slaughter if this be necessary to the German commander. They are treating us as cattle. When an attack is to be made, we are sent first. After many of us have been slaughtered, the Germans, under cover of our corpses, continue the offensive. Oh, if you only knew how I hate our dear allies for their cold cruelty!"

Home Life in Europe Under the Shadow of War

THE effect of the war on domestic life, on actual modes of existence, and on social arrangements generally has been to give the great cities in the belligerent countries a quite unusual aspect. The absence of lighting which the authorities have decreed as a precaution against aerial raids or for the sake of economy, the detailed regulation of what people shall eat, the transformation of the occupations and habits of enormous numbers of both men and women, the conversion of hotels and the mansions of the rich into hospitals, the presence everywhere of hundreds of thousands of cripples and invalids—these are only a few of the features which distinguish life today from what it was in the early Summer days of 1914.

For the millions who are not at the front the war has brought a feeling of depression that would be intolerable but for the work they have to do as civilians. There is hardly any one who is not in mourning or is not afflicted by the sight or thought of a wounded relative, or is not anxious about one or more men in the firing line. Work and such amusement as war conditions permit are the only distractions from a state of things that could easily drive people mad. And it is in the home and the social life of which the home is the focus and centre that the war finally makes itself felt. It is there that the human values of the vast conflict are arrived at, values that spell loss and depreciation.

London in Total Darkness

The plunging of London into darkness by night was, perhaps, the first intimation of the ever deepening gloom that has followed in the wake of the war. A typical instance of how the home, with its welcoming windows aglow with light, has now to be blotted out is that of the policeman knocking at the door and calling attention to the fact that a narrow shaft of light is coming through a slit between the blind and the window frame. The officer of the law points out that the householder, more often in these days a woman, is liable to prosecution for having failed to cover the offending aperture not a quarter of an inch wide. To save trouble he himself calls for thick brown paper and a pot of paste and covers the slit through which the light had penetrated into the outer darkness. Numerous householders and shopkeepers who have not acted promptly when warned have been punished by fine for the smallest of luminous patches on the buildings they occupy.

By night London and other great cities are lost in a world of darkness so profound that even an old inhabitant can go astray as easily as if he were in the heart of an African forest on a moonless night. The nocturnal obscurity has increased the dangers of the streets a hundredfold. The driver of a motor bus or car has to feel his way through the mysterious streets like a ship's Captain in a thick fog. And, naturally, no one ventures into the streets unless compelled to. The only fortunate aspect of the situation is that the criminal element has well-nigh disappeared, and with it the likelihood of being held up.

The theatres and vaudeville houses have been affected by the "black-out" regulations, matinées being substituted as far as possible for evening performances. And the gay night life has also felt the change. Imagine the "Great White Way" of New York City plunged in darkness, and you can understand what it is like in and about Piccadilly Circus and Leicester Square in London or on the boulevards of the "ville lumière," as Paris rejoices to be known when she is her own gay self.

Paris Economizing Fuel

The early closing of shops and stores and the rigorous limitation of hours during which alcoholic drink may be sold

have also helped to take the gayety out of the social life of the big cities. One reason for early closing has been the necessity of economizing fuel. The recent official order issued in Paris stated that it was

a matter of urgency to supply all the coal necessary to the factories that are forging arms for France. The Government has decided to restrict the lighting of shops. We invite Parisians to copy this measure by insisting on economy of fire and lights in their homes.

Practically all the big stores are now in consequence closed at 6 o'clock, although smaller places keep open later, but instead of using gas or electricity have had to fall back on candles and oil lamps. It is now no uncommon sight to see the interior of a little store lighted with candles with bottles for candlesticks.

At the beginning of the present Winter the British Government issued a drastic early closing order. In London before the war most of the larger stores and offices closed at 6 o'clock, but for some time past 5 o'clock had become the general closing hour, mainly on account of the lighting restrictions and the difficulties of traveling home to the suburbs after dark. The Government welcomed this voluntary reform because it meant a saving in the consumption of coal. The new order provides that until the end of April, 1917, customers, except at restaurants and drug stores, must not be served after 8 P. M. on Fridays, 9 P. M. on Saturdays, and 7 P. M. every other day.

Workers in munition factories who do not finish till 8 o'clock or later have protested, particularly the women, who said they would not be able to find time to do their shopping. The shopkeepers in the poorer districts also protested, and it was complained that Cabinet Ministers and their wives, accustomed to deal at the better-class stores, which had already fixed their own closing hours, were out of touch with life in the working-class districts. But in this, as in so much else, the people have had to learn to adapt themselves to war conditions.

In France another recent order directs the closing of all stores at 6 P. M., and restaurants and cafés at 9:30 instead of 10:30. Theatres are closed on Mondays, motion-picture shows on Tuesdays, and cabarets and vaudeville houses on Wednesdays. The National Board appointed to supervise war economies may order additional closing days, and also the stoppage of the elevators of many buildings to reduce the consumption of coal. According to M. Sembat, the Minister of Public Works, the price of coal increased from $16.20 a ton in April, 1916, to $28 a ton in May.

Food Scarce Everywhere

The food problem affects domestic and social life most of all. All the belligerent countries are fighting the common enemy, hunger. Even England, where the policy of "starving out Germany" has been so strenuously advocated, is feeling the pinch, and has recently followed the German example and appointed a "food dictator." The banquets and other convivial gatherings which enliven London life have become things of the past. From various sources we have reports from which the gravity of the food problem in the several warring countries may be gathered. D. Thomas Curtin, an American observer who has been in Austria and Germany a good deal during the war, and whose articles in The London Times have attracted much attention, writing of the food situation in Austria, says:

"Food conditions in Austria are much more varied than in Germany. The organization is not so good, so that in certain areas supplies are comparatively abundant, while in others there is a scarcity approaching, though not yet reaching, very real hardship.

"The situation resembles the situation in Germany in this respect, that the great towns act as sponges, absorbing all the nutriment in a zone twenty or thirty miles from the city. In these areas and in the great cities the food conditions are always worse than in the remote districts, where the inhabitants can hoard more effectively and can make use of their own produce.

"Vienna is not so well provisioned as Berlin. The municipal kitchens have not Prussian perfection. The richer classes, however, are not suffering. Money is more powerful. The rich landowners are

living very much their ordinary life, to the extreme dissatisfaction of their poorer brethren. The Germans are docile, but the Austrians, with the exception of the Bohemians and Hungarians, are even more so, and the whole of Austria is dominated by Big Brother Prussia.

Meatless Days in Austria

"In Vienna there are three meatless days a week, in Budapest two; and this state of affairs is worse than it sounds, because, although meat is allowed to be sold on other days, it is often unobtainable. The rise in prices is greater than in Germany; the shortage of fat, if possible, worse. The population are cursed with innumerable taxes and with regulations which annoy and irritate, and to which they do not take so easily as the Germans. Great bitterness is caused by the tyrannical conduct of the German Supply Association, which by agreement compels the Austrians, and particularly the Hungarians, to supply great quantities of eggs, vegetables, lard, and butter each month.

"Austrian and Hungarian newspapers appear with whole columns obliterated by the censor. It is evident from the context that many of these excisions have to do with food problems. From some portions of Lower Austria came the first rumors I have ever heard of anything approaching real starvation. The rivers and lakes are netted night and day for fish, the wheat crop in several places (but not in Hungary) was thrashed and ground at the first moment of ripeness. In general the countless food regulation schemes are in a state of chaos.

"The Austrians, before the war, were almost the greatest coffee drinkers in Europe. Their supplies of real coffee lasted longer than those of the Germans, but they are now complaining bitterly, for they drink either an acorn or burned barley coffee substitute."

Germany's Food Problems

In Germany, according to a report from an anonymous American observer, who speaks with authority and who gave the information to John L. Balderston of the McClure Newspaper Syndicate, the chief trouble is the supply of meat. The shortage of potatoes and other vegetables and of cereals has caused, and still causes, much hardship, but nothing compared with the difficulty of obtaining meat. A meat famine is inevitable, declares Mr. Balderston, who goes on to say:

"The figures have only to be stated in their naked simplicity for the situation to be appreciated at a glance. There were between 23,000,000 and 24,000,000 cattle in Germany when the war began, of which between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 were calves, according to the estimate of the food experts who tackled the problem later. Shortly before the appointment of Adolf von Batocki as Food Dictator, a census was taken by the Government of all live stock, and this showed that on May 1 this year only 19,800,000 cattle were left. Six million of these were calves, and the Government decided that 8,000,000 must be set aside for breeding and to insure the milk and butter supply. This left only 5,800,000 cattle in the country which could be killed and eaten, and of this number more than one-fifth were two-year-olds.

"The blockade makes impossible the importation of meat, excepting in small quantities and at prohibitive prices, which are constantly increasing. Despite the meatless days and the shortage of beef, the German people consumed in the first twenty-one months of the war about 4,000,000 cattle over and above those bred during that time.

"At the end of the fourth year of the war, if the struggle continues so long, Germany will have no more beef—unless she kills her milk and breeding stock. Even if peace is concluded in the near future, however, the German food experts are vainly trying to figure out how they can replenish their dwindling herds. The task of importing enough beef to feed 60,000,000 people for many years after the war is one that staggers the imagination, and yet that is what must be done.

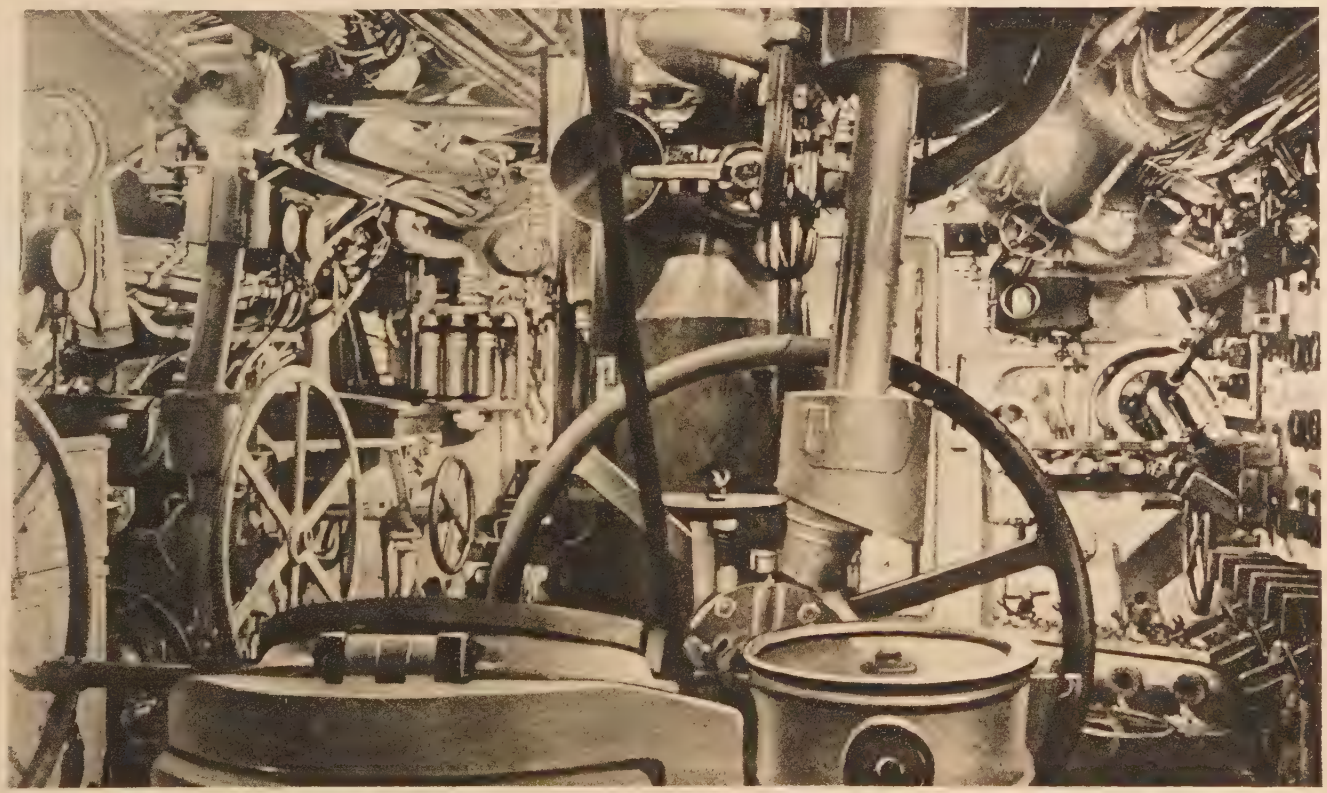
"Shortage of fodder complicates the meat situation enormously and threatens to result in the destruction of all the hogs in the empire within another year unless von Batocki can find some way

VICE ADMIRAL D'ARTIGE DU FOURNET

Chief Commander of the French Navy in the Mediterranean and a Prominent Figure in the Clash With Greece

(Photo by Bain News Service.)

INTERIOR VIEW OF A GERMAN SUMBARINE, THE DEUTSCHLAND



This Inside View of the Deutschland Shows the Commandant's Post, the Submersion Wheel Being Seen at the Left. The Deutschland Herself Brought the Picture to This Country on Her Second Trip.

out of the difficulty. Germany in peace time imported most of her fodder from neutral markets now closed to her.

Hunger Threatens Millions

"To turn from the meat problem—which will be worse in the future—to the troubles of the present, Herr von Batocki, at a secret conference recently, told a large group of landowners and politicians what the actual position is at the moment. He divided the 60,000,000 people of Germany into four great groups. About 20,000,000, he said, work on the land, and eat what they like of their own produce. Of the remaining 40,000,000, he classed 15,000,000 as soldiers, railway workers, munition laborers, or in some way directly concerned with the carrying on of the war.

"These men and women—for women munition workers are rationed as well as the soldiers at the front—are supposed to eat about the equivalent of 2,400 food calories a day. This figure, Herr Batocki pointed out, is 200 calories more than the minimum upon which life can be maintained without lowering physical and mental efficiency. In the United States the average consumption per capita is about 4,700 calories daily.

"Herr Batocki then pointed out to his very select audience that 5,000,000 people can afford to buy what the law allows them at any prices, but that the remaining 25,000,000 Germans not on the land or in war work had to take what was left, even though the remainder, he said, amounted at the time he spoke to 2,200 food calories, or 200 calories less than the minimum standard for sustaining life. This statement made a sensation, and, needless to say, was not permitted to appear in the German press. Herr Batocki held forth hope that just as soon as the new harvests were in it would be possible to raise the submerged 25,000,000 to or above the sustenance level. There are already indications that this is being done.

"The millions who have thus been forced to consume less than needed to keep them in shape, less than half what the average American eats, are not all of the very lowest social class, but include school teachers, storekeepers, and poorly off doctors and lawyers, who have no claim on war rations and have not enough money to buy the luxuries available at the shops. The poor must live off the cheap staples, for which they require meat, bread, butter, and potato tickets.

"The reason the rich 5,000,000 can live better is that they can afford other foods for which tickets are not required; the richest millionaire is allowed by law no more of the ticketed staples than the poorest laborer, although the public believes that by hook or crook the rich get about all the bread, butter, and meat they want, through collusion with the grocers, who reap huge profits by this illegitimate trade at enormous prices.

"To sum up the food situation, Germany cannot be starved out—unless the war lasts four years, when her meat will be gone—though with a bad harvest one-third of her population may be reduced to the verge of famine. She is, however, living on her capital stock in meats, and how that stock is to be replenished when peace comes worries her statesmen, and even has a strong influence in moderating the terms on which she is willing to stop fighting."

Food Dictator in England

The British Government's proposals for handling the food problem were outlined in the House of Commons on Nov. 15, 1916, by Walter Runciman, the President of the Board of Trade, who announced that a Food Controller was to be appointed, with full power over all departments concerned in food supplies, and that immediate steps were to be taken to restrict the luxurious use of sugar, to prevent waste and the making of large profits in milk and potatoes, and to forbid the milling of pure white flour. In regard to wheat, the Government had taken advantage of the abundant harvests of Canada and Australia, which had been augmented by supplies from the United States, but the following year Great Britain would have to depend largely on Australia. If necessary, a system of food tickets would be adopted.

A few days after this announcement Mr. Runciman discussed food economies with representatives of the leading London hotels. He said that the Christmas

bill of fare advertised by one establishment was scandalously wasteful and extravagant, and that the catering trade must set its house in order. Menus must be cut down drastically, and there must be one or two meatless days a week. A "meatless" day might mean neither meat nor fish. There was also too lavish expenditure on rich cakes and candy. As a result of this discussion the management of the Savoy Hotel withdrew its circular, in which it had advertised a Christmas dinner to cost, exclusive of wines but including light refreshments at the buffet during the Christmas entertainment, from $5.25 to $6.25 a head.

Luxuries for Wage Earners

One of the most extraordinary features of the war in the great centres of population is the enormous amount of money being spent, due to the fact that the huge loan expenditures have put unusual amounts of cash into circulation in the form of workers' wages or as business profits. There is no unemployment problem in any of the belligerent countries, and wages are high, although purchasing power has been reduced by inflated prices.

Among the poorer classes there is an almost riotous profusion of luxuries they only dreamed of before the war. The phenomenon is most marked in London. Storekeepers in the most fashionable part of the city tell of such cases as that of the coster woman—the London 'Arriet—who ordered a sealskin coat with collar and cuffs of sable and a wide border of the same fur around the bottom of the coat to be made specially for her; also a large velour hat trimmed with the largest feather obtainable. A girl making better money in a munition plant than she had ever made before insisted on paying an extravagant sum for a necklet of real ermine, for it had always been her ambition to have "a bit of real ermine," and now war conditions had put it in her reach. She was wearing one of the latest velour hats with an expensive osprey.

The stores were never so crowded, nor has money changed hands more freely than in these days in London. The businesses chiefly benefiting by the trade boom are the dry goods stores, dressmakers, milliners, piano dealers, middle-class jewelers, and shoemakers. Thousands of households are enjoying increased incomes because daughters who previously did not make much money, or did not go to work at all, are now earning high wages. Women who formerly made their own clothes are now buying them. The increased number of marriages owing to the war is another factor; while large sums are spent on sending comforts and gifts to "the boys at the front."

German Women and Fashion

Even in Germany, where Government control is a stern reality, the temptation to indulge in luxury cannot be suppressed. To quote Mr. Curtin again:

"It must not be supposed that the life of feminine Germany is entirely a gloomy round of duty and suffering. Among the women of the poor things are as bad as they can be. They are getting higher wages than ever, but the food usury and the blockade rob them of the increase

"The middle and upper classes still devote a good deal of time to the feminine pursuits of shopping and dressing. The outbreak of war hit the fashions at a curious moment. Paris had just abandoned the tight skirt, and a comical struggle took place between the Government and those women who desired to be correctly gowned.

"The Government said, 'In order to avoid waste of material, you must stick to the tight skirt,' and the amount of cloth allowed was carefully prescribed. Women's desire to be in the mode was, however, too powerful for even Prussianism. Copies of French fashion magazines were smuggled in from Paris through Switzerland, passed from dressmaker to dressmaker, and house to house, and, despite the military instructions and the leather shortage, wide skirts and high boots began to appear everywhere."

Social life in Germany is particularly interesting as regards the position of women; and Mr. Curtin has much of interest to tell us of how it has been affected by the war:

"German authorities are utilizing every kind of woman. The social evil, against which the Bishop of London and

others are agitating here, [in England,] was effectively dealt with by the German authorities, not only for the sake of the health of the troops, but in the interests of munitions. Women of doubtful character were first told that if found in the neighborhood of barracks they were liable to be arrested, and when so found were immediately removed to their native places and put into the nearest cartridge filling or other shop. The double effect has been an increased output of munitions for the army and improved health for the soldier, and such scenes as one may witness in Piccadilly or other London streets at night have been effectively squelched by the strong Prussian hand, with benefit to all concerned.

Burden of Food Problem

"The lot of the German woman has been much more difficult than the lot of the woman in the allied countries, for upon her has fallen the great and increasing burden of the struggle to get enough to eat for her household. In practically all classes of Germany it has been the custom of the German to come home from his work, whether in a Government office, bank, or factory, for his midday meal, usually followed by an hour's sleep.

"For him special food is always provided, and the wife and children sit round patiently watching him eat it. He expects special food today. The soldier, of course, is getting it, and properly, but the stay-at-homes, who are all men over 45 or lads under 19, still get the best of such food as can be got. National work in Germany means war work pure and simple, and now, as we have read, the women are to be treated exactly as the men in this respect, except that they will not be sent to the front.

"The feeling of German women of the lower classes seems to rise and fall in curves, changing apparently about every three months. There was a great curve of rebellious talk, food talk, and peace talk in July. Immediately following the Somme offensive, the losses in which were not known for some weeks, but which trickled through gradually, there began the agitation for the great munition strike which was to have taken place on Aug. 1. The dimensions of this proposed rising seem to have been effectually concealed by the German censorship. I found very little about it in the English newspapers which reached Berlin, but what I did read were isolated fragments, such as the Kaiser's appeal to the people on Aug. 1, which, if it be referred to, will be found to include a special appeal to the workers. No one in England seems to know about this important movement.

"What happened was that there was a significant movement of machine guns to all points of danger, such as the Moabit district of Berlin, and Spandau, together with countless warnings against so-called 'anarchists.' The German Government went through a period of anxiety, and the story, if I had space here to tell it, is one of intense dramatic interest.

"Casual visitors to Berlin hotels knew nothing of the subject. The interned American and other neutral correspondents dare not say a word about it, and this great suppressed upheaval has passed away for a time with other incidents of the war that have been so effectively gagged."

These glimpses of social and domestic conditions show that the war has wrought great changes; and it is certain that after the war European life will have a new color and a new tone. At present the effect of the war on social life is to eliminate practically all ideas except those of waging war and solving the serious household problem of sufficient food. The war, too, has had its effect upon customs and manners. The social castes, which are alien to American ideas, have been subjected to a process of disintegration; and, though it is too much to hope that the result will be a real advance toward democracy in sentiment or social relations, the effect of the war cannot be obliterated.

But the chief impression that life under war conditions produces is one of depression. So many things that in normal times lend spice and savor to life have disappeared. A thousand social and intellectual activities have been paralyzed; and, though the prosperity that has come into the homes of many poor people is a

new sensation, it is accompanied in almost every case by bereavement, by the affliction of seeing relatives and friends the wrecks of their former selves, or by the gnawing anxieties which haunt those whose men are still unscathed on the battle fronts. The chief fact, the overwhelming fact, in the homes of the warring people is to be found in the countless names of the killed and wounded. In those cities where the authorities have decreed black nights the darkness of the streets and public places is but a symbol of the gloom in which millions of homes and centres of social life have been plunged by the war.

[French Cartoon on the Berlin Food Riots]

Hunger über Alles

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

GERMAN WOMAN RIOTER: "They eat! Those Frenchwomen eat!"

Edison Foresees the Downfall of Kings

Thomas A. Edison, who predicted at the beginning that the war would last three years, has recently told an interviewer that the war means the approaching end of autocratic Kings in Europe. He said:

Only three existing European Governments will endure, I think—the British, the French, and the Swiss. Britain is as republican as our own United States. The King is its social head, but Parliament makes its laws. A new order is coming everywhere, and it will be the republican order.

The non-republican Governments will die. They will die hard, perhaps, but they will die ere long. The people of the world undoubtedly have willed that they shall be their own masters, and what the people will is sure to come to pass.

That same modern science which is making this great war so terrible, those same developments of modern thought which have been used so cleverly by sophists to bolster up the German theories, are working toward this end.

This war was planned by the masters of two nations of Europe as a means with which to thrust upon the shoulders of great masses new burdens, but it will work out to be an instrument through which the people will get rid of some of the burdens which they have borne in the past. The world, I think, now is throwing a rider which for a thousand years has bestridden it.

Hindenburg's Letter on the Food Situation in Germany

Field Marshal von Hindenburg sent the following important letter to Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg on Sept. 27, 1916:

YOUR EXCELLENCY is aware of the magnitude of the task confronting our war industries if the war is to be brought to a successful issue. The solution of the labor question is at the same time a crucial matter, not only on account of the number of the workers but more particularly because of the individual productivity realized by means of sufficient nourishment. In the most praiseworthy way the War Food Department (Kriegsernährungsamt) has devoted especial attention to the feeding of the munition workers. Nevertheless, while this department was able to exercise some slight influence in the carrying out of the necessary measures, it lacked the unanimous and devoted co-operation of the central authorities of the country and that of the subordinate and communal administrations. Among these bodies it does not seem to me to be sufficiently clearly realized that this is a matter of the existence or the nonexistence of our people and our empire.

It is impossible for our workers to continue productive unless means are found to provide them with an equitably distributed quantity of fat. It is reported to me from the Ruhr coal fields and other districts that it has never been possible to provide anything like an adequate and proper fat supply. In our victorious land (Siegerland) the provision of food of this description has for the last two months been quite insignificant.

It would appear that in the purely agricultural districts of Germany, and also among our leading agriculturists themselves, these things are not sufficiently understood. What the agriculturist is called upon to do is not only to look—as, of course, he is bound to look—after the increase of produce, but also to see that this produce, especially fat, should be freely supplied for use in amplest measure. State compulsion is an empiric means promising but little result, but I can undertake to guarantee success if there is organized among the leaders of agriculture a complete and thoroughgoing propaganda in favor of the proper feeding of our war industry workers. All State regulation of consumption must fail unless the intelligent, voluntary co-operation of all classes in town and country be forthcoming, and unless every German is fully convinced that this co-operation is just as much a patriotic duty (vaterländische Pflicht) as is the sacrifice of body and life by our troops on the battlefields at the front.

I beg your Excellency in the most emphatic manner to bring before the notice of all authorities, bodies, and administrations, communal or otherwise, the gravity of the situation, that they may by all the means available secure the plentiful feeding of our war munition workers, that the leading personalities of all parties may enroll themselves as leaders of the great home army working at plow and lathe, and so arouse the furor teutonicus among peasantry and town workmen alike. I am convinced that our official departments—with all their unsurpassed capacity and purity of motive, all their energy and good-will—have become atrophied amid all these prolonged and wearisome discussions as to what is to be done for the best. Irresolution is the result. Your Excellency will not fail to recognize the danger that lies therein. The people want to see strong and resolute officials; then they themselves will become strong also, and will uncomplainingly submit to many a measure, however inconvenient.

Germany Under Civil Conscription

An Unprecedented War Measure

THE German Reichstag on Dec. 2, 1916, adopted a compulsory civilian service bill by a vote of 235 to 19. This is the most drastic step ever undertaken by any Government to mobilize all the man power of a nation by force. It represents the apotheosis of organization in war, and confirms the absolute confidence of the German people in the invincibility of their organizing talent. The execution of this measure is in the hands of General Gröner, chief of the newly created Kriegsamt, (War Emergency Office,) who formerly was chief of the Military Railway Service.

All men of the whole of Germany from 16 to 60 are to be enrolled and controlled from one central organization called the Office of War.

General Gröner thus describes the organization:

"The new War Office represents Germany as a colossal firm which includes all production of every kind, and is indifferent to the kind of coat, civil or military, which its employes wear. The new measures are intended to mobilize all effective labor, whereas up to the present we have only mobilized the army and industry. The whole war is becoming more and more a question of labor, and in order to give the army a firm basis for its operations the domestic army must also be mobilized. All the labor, women's as well as men's, must be extracted from the population, so far as possible voluntarily. But if voluntary enlistment does not suffice we shall not be able to avoid the introduction of compulsion."

Text of the New Law

The measure is called the Patriotic Auxiliary Service law, and it contains four clauses, as follows:

1. Every male German, from the completion of his seventeenth to the completion of his sixtieth year, is, in so far as he has not been summoned to service with the armed forces, liable to Patriotic Auxiliary Service during the period of the war.

2. Patriotic Auxiliary Service consists, apart from service in Government offices and official institutions, in particular in service in war industry, in agriculture, in the nursing of the sick, and in organizations of every kind of an economic character connected with the war, as well as in other undertakings which are immediately or indirectly of importance for purposes of the conduct of the war or the provision of the requirements of the people.

The control of the Patriotic Auxiliary Service belongs to the War Office (Kriegsamt) set up in the Prussian Ministry of War.

3. The Federal Council issues the provisions required for the carrying out of this law. The Federal Council can make contraventions of the law punishable by imprisonment for not more than one year and by fines to the amount of not more than $2,500 or by one of these penalties or by arrest.

4. The law enters into force on the day of its proclamation. The Federal Council decides the date at which it ceases to be in force.

A series of six "rules" appended to the law provides for the complex system under which the law is to be administered. These rules place the power fully in military hands and are so worded as to make it impossible for the Reichstag to tamper with them.

Provision for Appeals

Appeals will go before a central committee, set up by the War Office and consisting of two officers of the War Office, one of whom will preside; two officials nominated by the Imperial Government, and one official nominated by the State concerned in the case. Appeals may be made by employers, by employed, or by the President of the local committee.

It is provided that people who come under the law can be called up at any time. "As a rule," there will, in the first place, be a call for volunteers. If this call is not answered "in sufficient measure," a written call will be issued by a committee consisting of an officer as

President and with a casting vote, a senior official, a representative of employers and a representative of employed. Every man who receives a written call must seek work in one of the various categories of work designated in the bill. If he does not actually enter upon such work within a fortnight of receiving the written call, he will be allotted work by the committee last mentioned.

Appeals against the findings of these committees can be made to the military authority of the district, but the laying of an appeal will not justify any postponement of the obligation to begin work. "Respect is to be paid as far as possible to the age, family circumstances, place of residence, health, and previous occupation of the man liable for service."

Another clause provides that nobody shall employ a workman who is engaged, or who has during the preceding fortnight been engaged, in any of the specified kinds of "Patriotic Auxiliary Service," unless the man produces a certificate that he has left his work with the consent of his employer. Provision is made against unjust refusal on the part of employers to grant such certificates.

An Official Explanation

An official explanatory statement appended to the law calls attention to the importance of Clause 3 of the law, which leaves all provisions for carrying out the measure to the Federal Council:

> Only the Federal Council can issue the necessary regulations, because the endlessly manifold and constantly changing conditions to which the bill must apply can be met only by movable regulations, easily capable of alteration, and not by rigid statutory prescription.

As regards the exclusion of women, the explanatory statement says:

> It seems possible to do without the establishment of an equal compulsion for women, because it is considered that it will be possible, without a special stimulus, to provide in abundant measure the labor of German women which has proved itself so well in the war.

The explanatory statement also contains the following general observations of interest:

> Notwithstanding all the successes already won, the German people must still hold firm against the storm of a world of enemies, relying singly and alone upon its own strength and the support of its allies. In order to make victory sure, it is desirable to place the strength of the whole people at the service of the Fatherland. * * *
>
> The home army can still be increased considerably, and hitherto war work has lacked the rigid uniformity and regulation which can alone raise achievement to the maximum, and which alone can guarantee complete success. The object of the establishment, by the Emperor's Cabinet Order of Nov. 1, of the War Office is to embrace the whole population which has not been drawn into army service, and to make appropriate use of this population for the great purpose of defending the Fatherland. * * *
>
> He who is capable of any work has in this great and grievous time no further right to be idle. Thus far every man who is not called to the colors is free to choose whether, to what extent, and in what way, he shall employ his power of work, in so far as he is not bound by official obligations or contracts. This must henceforward no longer be the case to the same extent in the people's war which we are fighting. At home as well as in the field every German man must give his whole strength at the point where the Fatherland needs it most and at the point where, according to his physical and intellectual qualifications, he can render the Fatherland the best service. In deciding what work can be continued at all during the period of the war and what work shall be done by individual persons the only decisive consideration must be whether and to what extent a man's work is of use for the purposes of the conduct of the war and of the provision for the needs of the people, which is closely connected with the conduct of the war.
>
> In such fashion it will be possible to increase, in accordance with requirements, the capacity of the branches of business and the establishments which are peculiarly important for the conduct of the war and for war economy, and yet at the same time to free for military service a larger number of suitable persons. Both at home and in the occupied territories it will be possible at many points to substitute men liable for auxiliary service for men liable for military service.
>
> As in service with the army, so in this whole proceeding, no respect must be paid to social distinctions. For the service of the Fatherland, of whatever kind it may be, there can be only citizens, not ranks and classes.
>
> When such an appeal is made for general participation in the service for the conduct of the war, it may be expected that wide circles of the people will not desire to be backward in love of country and cheerful sacrifice, as compared with those who voluntarily flocked to the colors immediately after the outbreak of war. Beyond doubt many of them at present lack only a suitable opportunity to perform voluntary auxiliary service. If this home service is regulated in a determined and

appropriate fashion, assuredly so many people will gladly take their place in the ranks that compulsion, although it is impossible to do without it as a last resource, will be necessary only in comparatively rare cases.

The provision in the bill that the Federal Council must be left to decide how long it shall remain in force is explained by the remark that "it is impossible to judge the duration of the war, for which, at longest, the bill has a meaning."

A Complex Organization

Large Berlin hotels are being taken over for offices of various departments. General von Gröner has two chiefs of staff, one a military chief, who will control such matters as concern the freeing of men for actual service with the colors and also urgent and immediate requirements of strictly military character. Equal in rank with him is the "technical chief of staff." The latter is not an officer, but a German industrial magnate—namely, Dr. Kurt Sorge, Director of the Gruson works at Magdeburg. Under Dr. Sorge come subordinate groups dealing with different departments, including mines, iron and steel works, chemical works, powder factories, agriculture, and labor.

The actual munitions department, which comes under the military section, has been given a new chief in General Coupette. His office is known as "Wumba," from the first letters of its full official title, Waffen-und-Munitions-Beschaffungsamt. Parallel with "Wumba" is the War Labor and Labor Substitute Department under Colonel Marquardt, hitherto Chief of the General Staff of one of the western armies.

The War Labor Department in turn includes two departments—namely, labor and substitutes. A further subsection is the Raw Material Department, with a division for import and export, under Lieut. Col. Häusler, and another division for popular economic questions under Colonel Wilke. The subsections are already working, dealing with a number of individual features, such as industries, various branches of agriculture, &c.

This Central Office for War will have provincial offices in various industrial districts, and will have representatives attached to every army staff in the field, and also a large number of travelers. There will also be representatives attached to the staff of every inland army corps district. There will be special provincial branches of the Office for War at Düsseldorf and at Metz, in view of the importance of the industrial provinces of the Rhineland, Westphalia and Alsace-Lorraine.

The travelers will be intrusted with the examination of such questions as to whether, in this factory or in that, production can be increased or better methods employed. They will include both practical experts and professional students. Thus students of the technical high schools will be employed as travelers, as subdirectors in industrial factories, and in other ways for which their studies have specially qualified them. By arrangement with the Ministry of Education and the universities this practical experience will be counted as student work and will qualify for routine public examinations, degrees, &c.

Under the Kriegsamt is also a department for feeding the population engaged on war work. It appears that Germany's Food Dictator, Herr von Batocki, will in future have his functions restricted to that of apportioning among old and infirm, young children, and non-working mothers so much of Germany's food supplies as happen to be left over when the needs of the working population have been satisfied.

General Groener's Explanation

In explaining more in detail the operation of the measure General Gröner addressed the Reichstag on Nov. 30, laying stress on the assertion that the law would be executed with common sense. It was far from the Kriegsamt's purpose to use irrational, much less violent, means in execution of the law, he said. Germany needed men, who gladly entered the nation's service; men who must be tied down were of no use. It was desired to cover the whole empire's industry with a tremendous network so that all its efforts might be turned into one channel leading to a victorious end of the war.

Much had been said about closing up industrial establishments of a certain

kind, he continued. The people seemed to think that after Dec. 1 some such orders would be issued as "You shut up your place; you close down your factory." That was ridiculous. The speaker hoped that proprietors of such establishments would go themselves to the Kriegsamt to see how they could be usefully employed in the great war machinery behind the lines. No cast-iron rules could be laid down; every case would be treated on its own merits. The one-man shop certainly would be spared wherever possible.

Again, the Kriegsamt did not dream of issuing such orders as "So many shoemakers will leave Pirmasens today and proceed to Winkeltown," or "So many textile workers will leave Plauen for Winkeltown." Such severe measures would only come as an ultimate step. The Kriegsamt would begin by taking work to laborers. Only where question of machines made this impossible would it transplant the necessary laborers, and then the State would see that their families lacked nothing.

Fearful stories had been told also of intended recruiting for civil service, but the Reichstag might rest assured that the Kriegsamt did not dream of taking the artist from the theatre to place him in the foundry, where the only thing he could do was to amuse other workers. Nor would it ask professors, no matter how learned, to bore guns or make ordnance bags. Not even a registry of civil service recruits would be kept, because it prevented too many men from doing work more profitable to the nation.

One of the principal purposes of the Kriegsamt, as outlined by General Gröner, would be to replace as far as possible soldiers, or men who might be soldiers, now employed behind the lines and throughout the country, with men of the civil service. Many people were shuddering at what they considered a violent incision into the nation's economic organism, but it was just this that enabled Germany to conduct the war with such splendid success. He said he could assure the Reichstag that no violent disturbances were necessary, but of course sacrifices would have to be made here and there. He did not know what the future might bring or what new sinister plans the enemy might lay to defame Germany in the world; therefore this thing must be done on gigantic lines.

He declared that it was intended to increase material efforts, increase resources of men, arms, and ammunition, and strengthen the moral power of the German people and their will to win. Such an organization would have the effect of a splendid tonic on the brave men in the trenches when they realized that the people at home were uniting with them in their efforts to win "a glorious peace."

German Organization at the Beginning of the War

DR. WALTER RATHENAU, who at the beginning of the war was appointed to superintend the supplying of the War Office with raw materials, has issued a brochure describing the measures he took to carry out this purpose. It throws a further light on German efficiency methods. Dr. Rathenau says:

On Aug. 4, 1914, when England declared war, the terrible event which has never happened before occurred, and our country became a beleaguered fortress. Shut in by land and by sea, it was now thrown on its own resources, and war lay before us immeasurable in time and space, in danger and sacrifice. Three days after the declaration of war I could not bear the uncertainty of the position any longer, and I announced myself at the War Office, where Colonel Scheuch received me in a friendly manner. I told him that our country was only provided with the necessary material of war for a limited number of months. He agreed as to my calculation of the duration of the war, and so I put this question to him: "What is being done, what can be done, to prevent a shortage of supplies?"

Dr. Rathenau then went to see the Minister of War, von Falkenhayn, and

it was decided to found a war organization for supplies. He was given a Colonel to assist him, with a secretary, and the bureau started in four small rooms. Finally he got his friend, Professor Klingenberg, the head of the greatest electrical company in Berlin, and another business man, von Moellendorff, to assist in the work:

The first question which met us was a question of discovery. We had to know for how many months the necessary supplies would last. On this hung every measure that we took. The reports of various industries were contradictory to the extent of 10 per cent. in most cases. I was told that I could get the statistics in six months. But I had to get them in a fortnight. * * * A daring conception, a hypothesis was necessary, and this plan succeeded. It was assumed that the average output of German industry would be in the same proportion as in any given large group of firms. The War Office had 900 to 1,000 contractors. If we sent around inquiries to these firms and gathered what their power of production was in their various industries, we should be able to arrive at with some probability the total capacity of the country. It was a question of big figures, and the experiment succeeded. In a fortnight light began to come, and in three weeks we had accurate information. In a few materials the supply was more than sufficient for the war demands at that time, which have since been greatly exceeded. But in the great majority of instances it was much less.

Dr. Rathenau then describes the steps which he took to meet the difficulty:

There were four possible methods to establish industry on a firm basis and to guarantee our capacity for defense. In the first place, all raw stuff in the country had to be put into a position that could be commandeered, and voluntary courses and private desires could no longer be consulted. Every material and every half-manufactured product had to be disposed of in such a way that nothing might be devoted to luxury or its relative needs. The flow of things had to be forcibly restricted, so that they were automatically diverted to those final products and means of manufacture which the army needed. That was the first and most difficult task.

Secondly. [Here the censor has made a complete cut.]

The third source of supply which offered itself to us was manufactures. We had to see that everything that was produced in the country was necessary and essential. We had also to see that new methods of production were discovered and developed where former technical means were insufficient.

And now for the fourth plan. We had to find a substitute for stuff that was in excessive demand in other and more easily made things. Where it was prescribed that this or that object had to be made out of copper or aluminium, it could be made out of something else. Something different had to be found, and old-fashioned methods of manufacture had to be put on a new basis.

When the old methods became troublesome, owing to the need of material, prejudices had to be broken down, and products had to be made, which was more easily done in view of our means of supply.

These were the methods which came under survey. They were not the solutions of the difficulties, but they showed the way, possible means of solution, and the hope of attaining our ends.

But on the other hand were the obstacles which we could not foresee. We knew that this war industry had to be newly created; we knew that in some new way or other its material would have to be distributed and held in readiness. How could that be done? A new conception was needed of the war industries. Today that is an affair which is now regarded as quite ancient history. Many of these war industries are in every one's mouth. They are known to be well established.

But the paradox of their creation seemed so great that even in our narrow circle, which so clearly thought out the measures to be taken, there was a doubt about the possibility of seeing our plans through. Even the industrials did not give an absolutely warm welcome to the new raw stuffs companies. The metal industries were some of them willing enough. But they asked, indeed, "What use is a company which is nobody's servant; what shall we do with it? We have so far looked after our business, and can do it in the future." Yet they fell into line, partly to please me, and also, perhaps, because, as they said, nothing was lost by doing so.

Is was a very different story with the chemical industry. It possesses great captains of industry from the Rhineland, very independent men who carry great responsibilities, chiefs of countless battalions of workmen. There was nothing very uncanny about the new departure to them. An influential gentleman went around the Rhineland with a warning of the new experiment. Finally there was a great meeting, and when the masters realized that an unlimited amount of saltpetre could no longer be given to them, there was a scene which reminded one of the Ball House in Paris in the year 1789.

In spite of that, matters were arranged, and today we are as deeply grateful to the chemical industry for its co-operation as for its output. If this admirable German industry found it difficult to accommodate itself to the first measures which had to be taken, it has perhaps achieved the highest place among our war industries for boldness, initiative, and inventive power.

Nearly every week produced new arrangements. We began with metals, and after that

came chemicals, jute, wool, worsted goods, India rubber, cotton, leather, skins, flax, linen, and horsehair. These industries were arranged partly on the basis of limited companies, partly on the basis of discount companies, (Abrechnungstellen.)

All these proceedings required weeks of preparation, agreement in the industries, understandings about conditions of work, and the creation of new powers, directors, buyers, and warehouses. Our aim was to see that the whole responsible strength of an industry was used for more and more economical production.

Today the official personnel of the companies, subsidiary concerns, and branch organizations of the parent companies numbers thousands, and their turn-over is reckoned by hundreds of millions. This organization has certainly served Germany well.

French and British Food Economy Measures

BOTH France and Great Britain have adopted drastic measures to conserve the food supply. Late in November the French Council of Ministers decided to create an Under Secretaryship of State for Civil and Military Food Supplies, which will be centralized in the hands of M. Joseph Thierry. The department is to be attached to the Presidency of the Council.

The measures with a view to restricting and economizing food and other supplies include:

The rationing of motor spirit.

No fresh pastry.

No fancy bread.

No refined sugar.

Butchers and slaughter houses to be closed one or two days a week.

The Minister of Finance, the Budget Committee, and the Fiscal Legislation Committee are agreed upon the ways and means of the proposed fresh taxation, which is estimated to produce an additional revenue of $120,000,000:

Mining dues and the tax on horses, carriages, billiards, clubs, and gamekeepers are to be doubled.

There is to be a State dog tax.

The general income tax from 1917 is to be raised from 2 to 5 per cent., with an exemption limit of $600 instead of $1,000.

An increase in the wine, cider, beer, and tobacco duties.

Letter postage is to be 3 cents instead of 2 cents.

There is to be a home consumption tax on coffee, cocoa, tea, spices, patent medicines, and mineral waters.

A war tax of $2.50, plus the percentage of income tax, on all non-mobilized men irrespective of age.

Great Britain has appointed a Food Controller, Baron Devonport, under the provisions of the new law. The Board of Trade and Food Controller are given power:

(1) For a return of milk contracts, sales, purchases, and prices, the object being to limit the increase in the cost of milk.

(2) For a return of stocks of potatoes exceeding twenty tons and of the purchasers of potatoes where the sales exceed twenty tons.

(a) To proceed against any person who wastes or unnecessarily destroys any article of food.

(b) To prescribe the purposes for which an article of food may or may not be used. (For instance, whole milk is not to be given to pigs.)

(c) To prevent the milling of pure white flour from which some of the nutritive properties of the wheat have been abstracted, and to require millers to produce only a "straight grade" flour, which will raise the yield by about 8½ per cent.

(d) To provide for the proper distribution of food—by the use of food tickets, should this become necessary.

(e) To prevent the "cornering" of articles of food.

(f) To fix maximum prices. (It is not intended to fix prices generally, but it may be done in regard to milk and other articles.)

(g) To take over the whole of the wheat crops should the Government so decide.

(h) To secure returns of stocks of commodities held by individuals of contracts entered into for the sale and purchase of such commodities and of the cost of production.

The consumption of sugar has been reduced, its use in certain forms of confectionery is forbidden. These new measures were taken in consequence of the rapid increase in food prices, which rose 5 per cent. in the month of November and averaged 27 per cent. above the prevailing prices in November, 1915, and over 75 per cent. above the average in July, 1914.

Economy in food has become the order of the day all over England. In the dining rooms of the House of Commons pressed nut food is substituted for meats, and vegetable luncheons are served. A

sample vegetarian dinner at 62 cents is as follows:

Cream of Celery.
Mock Sole.
Curry Nuttoria or Mock Veal Cutlets and Stuffing.
Brussel Sprouts or Cabbage. Potatoes.
Hot Apple and Cranberry Tart or Cold Figs and Rice.
Bread, Cheddar or Cheshire Cheese, One Pat of Butter.

The nut dishes are made from a large assortment of different kinds of nuts, including Barcelona, cashew, cocoanut, chestnut, hazelnut, pecan nut, (from Texas,) pistachios, peanuts, and pine kernels.

The price of milk at retail is limited to 4 cents excess over the pre-war prices. All the London hotels have abandoned the Christmas and New Year's dinner functions.

Cap'n Storm-Along

ALFRED NOYES IN LONDON CHRONICLE

Mr. Noyes, foremost of living English poets, has written a series of sea songs inspired by the war. In this one he glorifies the British trawlers, former fishing boats that now fish for German submarines.

They are buffeting out in the bitter gray weather:
Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down!
Sea-lark singing to Golden Feather,
And burly blue waters all swelling aroun'.
There's Thunderstone butting ahead as they wallow,
With death in the mesh of their deep-sea trawl.
There's Night-hawk swooping by wild Sea-swallow,
And old Cap'n Storm-along leading 'em all.

Bashing the seas to a welter of white,
Look at the fleet that he leads to the fight.
O, they're dancing like witches to open the ball;
And old Cap'n Storm-along's lord of 'em all.

Now where have you seen such a bully old sailor?
His eyes are as blue as the scarf at his throat;
And he rolls on the bridge of his rusty black whaler
In yellow sou'wester and oilskin coat.
In trawler and drifter, in dinghy and dory,
Wherever he signals, they leap to his call.
They batter the seas to a lather of glory,
With old Cap'n Storm-along leading 'em all.

You'll find he's from Devon, the sailor I mean.
Look at his whaler now, shipping it green.
O Fritz and his "U-boat" must crab it and crawl,
When old Cap'n Storm-along sails to the ball.

Ay, there is the skipper that knows how to scare 'em,
Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down!
Look at the sea-wives he keeps in his harem,
Wicked young merry-maids, buxom and brown.
There's Peggy, the sea-witch, and Gipsy, so lissom,
All dancing like ducks in the teeth of the squall,
With a bright eye for Huns, and a Hotchkiss to kiss 'em;
For old Cap'n Storm-along's lord of 'em all.

Look at him, battering darkness to light.
Look at the fleet that he leads to the fight.
O, hearts that are mighty, in ships that are small,
Your old Cap'n Storm-along's king of us all.

The Story of the Möwe's Exploits

Told by an Officer of the German Raider

[Copyright, 1916, by The New York Times.]

Herewith is presented the first full story of the deeds of the Möwe, the famous German sea raider which stole into the Atlantic last January and captured fifteen merchant ships of the Allies. One of these vessels, the Appam, was sent to Norfolk, Va., in charge of Lieutenant Berg and a German prize crew; it was later declared by an American court to be the property of its British owners, though it remains at present in American waters pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. The dramatic account of the Möwe's operations given below is from the log of an officer of the German sea raider.

ROUGH weather and complete darkness enabled the Möwe, in command of Count Dohna-Schlodien, to leave port and reach the North Sea undiscovered. Heavy seas tossed the ship as if she were a nutshell. Many of the crew, old sailors, paid tribute to Neptune. The Möwe's disguise was a clever piece of work. None of the British ships which we passed while breaking through the patrol ever thought of hailing us, believing, of course, that we were on our way to some English port.

COUNT DOHNA-SCHLODIEN
Captain of the Moewe

It certainly required not a little of nerve to lay mines almost under the noses of the British warships, but favorable, stormy weather with low visibility aided the work, which we carried on all night with feverish haste, every man working to the end of his strength. High seas continually washed over the ship, and made our task more difficult. Below decks everything that had not been fastened securely was smashed to pieces, and in the crew's quarters the water was standing a foot deep. It seemed as if Neptune was in his worst rage and bent on our destruction. Finally, the weather became milder and we could lay the second and third cordon of mines in still better time. With the quiet sea and excellent weather showing, the danger of being discovered was naturally much greater, but John Bull thought the German rats safely bottled up—never dreaming they would dare to come out to disturb his leisure.

Those first were our worst hours. Everywhere we could see lights of the British patrol ships. The searchlight of one of them even played on the Möwe for some time. Our commander then had the deck cleared for action, thinking that now the first encounter with the enemy was on hand. But, with true British carelessness, they never thought of coming nearer and investigating the certainly suspicious craft. We went ahead sowing the sea with mines full of sudden death and hell for the ships that stepped on these snakes of the deep. The calmness of Count Dohna-Schlodien had taken possession of every one of us on board. And our work went on with smooth regularity until the last mine, at the end of the third night in the Channel, went overboard with three "Hurrahs."

Count Dohna-Schlodien assembled officers and crew amidships to tell them that his further orders included a cruiser warfare. He intended to search the steamer lanes in the Atlantic and go as far as South America in order to do as much damage as possible to British shipping, and then return to port at the beginning of March. This announcement was greeted with great enthusiasm by all on

board. The following day, Jan. 11, we discovered at some distance signs of the first ship prey, and we quickly were in pursuit. In the meantime another steamer was sighted, which laid a course toward us. However, our Captain managed to come between both of them, and soon the German flag of war as well as the signal "Stop" went up on our mast. To make sure, a shot was fired across the bow of both steamers.

We had come so close we could observe the great confusion that prevailed on both ships. They could not have dreamed of being halted so near their destination by a warship of the German Navy, all of which the British claimed they had driven off the sea. In wild haste lifeboats were swung out, and every member of the crew went after his belongings. The second ship was told to stand by and hold its crew on board while we were making preparations to sink the first steamer—the Farrington, 3,146 tons, hailing from Sunderland. The crew had taken to the boats in complete disorder, but performed the task without accident, except one sailor receiving a fracture of the leg. Their boats were alongside us when our prize crew left to search the Farrington before sinking her. The cargo, consisting largely of copper, was of great value. A few good shots then sent the steamer to the bottom.

A thick fog had come up in the meantime and our second prize had taken advantage of this to make an attempt to escape. The Captain must have thought his chances good for a clean getaway in the thickening weather, because we still had some of our boats out, but he had not figured on the skill of German sailors. In a remarkably short time we had all our boats on board and the chase began.

Our first shot, coming very close to the steamer, did not disturb the Captain. But a second shot, from a distance of about 13,000 meters, went over the bridge and soon brought him to his senses. After half an hour we had reached the steamer and a prize crew went aboard. It was the Corbridge, 3,687 tons, with a cargo of Cardiff coal from Barry on the way to Rosario. It was the Corbridge's maiden voyage, and this induced our commander not to sink our fine catch—also we would need a part of the coal aboard later on for ourselves. The crew of the steamer was taken over, and she was manned by some of our men with orders to meet the Möwe on a certain day at a fixed place.

Great enthusiasm stirred us all that very evening by the wireless message that the British dreadnought King Edward VII. had struck one of the mines laid by the Möwe and was blown up.

Twenty-four hours of rest gave us an opportunity to overhaul the Möwe thoroughly. The very next day (Jan. 13) we sighted the British steamer Dromonby, in the service of the Royal British Navy, known as No. 526, and on her way from Cardiff to St. Vincent with 5,000 tons of coal. Closing in on her was difficult, and at one time a collision was narrowly averted. But a well-aimed shot and a sharp watch of the manoeuvres of the enemy prevented an accident. The steamer was blown up and sank within two hours.

We had hardly finished this prize when another came in sight. Full speed ahead, we reached her at 3 o'clock that afternoon, but the usual warning had to be given before she stopped and heaved to. It was the Author, with a cargo of 5,000 tons of merchandise from London to Natal. In her cargo we picked out many a good thing for ourselves, a few sheep and large quantities of rice, the latter a welcome addition to the menu of the natives of India we had as prisoners on board. Seven full-bred horses had to be shot, to our deep regret, and as little use we could find for a number of brand-new automobiles on board. This steamer was blown up, but before she sank and we had got away we came into a very dangerous position.

The wind had shifted and the wreck of the steamer was drifting toward us, coming closer every minute. A number of boats loaded with members of the crew and quantities of the seized cargo were still out and prevented our commander from starting the Möwe's engines. These few minutes—hours they seemed to us—would have ended our cruise right

there had it not been for the skill of Count Dohna-Schlodien, who manoeuvred the Möwe out of the course of this dangerous wreck when the steamer had come within a few meters of us. The wreck thus drifted by us and sank while we were still taking natives of India on board. Stern first she disappeared beneath the waves. Night lifebelts of the Author sent their phosphorescent light about as they touched the water, giving a brilliant exhibition of fireworks, which lit up the sky, but they almost scared away a third steamer that had come up in the meantime. Count Dohna went closer to the field of wreckage, had boats lowered again, and the fire was extinguished.

Now the moon had risen, showing the way to the third steamer, which promptly and with supreme confidence signaled her British nationality. We had been accustomed to observe astonished expressions on the faces of the men on every steamer we had captured so far, but the crew of the Trader, for that was the name of our latest victim, seemed to have the surprise of their lives when they learned of our heavy armament. This steamer, of 3,608 tons, with a cargo of sugar of 5,000 tons, was also blown up. While the moon was shining she disappeared like the rest. It was a beautiful sight. She also sank stern first, but capsized in her last moments in a sort of death writhing. The number of prisoners on board the Möwe had now reached more than a hundred, and besides them we had a zoo of monkeys, dogs, cats, and chickens.

The southern course we were traveling brought better weather every day. The nights were cool and refreshing, giving us relief from the heat of the day.

Twenty-four hours were spent establishing quarters for the prisoners below decks, and we had hardly finished this work when the next steamer appeared on the horizon. It was Jan. 15 when we encountered the Ariadne, 3,035 tons, from Rosario to Nantes with a cargo of grain. We had quickly come nearer and stopped her in the usual way. Several well-aimed shots fired into her hull beneath the water line, after the crew had safely got away, finished her. After this work breakfast was greatly enjoyed, but only to be interrupted by the command, "All hands on deck!" when a large steamer was sighted several miles away.

We soon found out that unusual luck had come across our course. This steamer was of large size and great value. She carried wireless, which made it still more difficult to go near her without disclosing our identity. Her feelers were working. Count Dohna took great care not to let this fine prize slip by him. We all knew that the Appam, with her greater speed, could easily have escaped us. But our commander managed to get so close that she had nothing to do but to take notice of our signals.

Again the German flag of war and the signal "Stop" went up; also the order to cut off her wireless station. But, on board of the steamer, our signals did not seem to be heeded until the first shot was fired across the bow of the Appam. Then the Captain apparently understood what we meant. He slowed up, but did not stop altogether. We manoeuvred to follow in the course of the Appam, and soon had her stern before us. There we discovered a gun on her deck and British soldiers in the act of making preparations to fire on us. Well-aimed rifle shots from the Möwe drove the soldiers from their post and a panic broke loose on the Appam.

Men, women, and children were in wild confusion. We saw that the Appam had a large number of passengers on board, who were putting on lifebelts and preparing to leap into boats or into the sea until the arrival of our prize crew. Their assurances that life and personal property would, of course, be spared calmed them.

We had captured an ocean liner of 7,781 tons on the way from Duala to Liverpool with oil, rubber, and cocoa. Among those on board were four British officers and thirty men of the Royal British Navy, who were taken prisoners and brought to the Möwe.

To our greatest pleasure, we discovered twenty Germans, among them three women. Their surprise was great

when we released them from their cabins. With tears rolling down their cheeks, they thanked us and could not understand that their countrymen had come to the rescue in the middle of the ocean when they had given up all hope of seeing the Fatherland for some years to come. The Germans were taken over to the Möwe and given a great ovation by her crew. Count Dohna welcomed them in warm words, and all joined in three cheers for the Kaiser and for Germany. It was a remarkable and touching scene to observe the joy of these liberated Germans.

While searching the ship our prize crew had discovered boxes of gold which represented a value of about one million marks.

The Möwe was now filled to her capacity with prisoners, and we had to find a way to make room for others. The Appam solved this problem. A crew of our men went aboard to stay until we had decided what the fate of the Appam would be. We knew that warships would be near such a valuable steamer, and we did not intend to jeopardize the safety of the Möwe and her fine prize. During the night the gold was taken aboard the Möwe, also the ammunition and the gun of the Appam. Our countrymen we had to send back to the Appam because we could not guarantee their safety on our future cruise. Two of them, however, insisted on staying aboard the Möwe and joining our crew.

On the 16th of January we were making preparations to put all of our prisoners on board of the Appam when another steamer came in sight.

A fast ship it was, equipped with wireless. We immediately started in pursuit and had reached her at sunset. With Morse signals we asked: "What ship are you?" The Captain sent back the same question, but did not obey our order to stop. To prevent her escape the Möwe crossed the course of the ship and again signaled the Captain to stop, adding this time the signal, "Here German cruiser." In the meantime both ships were dashing ahead in a parallel direction. We could observe that the ship was trying her best to get out of our dangerous company, although her Captain sent us the signal: "I have stopped."

At the same time it was noticed that the wireless of the ship was working at a great rate. We were now near the Canary Islands and Madeira. Wireless calls would have warned the British, and no doubt all the ships at Dakar have been armed. When another shot of warning did not bring the Captain to reason a shrapnel hit the ship's wireless station, silencing it.

The Clan MacTavish—as we later found out the ship was named—had cleared her afterdeck for action and was aiming a heavy gunfire at us, of course, without any result. This was sufficient for Count Dohna to proceed again parallel to the steamer and rake her, not caring now where our shots landed. Every salvo hit its mark. Soon we heard explosions on board and the ship was in a helpless position. Then her Captain Morsed, "We stop," at the same time ceasing fire. The Möwe's guns were also silenced, and our prize crew went aboard the ship. The men were taken off her, and a Captain and two sailors of the British Navy, who were in civilian clothes, added to the number of our prisoners of war.

The value of this prize was more than eleven million marks because the cargo consisted of skins, cotton, and meat. The steamer had been on the way from Sydney to London. Here in the middle of the ocean her trip was unexpectedly halted. At 9 o'clock that evening the Clan MacTavish, 4,693 tons, was under the Atlantic. Of the seventy natives of India on board the ship, some had been killed by gunfire, to our regret, and four others died shortly afterward. The night was quiet, and the natives buried their countrymen in the ocean. We had now more than five hundred people on board, and it was high time to transfer them to the Appam.

On Jan. 17 this was accomplished in a short time, and Lieutenant Berg received the order to bring the Appam to Newport News as a German prize of war, which he accomplished so well.

The Möwe then went in search of a new field of operations, taking a south-

ALL THAT WAS LEFT OF THE "WOODS OF CHAULNES" AFTER THE BATTLE

A View of the Beautiful Woods Near Chaulnes, on the Somme Front, as They Looked by the Time the French Artillery Had Driven Out the Germans.

(Photo Press Illustrating Co.)

FRENCH VILLAGE OF BOVENT AFTER THE STORM OF HIGH EXPLOSIVES

This Quiet Hamlet on the Somme Was Strongly Fortified by the Germans and Was Captured Only After Extraordinary Bombardment

(Photo Press Publishing Co.)

easterly course. This brought us out of reach of the German wireless, and we were now left to our fate. It may be remembered that the Corbridge, after her capture, had been manned by our prize crew on Jan. 11 and told to meet us on Jan. 30 at a fixed position. At 11 o'clock that morning she arrived and we had her follow us at a distance to take coal from her when the opportunity should offer.

By this time our cruise on the ocean had become more and more hazardous. From all sides warships of the enemy were closing in on us, vainly trying to locate our position. Jan. 23 brought a fine three-masted schooner, the Edinburgh of Glasgow, 1,437 tons, in sight. She had been on her way from India for over four months and was waiting in the Atlantic for better weather conditions. She didn't get them from us. Before the crew of the schooner recognized our flag of war they were signaling greetings over to us, because they had not passed a ship so near them for several months. And much greater was their surprise when told that they would be made prisoners. But the men did not seem to mind this at all. Their food had been so bad for many weeks that a change was readily welcomed. The Edinburgh was on her way from Rangoon to London with 2,000 tons of rice flour, of which we took over large quantities. The sinking of the schooner was a great spectacle. Dynamite, fastened on bags of flour, caused a high barb of fire to shoot out of her deck. The moon was sending its rays on the sinking ship—silence was all around us—and quietly the crew of the schooner watched their ship go to the bottom.

We were now nearing the day which we intended to celebrate as our first military holiday—the birthday of the Kaiser. Special arrangements were made for the feast, and an exceptional treat was promised in coffee, cakes, and cigars. Beer we had not tasted for a long time. Until this day our prisoners had always seen us in our fighting clothes. They had the surprise of their lives when, on the morning of the Kaiser's birthday, we assembled on deck in full parade uniform, not forgetting our white gloves.

In a short and enthusiastic address Count Dohna remarked that we were the only ship flying the German flag on the ocean, and that we had all reason to do honor to this flag and our German Fatherland by more heroic deeds, whatever the sacrifices might be. Three cheers for the Kaiser ended the ceremony.

On that afternoon the Corbridge came nearer, and Count Dohna decided to give all his men a few hours of rest and anchor at some favorable spot. This was done despite the dangers that were constantly hovering about us. The Corbridge was only a few hundred meters away. Coaling in the middle of the ocean under conditions not at all favorable was a task which took forty-eight hours. We had to cut loose from the Corbridge at times when the swell became too high. At last we had our bunkers filled and had also taken over what provisions still remained on the Corbridge. The ship was then blown up and sank in a short time.

The Möwe, in a cleverly designed new disguise, again laid her course for the steamer lanes, but the first prey was not sighted for several days. It was a Belgian ship, the Luxembourg, 4,322 tons, with a cargo of coal on her way to La Plata.

Our ship's register showed that we had now sent ten vessels to the bottom. The next few days were rather quiet for us. We feared that British cruisers had warned all trading vessels of our presence and were close on our heels. Dynamite and torpedoes were always in readiness. It was the determination of every one on board to defend our ship to the last man, and rather to blow it up and sink with her than have her captured by the enemy.

Not before Feb. 6 did we sight the next steamer, which was the Flamenco, of 4,629 tons, a fine ship. Her Captain tried to call for help, but a shrapnel near the bridge changed his mind, and he was seen standing with raised hands, indicating his willingness to surrender. While the prize crew was taking to the boat, the Flamenco, through some unknown circumstances, came into a dangerous position, and had almost rammed the Möwe.

Only the presence of mind and quickness of our commander averted the danger.

The great number of people on board the Möwe caused us some inconvenience. Fresh water began to run short, but our crew did with less in order to let the prisoners have their full measure. Again our engine rooms were completely overhauled and everything put in fine order to get the best possible speed out of our ship. This work was hardly finished when the next steamer appeared on the horizon. As soon as we came nearer, the Captain, with true British impudence, asked our name without disclosing his identity. Great excitement seemed to prevail on board. Some of the crew took to their boats and tried to escape in them. This was a dangerous undertaking in the middle of the ocean. When our prize crew went aboard they found only the Captain and the first engineer, the rest of the ship's company having left them to their fate. The Captain was a fine old gentleman. We found that it was the steamer Westburn of 3,300 tons. Our prize crew manned the ship, having orders to follow in our course. At the same time we sighted another steamer, which we chased all night, to be hailed in the morning as the Horace, 3,335 tons, with a valuable cargo of oil, cotton, alcohol, and benzine from Buenos Aires to Liverpool.

The Westburn reached us within a few hours, and Count Dohna decided to transfer all our prisoners to her. This was interesting work and lasted for some time. That afternoon the Westburn, with a few men of our crew and under the command of Lieutenant Badewitz, was directed to take a course toward Santa Cruz on Teneriffe. The Horace was blown up.

When the Westburn was out of sight we again laid a course toward the coast of Africa, and met a large liner filled with passengers. Count Dohna did not think it advisable to sink this ship, because of the difficulty of taking so large a number of passengers on board, which would have filled the Möwe above her capacity. And to send these passengers away in another steamer would have weakened our crew considerably.

Until we again reached the Canary Islands we had nothing to do, and Count Dohna was now more than ever before bent on going straight home. We spent one night taking the most important parts of the ship's engine down, and we were during this time, of course, absolutely helpless—an undertaking that manifested some nerve on our part. Had a cruiser of the enemy found us at this critical time we would have been lost beyond a doubt.

Many days had passed and no ship was sighted. One morning the well-known alarm bell sounded throughout the ship, and every man rushed to his post. A heavy sea was rolling the Möwe from one side to the other and causing much suffering among those on board. We had now captured thirteen steamers and were determined to get beyond this unlucky number. It was written our wish should be fulfilled. A Frenchman, the Maroni, 3,109 tons, from Bordeaux to New York, had crossed our course, making the fourteenth ship. She had wine, oil, cork, and seeds aboard, making a valuable prize. The sinking of this steamer was a fine spectacle. It took several hours before she went down, and, with her, went great quantities of wine, of which we had not had a taste for some time. It seemed a shame to see it go into the Atlantic. The next day luck was again with us, sending the British steamer Saxon Prince, 3,471 tons, our way.

Shortly after this work was done we heard good news from home. The Westburn had reached Santa Cruz, and the Appam was safely at Norfolk. The world had been astonished by our deeds, not knowing our name nor our strength and armament. Later we found out that the Westburn had left Santa Cruz under the noses of British cruisers and had sunk through an explosion of her boilers.

We had now reached the English coast, and all precautions were taken not to fall into the hands of the enemy at the very end of the raiding voyage. Our prisoners did not attempt to conceal their belief that we soon would exchange parts. Careful preparations and another complete alteration of the appearance of the Möwe were made before our dash through the British blockade was again undertaken. Most unfavorable weather

helped. We met ships of the enemy at a distance, but none halted us.

That very night, for we ran through under cover of darkness, before our arrival in a German port we were dangerously close to a flotilla of British torpedo boat destroyers and could not understand why they let us pass without even asking our nationality. We did not hesitate to send their position by wireless to the German naval base.

On the 4th of March we were in wireless communication with German torpedo boats. We were at home, or at least near the home coast. Several hours later we were to be rewarded for all our endurance by the most enthusiastic welcome we ever saw.

It was 10 o'clock in the morning and the sun had broken through the clouds. In the distance, still far away, we saw our own great fleet. German ships they were, and they had set out to greet us on our home coming. One by one they passed with hundreds of flags hoisted and their crews lined on deck to welcome us. With bands playing "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz!" and "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles!" two large cruisers passed us a short distance away, covered with flags and signals. We acknowledged this honor by hoisting the flags of all the ships we had sunk during our cruise. Soon we reached our home port, where the heartiest and warmest welcome came from the Kaiser, who conferred on every man on board the Iron Cross.

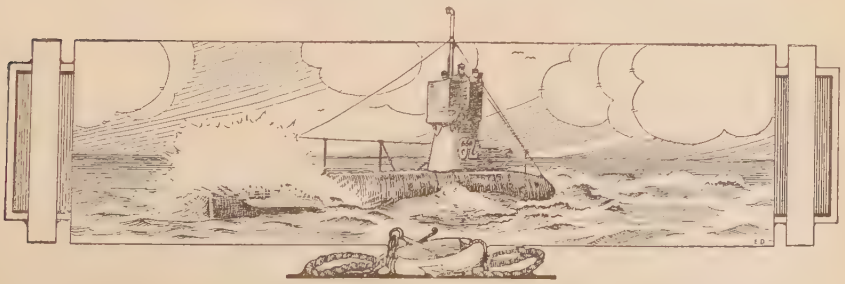
The Submarine

By CHART PITT

A shadow drifts through the sea-floor waves,
  Where the old armada sleeps,
Breaking the hush of those ancient graves,
  Where the war-god his lone watch keeps.
For them there was sunshine aglint on the sea,
  The heave of the flood-tide swells;
In their white-winged ships they wandered free,
  With the memory of last farewells.

Gladly and gayly they went to their doom,
  With the flutter of banners bright;
Voiceless they sank in the battle-gloom,
  With the wreckage adrift from the fight.
A bugle sounded its "Charge" through the night—
  Their battle-songs answered its call.
With a banner aflutter before their sight—
  Can you measure the bliss of their fall?

So their curses they heap on the gray submarine,
  When that shadowy ship glides by—
An assassin that lurks in the seaweed green,
  And hides from the light of the sky.
They met the foe in a fair open fight,
  In the dauntless days of the yore—
Now wolf-ships wait in the shadows of the night,
  When the battle fleet sails from the shore.

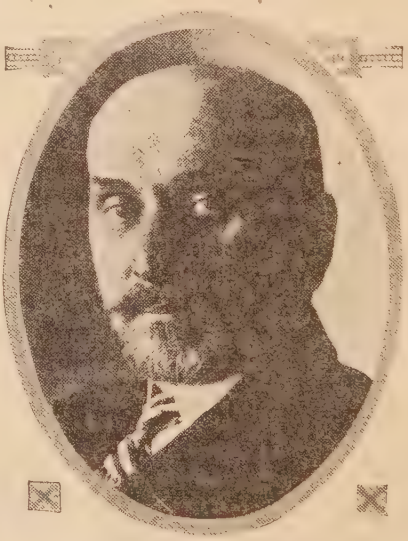


Sazonoff and Russian Imperial Intrigues Before the War

V. Vodovozoff, a distinguished Russian Liberal, recently contributed the subjoined article on Sazonoff's resignation to the monthly magazine Lyetopis of Petrograd. The accuracy of the translation is vouched for by Professor William G. Hastings of the Law College of the University of Nebraska. The article throws light on some of the dark places of diplomacy in the years leading up to the war.

THE liberal press and the liberal elements of society generally commented upon Sazonoff's resignation with sympathy and compassion; the black hundred and the nationalists for the most part, with some marked exceptions, however, followed him with malicious outcries. * * *

That the moderate-liberal elements of our society were on the whole very little inclined to be satisfieed with Sazonoff is entirely intelligible. * * * [Censored.] * * * At the present time an important part of our liberal society is not so far estranged from nationalistic strivings as it was twenty or thirty years ago. But the malicious outcry of the "True Russians" is none the less, if even not the more for that, lawful and intelligible. * * * Sazonoff * * * [censored] * * * at all events understood why the Zemschina reproached him so.



COUNT SERGIUS SAZONOFF
Former Russian Foreign Minister
(© *American Press' Ass'n.*)

D. S. Sazonoff stood at the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for six years, (1910-1916.) It was a notable epoch. It included the Italian-Turkish war, 1911-12; the war of the Balkan alliance against Turkey, 1912-13; the second Balkan war between yesterday's allies of 1913, and, finally, the great world war in 1914 and following years, in comparison with which the former three were like heat lightning far from a storm.

Six years ago there were already assembled against each other two rival combinations of Governments, and Russia's place in one of them was already defined with entire clearness. A triple alliance of Russia, England, and France was the work of Edward Grey in England and of Lamsdorf and Izvolsky in Russia. Sazonoff received it as an inheritance, fully prepared, and his task could only consist in fortifying and strengthening it.

It is impossible, however, to say that Sazonoff with complete firmness and consistency held to one and the same course. The financial dependence of Russia upon France, which country had advanced to Russia several billions in loans, already creating a concord of the interests of Russian and English imperialism, had led Russia into the channel of the Triple Entente. * * * [Censored.] * * * It is impossible to forget that he held his post in the time of Premier P. A. Stolypin, that with Stolypin he was in close relationship, (they married sisters,) and that the two men were of a sufficiently near spiritual kinship; also that Sazonoff, at the beginning of his Ministerial career, made use of his recognized reputation as a "nationalist."

Favored Germany at First

The German sympathies of Sazonoff are shown in the Potsdam agreement concluded by him with Kinderlen Wechter at the beginning of his Ministerial career. Striving to strengthen peaceful and friendly relations with Germany, Sazonoff underwent important sacrifices. He checked opposition to the carrying through of the Bagdad railway by the Germans, and consequently gave up all Asia Minor into economic dependence upon Germany; more than that: Russia not only permitted the uniting of the Bagdad line with Teheran, but bound herself to finish an indispensable part of that section of the railway. In such a way Russia opened a Persian market for German goods, and to the altar of political friendship they brought as a sacrifice the interests of Russian business and industry, counting Northern Persia as their indefeasible inheritance. At the present time, when friendship has changed to animosity, the Potsdam agreement appears as a fine trump card for Sazonoff's enemies of the nationalistic press. In its time the black hundred and the nationalists were very well satisfied with it.

But general conditions, pushing Russia into the channel of the Entente, were stronger than German sympathies. * * * [Censored.] * * * Soon Sazonoff decisively drew off from them and busied himself with cultivating an Anglo-French friendship.

Sazonoff Ousted Shuster

Already in Izvolsky's time friendliness had delimited the spheres of influence of England and Russia in Persia. Sazonoff continued the policy, by degrees, according to possibility, of full subjection to use of the northern half of Persia. For that aim [censored] he accomplished the removal from Persia of the American, W. Morgan Shuster, who, in the capacity of Secretary of the Treasury, was assisting in straightening up Persian finances. Finally, in 1912, Sazonoff presented an ultimatum which required Persia to submit to all his demands. In his policy of gradually subduing Persia, Sazonoff all the time went hand in hand with Grey, who, in his turn in the same way, brought Southern Persia under English sovereignty.

Also with Grey—but precisely, too, as with Japan—Sazonoff went hand in hand in his policy regarding China. Here Russia stepped forward, and in 1911 presented China with a decisive ultimatum, a demand of full subjection, and in 1912 accomplished the autonomy of Mongolia, and that country found itself from that time in the sphere of exclusive Russian political and economic influence.

The first attempts to unite with Japan after the unfortunate war with her had already been made in Izvolsky's time; but only in Sazonoff's recent past was that war finally forgotten. At the same time the coming together of Japan and England quickly took place, and finally, by a difficult experiment, Japan showed herself an inseparable supporter in upholding the Triple Entente. England's aim was to try to isolate Germany. It was achieved here.

His Policy in the Balkans

Far more important, however, than the politics of Dalny and the Eastern centre were the politics in the Balkans. Sazonoff's predecessor, Izvolsky, throughout his whole Ministry, found himself heavily handicapped by the effect of Russia's defeat in the war with Japan and by the necessity of clearing up the war's results; it was, therefore, perfectly natural, perhaps, that extreme carefulness lay at the base of his policy, especially in the Balkans, where the danger of lighting a terrible fire was always particularly great. Therefore Izvolsky did not resist the annexation of Bosnia to Austria; but even previous to that, on a visit to Buchlay, (Sept. 15, 1908,) he frankly informed Aehrenthal that Russia would not fight for Bosnia, thus leaving Aehrenthal's hands free. This was something more than caution.

Sazonoff, on the contrary, reckoned undoubtedly that Russia was already fully recovered and strong enough not to fear a new war. This explains his aggressive tone to China and Persia. In accordance with that idea he conducted himself in the Balkans. In the beginning, Sazonoff was a supporter of the

integrity of the Ottoman Porte. Our [Russian] Consul in Constantinople was N. V. Charikov, a believer in the capacity of the Young Turkish Government to renew the organization of the Turkish Empire. He strove to support and strengthen its tie to Russia. But Feb. 27, 1912, Charikov was led to resign, and that resignation signified a sharp turn in our Balkan policy. In the course of two days, ending the 29th of February, 1912, the Serbo-Bulgarian agreement was signed. It served as a noose to hold together the Balkan combine.

The Balkan Alliance

That alliance, with Sazonoff standing at its cradle, was expected by its Balkan creators to serve as a citadel against Austria, as well as against Turkey. The first act of the alliance was to declare war on Turkey. By the same act of the 29th of February, besides underscoring its purposes of liberation, the alliance put out manifests on the occasion of declaring war. These denominated the war as one of deliverance. But immediately after the victory there began between the powers of deliverance a war over the division of the spoils.

Did Sazonoff wish for war with Turkey? According to the scanty information which the press has it may be said, "No, at that moment he did not wish it." He did not foresee, and could not prevent it. He did not comprehend the fact that the Balkan Governments, with constant rivalry of their dynastic claims and small imperial tendencies, were not ready for a broad imperialistic plan, useful for a Government with an older and sounder culture. Not understanding this, Sazonoff did not foresee the second Balkan war, and was not able to prevent it, though at the last moment he made a useless effort in that direction. The Balkan Ministers did not accept his invitation to a conference at Petrograd and preferred to decide their quarrel with the gun.

Thus Austria and Germany again had against them not a solid Balkan alliance but a divided one, with the separated Balkan States hating one another more bitterly than ever. As a result, one of these States—precisely that one in which Russia enjoyed special prestige—turned against Russia. The fact is that Russia supported the claim of Rumania to a portion of Bulgarian territory, although she had opposed the entrance of the Rumanian soldiers into Sofia, thus saving Bulgaria from final destruction. The attitude of Russia toward the Rumanian claim produced terrible irritation on the part of Bulgaria. From that time Bulgaria was lost to Russia.

In that way the policy of Sazonoff in the Balkans reached a melancholy fiasco, which is explained, perhaps, by the boldness and breadth of the imperialistic task he had laid upon himself, but also by the fact that his foresight and diplomatic art were not equal to the height of his task.

Austro-Serbian Friction

A conflict began between Serbia and Austria which had remained inevitable ever since the annexation of Macedonia to Serbia. In reference to that conflict Sazonoff held a clearly defined position, which he had determined upon beforehand. Firmness and strength he drew from his belief in English support, and he evidently had for this belief full and sufficient grounds. As a result, the conflict between Austria and the little Balkan Government became an overture to a world catastrophe.

Now the task of Sazonoff as a diplomat was to drag, as far as possible, all neutral Governments into the alliance. England dragged in Japan, Germany pushed Belgium into the arms of the Entente. There was already driven into the Triple Alliance the wedge of events of the preceding years. These events were skillfully employed by English diplomacy, so that the neutrality of Italy might be considered as secured. But it was important that this neutrality be turned into active support. Sazonoff had little to do with that remote movement of events which has caused Italy, yesterday a firm member of the Triple Alliance, to be found today in our war camp. That change of alliance was bought at the price of a full agreement, by which Italy was guaranteed the lands along Istria, Croatia,

and part of the Dalmatian coast on the Adriatic Sea; that is to say, lands almost to a man inhabited by Serbs or families of Serbian Slovenians. These lands Serbia had for a long time looked upon as her own natural possessions, and in their assimilation had seen her own national task.

In the concession of those lands to Italy Serbia saw an outrage to her nationality and a harsh transgression of those principles in the name of which she went to war. Therefore to break the opposition of the Serbs to the agreement with Italy was not easy, but here Sazonoff manifested a great diplomatic skill, which was crowned with success.

Aside from that, in relation to other Balkan Governments, he made some gross mistakes. For a long time he believed that he was going to succeed, finally, in dragging Bulgaria into the contest on the Entente side. For the sake of that unfeasible purpose he thrust aside Greece, which (not only under Venizelos, but also under Gounaris) was ready to enter into an agreement on certain conditions. Sazonoff would not agree to the conditions Gounaris proposed—a guarantee of the inviolability of Greece's territory—for fear of offending Bulgaria. In the end, while not obtaining Greece, he lost Bulgaria.

Special interest is presented by Sazonoff's rôle in the development of our relations with the neighboring allies. At the present moment, however, we are deprived of the possibility of giving the necessary valuation of that side of his activity.

Hardships of Campaigning Near Kut-el-Amara

Lieutenant Ralph E. Smith, formerly a Canadian Baptist missionary, is now in the Indian army that is fighting the Turks in Mesopotamia. The following letter from him, written last Summer near Kut-el-Amara, gives some idea of the suffering endured by the British soldiers in the Euphrates Valley:

I am right up at the front in sight of Kut, within sound of the guns and sight of the aeroplanes. I have often roughed it before, but have never been through anything like the present conditions. I heard many fellows in Rawalpindi and Sialkot who had been up here talk about the conditions in extravagant language and say that it had taken so many years off their lives, &c., and I thought they must be exaggerating. But they were not. You cannot exaggerate in describing things here. Every day since I came a tempestuous gale has blown out of the north. They call it the shamal, and it carries with it blinding clouds of dust. The third day I was here it began at 7:30 A. M. and kept it up till 6 P. M. Often it was impossible to see the tent in front of mine—about ten yards away. My hair turned white and became clogged with gray clay. I picked chunks of clay out of my nose. My hands and face and lips became caked with it. I breathed it at every breath. My ears filled up. My papers, cot, table, and everything in the room took on a thick layer. Our meals were half sand. The streams of perspiration made channels in the dust upon my face and no fireman coming out of a bad fire at home could have looked worse than I did when the day was over. The temperature was 113, and my tent is not a big double fly like the ones we use in India, but a little pent roofed one, and there was no escape. Yesterday's official report gave the average temperature at 2 P. M. for the week at 113.9, and the maximum at 117 degrees in the observation tent. Fortunately the nights are clear and cool, and in this respect much better than India. Of course I intend to stick at it till my duty is done. But when the time comes to go home I think I shall be gladder than I have ever been before.

The "Scrap of Paper" Episode

Official Narrative of British Ambassador to Germany Viewed by a Mid-Westerner in the Light of Events

By Richard Dobson

THE Franco-Prussian war was a blessing to France and a curse to Prussia. France became a republic, paid her debt of honor, and entered upon a course of prosperity that far excelled her former condition during the Napoleonic glory, wars, and empires. Prussia became a confederated Germany —an empire in the hands of Bismarck. But the success of Prussia in the war of 1870-71 has been a curse to Germany herself and also to Europe and to the whole world.

With the German Empire there was also born a monster of ambition for conquest which today astounds and confounds the student of history. The magnitude of the plot to capture the whole world, its business, its commerce, its wealth, and its resources, and to convert them all to the special benefit of the super-German and the super-German Empire, exceeds the wildest dream of an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon.

In inducing Great Britain to exchange Zanzibar for Heligoland, Germany showed her hand at an early date, but it was with a glib assurance that this transaction was without any kind of naval or military significance; that it was a domestic arrangement pure and simple. Yet, when Kaiser Wilhelm took possession of Heligoland, he told the people that their island had been chosen as Germany's bulwark in the sea, a central point for Germany's ships of war; and up to the commencement of the war Germany had spent $120,000,000 in fortifying Heligoland.

Germany talked and wrote honeyed words to neighbor nations, while at the same time she was maturing a plot for world power. She developed a system of spying and deceit that has never been equaled in the history of the world, in order that she might, under cover, create an invincible army and a navy to rival Britain's, and yet with a smiling, deceitful front say to the world, "Peace, peace! Let us have peace!"

First Signs of Trouble

In 1904 the British Government began to be alarmed at the difference between Germany's words and Germany's deeds. English representatives went to King Edward VII. and asked him to go and see the Kaiser, as Germany's activities were causing alarm throughout the United Kingdom. Edward of England went forthwith to interview the Kaiser, his own blood nephew. What King Edward said to his headstrong and haughty nephew is not known, but there was an immediate lull in the German activities. Perhaps if King Edward had lived the great war might have been averted, for no one in all Europe had so much influence over the Kaiser as did the Kaiser's beloved uncle.

Later the Kaiser, with his military and naval commanders, visited his uncle in London. It was there that he suggested to Andrew Carnegie, "that he (Andrew Carnegie) should build the World's Palace of Peace at The Hague." The Kaiser also remarked at the time "that in case of a war there should be no asphyxiating gas used and that there should be no submarine attacks on merchant or passenger ships." In the light of present-day history these suggestions seem like rather sinister jokes.

Great events were now happening, leading up to the Agadir crisis in 1911, which was quickly settled through the mediation of King Edward. In 1912 English politicians again became alarmed at the naval and military activities of Germany, and Lord Haldane was sent over there to investigate. His report to the British Government was in sub-

stance about as follows: "I have been to Germany, seen the Kaiser, and found everything all right and lovely." The Kaiser had pulled the wool over Lord Haldane's eyes, and the British Government and Englishmen in general were again lulled to sleep over a slumbering volcano.

In 1913 England was again deceived by Germany to such an extent that all over England there was much talk of peace delegates from Germany going to each country that had become especially interested in the peace movement in Europe, and the German delegates actually went to promote international peace in those countries. Did Germany know, or didn't she, that she was playing false? With one hand she was holding up the lure of peace to those she was about to attack, while with the other she was secretly rushing the warlike preparations and equipments which, a year later, astounded the world and involved Europe and Asia and the furthest islands of the sea in a colossal war.

In 1914, less than six months before the war, England was entertaining as her honored guests those very Germans who were taking part in the completing of Germany's war operations, and who were also taking stock of England's arrangement and management of things in general. Spies!

And yet we have it stated now by many German authorities that England started the war. Perfidious Albion's treachery brought on all these horrors and is responsible for the awful holocaust of human lives. These statements have been made by Germany in face of the official correspondence printed below, which took place after war had been declared between Germany, Russia, and France.

On Aug. 2, 1914, the German Army started on its march toward Paris by way of the little Duchy of Luxemburg and the little Kingdom of Belgium, both of which had been granted neutrality by all the great powers of Europe. Six days after that fateful Sunday, when the German Army had started on its mission of conquest, the following official report was made by the recent British Ambassador in Berlin to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary for Great Britain:

Text of Sir Edward Goschen's Famous Report

"Sir William Edward Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin, to Sir Edward Grey, London, Aug. 8, 1914.

"Sir: In accordance with the instructions contained in your telegram of the 4th inst., I called upon the Secretary of State that afternoon and inquired in the name of his Majesty's Government whether the Imperial Government would refrain from violating Belgian neutrality.

"Herr von Jagow at once replied that he was sorry to say that his answer must be no, as, in consequence of the German troops having crossed the frontier that morning, Belgium's neutrality had already been violated. Herr von Jagow again went into the reasons why the Imperial Government had been obliged to take this step, namely, that they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible.

"It was a matter of life and death for them, as, if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and strength of the fortresses, to have gone through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops.

"I pointed out to Herr von Jagow that this 'fait accompli' of the violation of the Belgian frontier rendered, as he would readily understand, the situation exceedingly grave, and I asked whether there was not still time to draw back and avoid possible consequences which both he and I would deplore.

"He replied that, for reasons he had given me, it was now impossible for them to draw back. During the afternoon I received your further telegram of the

same date, and, in compliance with the instructions therein contained, I again proceeded to the Imperial Foreign Office and informed the Secretary of State that unless the Imperial Government could give the assurance by 12 o'clock that night that they would proceed no further with their violation of the Belgian frontier and stop their advance, I had been instructed to demand my passports and inform the Imperial Government that his Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves.

"Herr von Jagow replied that, to his regret, he could give no other answer then than that which he had given me earlier in the day, namely, that the safety of the empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the imperial troops should advance through Belgium.

"I gave his Excellency a written summary of your telegram, and, pointing out that you had mentioned 12 o'clock as the time when his Majesty's Government would expect an answer, asked him whether, in view of the terrible consequences which would necessarily ensue, it were not possible, even at the last moment, that their answer should be reconsidered. He replied that if the time given were even twenty-four hours or more, his answer must be the same. I said that in that case I should have to demand my passports.

"This interview took place at about 7 o'clock. In a short conversation which ensued, Herr von Jagow expressed his poignant regret at the crumbling of his entire policy and that of the Chancellor, which had been to make friends with Great Britain, and then through Great Britain to get closer to France.

"I said that this sudden end to my work in Berlin was to me also a matter of deep regret and disappointment, but he must understand that, under the circumstances and in view of our engagements, his Majesty's Government could not possibly have acted otherwise than they had done.

"I then said that I should like to go and see the Chancellor, as it might be, perhaps, the last time I should have an opportunity of seeing him. He begged me to do so. I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by his Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word, 'Neutrality'—a word which in war time had so often been disregarded; just for a scrap of paper—Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her.

"All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy, to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office, had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen.

"I protested strongly against that statement, and said that in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagements to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked.

"That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future? The Chancellor said, 'But at what price will that compact have been kept? Has the British Government thought of that?'

"I hinted to his Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements, but his Excellency was so excited, so evidently overcome by the news of our action, and so little disposed to hear reason that I refrained from adding fuel to the flame by further argument.

"As I was leaving he said that the blow of Great Britain joining Germany's enemies was all the greater in that almost up to the last moment he and his Government had been working with us and supporting our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria. I said that this was part of the tragedy which saw the two nations fall apart, just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been for years. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria, the war had spread and had brought us face to face with a situation which, if we held to our engagements, we could not possibly avoid, and which unfortunately entailed our separation from our late fellow-workers. He would readily understand that no one regretted this more than I.

"After this somewhat painful interview I returned to the embassy and drew up a telegraphic report of what had passed. This telegram was handed in at the Central Telegraph Office a little before 9 P. M. It was accepted by that office, but apparently never dispatched.

Interview With Zimmermann

"At about 9:30 P. M. Herr von Zimmermann, the Under Secretary of State, came to see me. After expressing his deep regret that the very friendly official and personal relations between us were about to cease, he asked me casually whether a demand for passports was equivalent to a declaration of war.

"I said that such an authority on international law as he was known to be must know as well or better than I what was usual in such cases. I added that there were many cases where diplomatic relations had been broken off and, nevertheless, war had not ensued, but that in this case he would have seen that from my instructions, of which I had given Herr von Jagow a written summary, that his Majesty's Government expected an answer to a definite question by 12 o'clock that night, and that in default of a satisfactory answer they would be forced to take such steps as their engagements required. Herr Zimmermann said that that was, in fact, a declaration of war, as the Imperial Government could not possibly give the assurance required, either that night or any other night.

"In the meantime, after Herr Zimmermann left me, a flying sheet of the Berliner Tageblatt was circulated stating that Great Britain had declared war against Germany. The immediate result of this news was the assemblage of an exceedingly excited and unruly mob before his Majesty's embassy. The small force of police which had been sent to guard the embassy was soon overpowered, and the attitude of the mob became threatening.

"We took no notice of this demonstration as long as it was confined to noise, but when the crash of glass and the landing of cobblestones in the drawing room, where we were all sitting, warned us that the situation was getting unpleasant, I telephoned to the Foreign Office an account of what was happening. Herr von Jagow at once informed the Chief of Police, and an adequate force of mounted police, sent with great promptness, very soon cleared the street.

"From that moment on we were well guarded and no more direct unpleasantness ensued. After order had been restored, Herr von Jagow came to see me, and expressed his most heartfelt regrets at what had occurred. He said that the behavior of his countrymen had made him feel more ashamed than he had words to express. It was an indelible stain on the reputation of Berlin.

"He said that the flying sheet circulated in the streets had not been authorized by the Government; in fact, the Chancellor had asked him by telephone whether he thought that such a statement should be issued, and he had replied, 'Certainly not until the morning.' It was in consequence of his decision to that effect that only a small force of police had been sent to the neighborhood of the embassy, as he had thought that the presence of a large force would inevitably attract attention and perhaps lead to disturbances.

"It was the pestilential Tageblatt which had somehow got hold of the news

that had upset his calculations. He had heard rumors that the mob had been excited to violence by gestures made and missiles thrown from the embassy, but he felt sure that was not true, and, even if it was, it was no excuse for the disgraceful scenes which had taken place. (I was able soon to assure him that the report had no foundation whatever.)

Message From the Kaiser

"He feared that I would take home with me a sorry impression of Berlin manners in moments of excitement. In fact, no apology could have been more full and complete. On the following morning, the 5th of August, the Emperor sent one of his Majesty's Aides de Camp to me with the following message:

"'The Emperor has charged me to express to your Excellency his regret for the occurrences of last night, but to tell you at the same time that you will gather from these occurrences an idea of the feeling of his people respecting the action of Great Britain in joining with other nations against her old allies of Waterloo. His Majesty also begs that you will tell the King that he has been proud of the titles of British Field Marshal and British Admiral, but that in consequence of what has occurred he must now at once divest himself of those titles.'

"I would add that the above message lost none of its acerbity by the manner of its delivery. On the other hand, I should like to state that I received all through this trying ordeal nothing but courtesy at the hands of Herr von Jagow and the officials of the Imperial Foreign Office.

"The night passed quietly without any incident. In the morning a strong force of police was posted along the usual route to the Lehrter Station, while the embassy was smuggled away in taxicabs to the station by side streets. We there suffered no molestation whatever, and avoided the treatment meted out by the crowd to my Russian and French colleagues. Count Wedel met us at the station to say good-bye on behalf of Herr von Jagow and to see that all the arrangements ordered for our comfort had been properly carried out. A retired Colonel of the Guards accompanied the train to the Dutch frontier and was exceedingly kind in his efforts to prevent the great crowds which thronged the platforms at every station where we stopped from insulting us; but beyond the yelling of patriotic songs and a few jeers and insulting gestures we had really nothing to complain of during our tedious journey to the Dutch frontier.

"Before closing this long account of our last days in Berlin I should like to place on record and bring to your notice the quite admirable behavior of my staff under the most trying circumstances possible, * * * [He gives further praise to his staff and proceeds:] I should also like to mention the great assistance rendered to us all by my American colleague, Mr. Gerard, and his staff, [American Ambassador in Berlin,] undeterred by the hooting and hissing with which he was often greeted by the mob on entering and leaving the embassy; his Excellency came repeatedly to see me to ask how he could help us and to make arrangements for the safety of stranded British subjects. He extricated many of these from extremely difficult situations at some personal risk to himself, and his calmness and savoir faire and his firmness in dealing with the imperial authorities gave full assurance that the protection of British subjects and interests could not have been left in more efficient and able hands. I have, &c., "W. E. GOSCHEN."

Ultimatum to Belgium

Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, before the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, *said:*

"I want to give the House some information which I have received and which was not in my possession when I made my statement this afternoon. It is information I have received from the Belgian Legation in London, and is to the following effect:

"Germany sent yesterday evening at 7 o'clock a note proposing to Belgium friendly neutrality, covering free passage on Belgian territory and promising maintenance of independence of the

kingdom and possession at the conclusion of peace and threatening in case of refusal to treat Belgium as an enemy. A time limit of twelve hours was fixed for the reply.

"The Belgians have answered that an attack on their neutrality would be a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, and that to accept the German proposal would be to sacrifice the honor of a nation. Conscious of its duty, Belgium is firmly resolved to repel aggression by all possible means.

"Of course, I can only say that the Government is prepared to take into grave consideration the information which it has received. I make no further comment upon it."

A bully is a bully, whether it be a nation or an individual. Germany played the part of a bully when she threatened destruction to little Belgium unless Belgium obeyed her behests. A bully is detestable under any conditions. A little over two years ago, with the best equipped, best disciplined, best munitioned, and mightiest army the world had ever seen, Germany started out—for what? For the conquest of Europe! And what has she done? Whipped a few of the little fellows, that is all.

She devastated and cleaned out little Belgium, a part of Poland, all of Serbia, and is now undertaking to scourge Rumania. But what of the big fellows? She has made little impression on Russia, simply aroused the British lion, and ruffled the feathers of the French eagle.

If Germany had not been a bully, with five millions of the best trained and equipped soldiers in the world at her command, Europe would now be at her feet. But she was only a bully, and she has spent her force and sacrificed the very flower of German manhood—for what? For a wicked ambition to foist Prussian feudal militarism on all Europe, if not on the whole earth.

Germany's methods of warfare have been of such a ruthless, barbaric, inhuman character all through the last two years that she has justly received the detestation of the civilized world. These are some of the reasons why the Entente Allies should and will win.

Was the War Forced Upon Germany?

A Terse French Reply

When the German Chancellor's address of Nov. 9 was made public it called forth this pithy reply in the form of a leading article in Le Temps of Paris.

WITH all doors closed, having dismissed the Reichstag, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg has just reproduced for the ninth or tenth time his well-known brief on the responsibility for the war. Each edition is revised and considerably augmented, but the main text does not change—and it is this which is most faulty.

The wretched chicanery upon which most of the sophistry of the section chiefs of Wilhelmstrasse is expended, and which they have not even dared to carry before the Reichstag in open session, has for its object to demonstrate that Germany was the one attacked, and that it was the enemies of Germany who long meditated against her a policy of aggression and conquest. Journalism has its duties, which oblige it to comment upon the facts of the day. It will be understood, however, that only with repugnance can one pause to discuss once more this monument of impudence and untruth.

The central argument of the Chancellor is the Russian mobilization. He would have had Russia refrain from mobilizing, in spite of the Austrian mobilization, in spite of the declaration of war against Serbia, in spite of the military preparations of Germany indicated by all the Consuls from July 26 onward. He would have wished that the occupation of Belgrade should not be considered an act of war, but a simple guarantee. This

would have meant that, England and France remaining neutral, the conflict would have been "localized," that is to say, it would have allowed Germany to attain its eastern objective at once, and to turn then against its western objective. Thus, by the force of circumstances, the confession is included in the public prosecutor's own address to the court. Let us consider once more the facts which confirm the confession:

1. *Premeditation of the War.* If one does not wish to invoke the innumerable publications through which, in the last twenty-five years, Germany has affirmed her right to extend her boundaries to the east and to the west, one can at least cite two official documents. The first is the speech of Signor Giolitti [former Italian Premier]—a witness not likely to be suspected of anti-Germanism—affirming that as far back as 1913 Germany and Austria solicited the cooperation of Italy in an aggression against Serbia. The second is the conversation of November, 1913, held by the King of the Belgians, the German Emperor, and General von Moltke: "This time we must finish it up. Your Majesty cannot doubt the irresistible enthusiasm that will carry away the whole German Nation in a war against France." That conversation has never been authoritatively denied, and cannot be, any more than the speech of Signor Giolitti.

2. *Preparation for the War.* From 1883 to 1913 the war expenditures increased in France 70 per cent., in Russia 114 per cent., in Germany 229 per cent. From 1902 to 1913 France spent for armament $196,000,000, Germany $440,000,000. In 1905 France reduced the term of service in the active army. In 1907 she reduced the periods of instruction in the reserve force. In 1911, 1912, 1913, Germany passed three military laws which could not be explained, in view of their cost, except as a deliberate and officially sanctioned determination to make war. In 1914 Germany had 150 divisions (3,000,000 men) ready to march; England had six divisions, (120,000 men.) In 1914 France had 104 pieces of heavy rapid-fire artillery; Germany had 3,500. Since 1905 Russia had been painfully repairing the ruins left by the Russo-Japanese war. She had neither enough rifles nor enough cannons, nor yet enough railways; Germany had carried her military power in all these respects to the highest point. This comparison requires no comment.

3. *The Attitude of Russia.* When the war broke out, Austria, the agent of Germany, had complete satisfaction from Serbia on all the points inscribed in her ultimatum. The cause of the war had then disappeared. But Austria, having mobilized on July 29, demanded to be allowed besides to occupy Belgrade and Northern Serbia. In the ensuing days Germany refused all offers of conference or of direct negotiations of any kind. On July 29, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the Czar proposed to Emperor William that the question be submitted to arbitration at The Hague Tribunal. William II. did not reply. And it was only on the 30th of July, in the presence of this silence and of the Austrian mobilization, that Russia mobilized the four regions of Kazan, Kieff, Moscow, and Odessa.

4. *Attitude of France and England.* Up to the last minute France kept her protecting troops five miles from the frontier in order to avoid a clash. This measure of prudence and moderation allowed Germany to violate French territory in the morning of Aug. 2—before any declaration of war—in the region of Cirey, Longwy, and Delle. As for England, she did not decide for war until the day, Aug. 4, when the violation of Belgian territory by German troops was consummated. On July 31 she was still reminding France that no engagement bound the two countries together. On Aug. 2, after the entrance of the German vanguard upon French territory, she was still limiting her promise to the protection of our coasts.

5. *Declaration of War.* All the declarations of war came from Berlin and Vienna—from Vienna against Serbia on July 28, from Berlin against Russia on Aug. 1, from Berlin against France on Aug. 3, from Berlin against Belgium on Aug. 4. England's declaration of war against Germany appeared only in the evening of the 4th of August. The declaration of war against France was so im-

possible to justify that it could only be based—in the official note presented by Herr von Schoen—upon a lying invention that has since been recognized as false by the German military authorities themselves, (the throwing of bombs on Nuremberg by French aviators.) It has taken Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg twenty-eight months to find other pretexts, which are worth no more than the old ones. Here again the texts are decisive.

Our reply is shorter than the Chancellor's speech—and for cause. The debate on the responsibility for the war is so completely settled that Dr. Hollweg no longer dares broach it even before his own Reichstag. To stiffen his explanation he stated that he had never intended to annex Belgium. Doubtless this means that he was reserving for it the sort of autonomy offered to Poland. The Belgians had satisfied themselves long ago as to the meaning of the oft-repeated words, "guarantees on the east and on the west." France and her allies are no less clear regarding the origin of the drama, and the saying of Jaurès [French Socialist leader] on the day of his death sums up their conviction, which is also that of the neutrals: "If we were in the place of the French Government, I do not see how we could do more to avoid war."

Who Began the War?

THE ever-recurring question of who mobilized first in the European war arose again when the German Chancellor said in a recent speech in the Reichstag: "Only after general mobilization had taken place in Russia did Austria-Hungary on the morning of July 31, 1914, also proceed with general mobilization."

H. T. Weeks of London replies as follows:

"Notice that he says 'morning' of July 31. The Russian Ambassador in Vienna sent on July 28 the following telegram:

Telegram: No. 47. Vienna, July 28, 1914.
"The decree of *general* mobilization has been signed."—Schébéko. (Russian Ambassador in Vienna.)
(Orange Book: No. 47.)

"This is confirmed by a report from M. Dumaine, French Ambassador in Vienna, to M. Viviani:

(Yellow Book: No. 115.)
Vienna, July 31, 1914.
"*General* mobilization affecting all men from nineteen to forty-two years of age was decreed at an *early hour* this morning by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

"This is also confirmed by the English Ambassador's report that the Austrian *general* mobilization took place about 1 o'clock A. M. on the morning of July 31.

"The Russian *general* mobilization was ordered at the earliest toward mid-day on July 31, *after* the Austrian mobilization, and was the necessary sequence of that event, as we see from the report of M. Paléologue, French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, to M. Viviani:

(Yellow Book: No. 118.)
St. Petersburg, July 31, 1914.
"In view of the *general* mobilization of Austria and of the measures of mobilization taken secretly but continuously by Germany during the last six days, *general* mobilization of the Russian Army has been ordered.

"The German Chancellor is incorrect as to his facts. Again, he is reported to have said: 'But to the news of the Russian mobilization we at first replied only with the announcement of a state of affairs threatening danger of war which did not yet signify mobilization.' It is true that on the 31st, the same eventful day—the exact hour is not known—the 'threatening danger of war' was proclaimed in Germany. In the evening, about 7 o'clock, the ulimatum to *France* was delivered in Paris, and about midnight the ultimatum to Russia was delivered in Petrograd. Note that Germany, not Austria, delivers an ultimatum to *France* on account of Russia's mobilization against Austria's mobilization. Bethmann Hollweg also attempts to prove that Russia's mobilization was aggressive against Germany, and not defensive against Austria, by quoting a general instruction of the Russian Government issued in 1912: 'It is ordered

that the announcement of mobilization is at the same time an announcement of war against Germany.'

"He ignores that the Czar, in his telegram of July 31, 1914, to the Emperor William, while announcing that the discontinuance of military preparations 'made necessary by the Austrian mobilization was "technically impossible," gave his solemn word that no provocative action would be taken so long as negotiations continued. The Emperor William again demanded unconditional discontinuance of the military preparations of Russia, whereupon the Czar submitted that *he*, the German Emperor, might take the same *measures without war necessarily* following. The Emperor William, however, mobilized and declared war. In the face of these facts and of many others too numerous to unfold in this letter I am afraid the Chancellor's boast, "We need fear no tribunal," would look very foolish.'"

"Before Verdun"

By FRANCES FENWICK WILLIAMS

No prayer can help, no agony atone,
As I came into life I go—alone!

Another man is lying by my side,
Another, caught in death's fast-brimming tide.

Mine was the hand that struck his life away,
And his the hand that laid me low today.

Yet now, as nearer draws the dreadful end,
He seems to me a brother and a friend.

What is he thinking as his life ebbs fast?
(How lonely each poor soul is at the last!)

If I could hear him speak before he dies
I should not feel so desolate—but he lies,

Silent and spent. His lips grow slowly white—
I hate to look upon the piteous sight!

I have some water here. If I could crawl
Close to his death-place he should have it all.

Ah, I have reached him—but he shrinks. Poor friend!
My wish is but to share your bitter end.

He smiles—he drinks! Ah, me, how eagerly
He laps the water and leans back to die.

Oh, while the death-guns shriek, the madmen fight,
Speak to me, brother! Darker grows the night,

And I am friendless, and my life ebbs fast—
(How lonely each poor soul is at the last!)

He smiles. He speaks. Oh, brother, louder pray!
I'm growing deaf. (That means death's near, they say.)

"No war where we are going?" Friend, your hand!
Together let us seek that longed-for land.

"No war!"—how white he is, how cold a thing!
But his dead face has robbed death of her sting.

The Modern Machine Gun

Captain Henri Carre of the French Army has contributed to La Revue des Deux Mondes an unusually well-informed article on machine guns, the essential portions of which are here translated.

A MITRAILLEUSE is defined as a firearm with a single barrel, firing with great velocity the infantry cartridge and acting automatically, that is to say, requiring no other energy than a part of that produced by the explosion of the gases of the powder at each shot fired.

Applied to our present weapon, the word mitrailleuse is incorrect; its true name should be machine gun, as in English. The word "mitraille," ("grapeshot,") which is very old, was applied to the pieces of scrap iron with which cannon were formerly charged. Besides irregularity in firing, it caused considerable wastage to the bronze guns. To correct this, the suggestion was made, as soon as guns mounted on movable carriages appeared in the fourteenth century, that several light guns might be fastened together parallel to each other, and the name *traits à feu* was given to them. These were *ribaudequins, or* "organs," so called because their appearance recalled that of a group of organ pipes; but, because of the difficulty of firing them all at once, their effectiveness remained very moderate. Also in the sixteenth century, Leonardo da Vinci, the universal genius who touched every science and every art, set himself to invent a gun firing grapeshot, and several of his designs have come down to us.

About the same epoch "grapeshot cases" made their appearance; in these a cylindrical envelope inclosed broken pieces of metal, which in firing only opened after leaving the mouth of the gun; thus the deterioration of the barrel was prevented. Later, Jean-Baptiste de Gribauval, Inspector General of Artillery, perfected the case shot by substituting regular round bullets for the pieces of scrap iron.

But the idea of a weapon with several barrels was only taken up again two centuries later, about 1830, in Belgium, where a former officer of the Grand Army, Falschamp, thought out a mitrailleuse, composed of barrels assembled parallel to each other in a prismatic bundle, and loaded at the breech with cartridges fired by percussion caps; his most perfect model, completed in 1857, had the appearance and the weight of a cannon, and was made up of fifty barrels about the calibre of rifle barrels, and firing a hundred bullets a minute, with a range of 2,000 meters, (1¼ miles,) a fairly long range for that period.

The Old Gatling Gun

In America, the war of the secession brought about the creation of new mitrailleuses; the best known was the Gatling, with six or ten barrels. A crank worked by hand provided the motive power. The rapidity of firing was theoretically 300 a minute, but the results were mediocre.

In France, during the closing years of the Empire, appeared the Reffye system of mitrailleuse, called the "bullet cannon." It consisted of a bundle of twenty-five barrels loaded by means of a loading block carrying twenty-five cartridges; these were struck by twenty-five gun-hammers released by the operation of a hand lever. The rapidity of fire reached 150 a minute, and the bullets carried one and a half miles. Hauled and served by the artillery, these engines had as their purpose to carry grapeshot fire to a distance. In spite of the hopes based on them, and of their impressive name, these mitrailleuses caused nothing but disillusionments.

At the same epoch, Bavaria adopted an analogous weapon, known as the Feld mitrailleuse, a single battery of which, consisting of four guns, was used, without brilliant results, in the war of 1870.

None of these weapons was automatic, since they were driven by hand power.

A few years later the English and the Russians adopted the Gatling gun in

one of its forms; but it was found to be too heavy, and there arose a demand for a lighter weapon, not harnessed at the moment of fighting, suited to accompany the infantry everywhere, and in using which the work of the gunners should be reduced to a minimum. The Maxim was the first to realize these conditions; the automatic machine gun was created. The first type was established by Hiram Maxim after an outlay of seven millions in studies, contracts, and experiments. A practical model was realized as early as 1882, and immediately adopted by the English Army, which tried it in its frontier wars.

Guns Now Used by France

In France, the principal models actually in use are: The Saint-Etienne or machine gun of 1907, the Puteaux, the 1914 Hotchkiss. Let us begin with a brief account of the characteristics of the Saint-Etienne.

The principal driving power is obtained by drawing gas from the barrel through a hole 4.8 millimeters in diameter, this gas entering a cylinder called the gas chamber and later escaping into the air by appropriate apertures; the piston at the end of its movement is driven back by a spring. It is a to-and-fro movement which automatically brings about the complete action of the weapon, namely, the opening and closing of the breech, with extraction and ejection of the cartridge case; the percussion and release of the cartridge; the feeding of the gun. The weapon can be fired at any rate, either at rapid fire or at a rate regulated by a special apparatus which permits all rates, from ten to about 500 a minute. The feeding is carried on by stiff strips of nickel steel carrying twenty-five cartridges.

This machine gun does not, like its German rival, carry a water jacket; consequently the barrel gets exceedingly hot when fired at a high rate; in an intensive fire it may reach the temperature of dull red, about 800 degrees Centigrade; but this heating does not in the least injure the weapon's ballistic qualities; the barrel, thanks to its being made of special manganese steel, does not lose its shape, or, rather, recovers it as it cools, and returns to its condition before firing. The machine gun, fixed to a tripod carriage, can be fired in two positions—normal or lying down. In the former the gunner seats himself on a saddle carried by the pole; in the second he lies on his back beside his gun.

The problem of transporting the machine gun is most important. In order to make it an infantry weapon, fit to accompany the infantry everywhere, efforts have been made to find the best possible solution for it. Along roads, on long marches, the machine guns are carried on pack saddles or on carts. Under fire, or under threat of fire, the pack saddles or carts are abandoned, and the parts of the machine gun are carried on men's backs or by hand. The guns have to be assembled in order to be ready for firing.

Seven Shots a Second

The ultra-rapid rate of firing is a characteristic of the machine gun. Following the models, the theoretical rate varied from 400 to 700 shots a minute. But these enormously rapid rates apply only to the actual firing of a cartridge strip which has been put in position; we must deduct the time for the change from one strip to another.

In reality, when a machine gun fires 400 shots within a minute this would seem to be a maximum; it is, besides, a prestissimo movement, which we may try to represent to ourselves by a rate of seven shots a second. From the tactical point of view there is nothing to be gained by increasing this rate, and it is rarely justifiable to fire longer than a minute without stopping at the same target.

Theoretically, a weapon on a fixed support should send all its shots along the same path; in reality, as a consequence of the vibrations of the gun and the play of the parts of the aiming machinery, it is not so; each of the bullets describes its own curve, and their ensemble makes a sheaf, closely packed but very narrow, which may be compared to the stream of water sent out by the nozzle of a hose. In the mowing fire, which is the normal fire, a certain number of sheaves are juxtaposed along the whole front of the objective. From this it re-

sults that at the point where they strike the earth the density of the bullets is terrible and an extraordinary effect of destruction of the unsheltered men is obtained.

The effect of machine-gun fire on armor plate or obstacles is the same as that of gun fire. On barbed-wire entanglements a serious but very localized destruction is obtained by firing several thousand cartridges close together.

To sum up, the machine gun is a light weapon, half portable, extremely deadly, demanding only a small number of men to work it; therefore it allows an economy of men on a given front, and this is one of the reasons for the extraordinary favor it enjoys in the German Army.

In position, the machine gun is inconspicuous and easy to hide completely; on the other hand, it betrays itself by the noise it makes when in action; even the firing of heavy volleys can never be confused with the cadenced fire, very rapid and regular, of the terrible "tac-tac." Even more, the dry crackle, brutal, angry, and headlong, of the rapidly fired machine gun sometimes succeeds in dominating the noise of heavy shells. If you compare the calibre of a machine gun of eight millimeters with that of a simple mortar of medium weight, say, 105 milimeters, (4 inches,) the fact appears surprising, but it has often been verified.

Despite its mechanism, the present machine gun is pretty robust. Certain delicate parts may be broken in firing, but, since substitute pieces are used, every repair can be made by skillful men within a few minutes; it is a simple question of training the men.

The German Machine Gun

Let us now study the German machine gun. This gun, following one of Maxim's models, is distinguished by the cooling system, the method of transport, and the rate of fire.

The barrel of the weapon is surrounded along its whole length by a metal sleeve filled with water to cool it; at the end of 600 or 800 shots the liquid begins to boil, causing an escape of steam which interferes with the firing and reveals the presence of the gun, unless directed toward the earth or into a vessel of water. During the mobile period of the war, and by one of the ruses they are so fond of, the Germans sometimes made use of this peculiarity to make us think imaginary machine guns were at certain points; they generated steam by burning damp grass.

The Maxim uses a loading ribbon of pliable cloth carrying 250 cartridges. The rapidity of fire is unrivaled, reaching nearly 400 shots a minute.

The method of transport is different from ours, as it does not use pack animals; all the material is carted; the machine gun, already mounted, rests on a foot which slides into a socket in a caisson or in an automobile. In the German Mercedes automobiles, manufactured in time of peace, no one could explain the purpose of certain nuts fixed in the chassis; it has since been recognized that they were constructed so that the cars might be fitted with Maxim guns.

The machine-gun companies consist of mounted officers and under officers; further, the caissons drawn by horses can advance at a trot, while carrying the gunners and temporarily leaving behind the extra men. This makes clear that one of the aims of the German command has been to bring the machine guns very rapidly into action, and when necessary to make them go ahead of their infantry.

Stories of Chained Gunners

In the fire zone, the machine gun, already mounted on its carriage, is transported either by one man, on his shoulders, (the weight being 55 kilograms,) or by two men carrying it on a stretcher, or by three dragging it along the ground, the curved front of the carriage, which makes it look like a huge insect, lending itself to this way of advancing even over rough ground. Some machine guns are supplied with chains to aid in carrying by hand; somewhat hasty conclusions as to the gunner chained to his gun have been drawn from them; the reality is simpler and less dramatic.

Nevertheless, there have been several examples of this brutal custom. In the Wood of Fricourt, carried by the English during the combined offensive, a German machine gunner was found fastened to his gun by the foot and by the waist,

dying of exhaustion and thirst, having been completely without water for three days. And at the bottom of a dugout, in the region of Gommecourt, the Tommies discovered the body of a gunner fixed to his gun by a chain around his wrist.

The Maxim fires only in one position, the low position, at about fifty centimeters (twenty inches) high, in order to obtain a mowing fire close to the ground.

At the mobilization the very numerous units of German machine guns were completely organized, whether in regimental or divisional companies. The teaching of the Balkan wars, which in France had not been sufficiently harvested, had shown that the presence of machine guns in battle was, for infantry, not only a powerful material help but also a considerable moral support. Thus the Germans began the war with thousands of machine guns. This weapon exactly fits their temperament; an automatic weapon responds to their immoderate love of mechanism and to the mechanical training of their soldiers. * * *

German Gunners Past Masters

All these things contribute to give the German machine gunners, picked soldiers, a peculiar mentality and pride. They show in battle real bravery, and often extraordinary ferocity. Numbers of them have taken an oath to be killed rather than surrender, and do not hesitate to massacre pitilessly the "kamarades" who try to break their oath.

During the English attack on Mametz, the German machine gunners fought to the last minute; their trench carried, they refused to surrender. On the other hand, these same soldiers showed that they were as ferocious as they are brave by pouring their fire on the wounded who lay on the ground before them.

It has also been noticed that the bravery, the coolness, the daring and skill of the German machine gunners contrasts with the timidity and often the awkwardness of their bomb throwers. The French and English grenadiers show themselves in general very superior to the Teuton bomb throwers, without doubt because the use of the machine gun is especially suitable to machine soldiers, that of hand weapons, on the contrary, appealing to the individual valor of the combatants. But it must be recognized that, as machine gunners, the Germans are past masters in their brutal art.

Bullets That Travel Faster Than Sound

BY CHARLES NORDMANN

[Translated from La Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

EVEN if our senses and instruments were sufficiently perfect exactly to define the direction from which the sound of a cannot shot comes, it often happens that this would not at all give us the direction in which the cannon itself is. It is a question of a phenomenon, very subtle, but of so great importance in war, in which it has led the combatants into errors that entailed the gravest consequences, that my readers will forgive me, in spite of the dryness of the subject, for setting it forth with a certain detail.

It is an astonishing thing that this phenomenon of acoustic illusion has hitherto been almost entirely unknown to the physicists, and many of the latest treatises on physics and acoustics do not even mention it. On the other hand, it was by no means unknown to the student of ballistics and the specialist in firearms, and it had been discovered and expounded by them almost thirty years ago.

We refer to what we shall call, for simplicity's sake, the false detonation of projectiles. Noted as early as 1888, in the experiments of the French Captains Journée and Sabouret, and the Austrian Mach, they were known to specialists, especially thanks to a series of articles which appeared in the Revue d'Artillerie, and the remarkable pamphlet of Captain

Mach, " Smokeless Powder and Tactics." When, on the shooting ranges, one studies firearms (rifles or cannon) firing projectiles of high initial velocity, one often notes discrepancies between the distances measured on the ground and those deduced from the difference between the velocity of light and the velocity of sound. It is noted that these discrepancies correspond to a velocity of sound in air very much greater than 330 meters (1,090 feet) a second, and that, other things being equal, these discrepancies increase with each increase in the initial velocity of the projectile. Especially with rifle bullets of the 1886 model, we have, by experiment, initial velocities of 2,300 feet a second, and, with the shells of certain long naval guns, an initial velocity reaching 4,000 feet a second.

It often happens that, on the rifle ranges, an observer stationed behind the target hears simultaneously the noise of the detonation and the shock of the bullet against the target, when the firer is not very far away—as if the sound traveled as fast as the bullet. To explain the results thus obtained, it would be necessary to admit that sound in air may have velocities exceeding 1,300 to 1,600 feet a second.

The idea that the bullet is able to modify the surrounding air sufficiently for the detonation to be propagated with a velocity very much greater than the normal velocity (1,090 feet a second) would conflict so strongly with all that we know of physics that it cannot be accepted for a moment; and, further, it was immediately ascertained, by establishing suitable conditions, that, in these experiments, the sound of the detonation of departure has not ceased to exist, and continues to be propagated at the classical velocity of 1,090 feet a second. It is heard, though more faintly, a certain time after the very rapid detonation of which we have just spoken, and which has been called the snap (claquement) of the projectile.

The departure of bullets or shells with high initial velocity is, therefore, signalized by two successive detonations—the first, very sharp and very dry, (from which comes its name claquement,) and which is propagated more rapidly than sound in still air; the other, weaker, which is propagated according to the ordinary laws of acoustics. Whence comes this parallel detonation, which often preponderates in intensity to such a degree that the detonation of departure has seemed to be eclipsed by it? What is the nature of this " snap "? What are its deceptive effects, in the work of scouting and range finding on the battlefield? This is our problem.

It was Mach who exactly explained the nature of this phenomenon, so that the very peculiar sound-bearing waves which produce the " snap " of the projectile are often called Mach waves. A comparison will explain their nature: When a ship advances in calm water its cutwater traces on either side a long, double furrow which is visible for a great distance and is formed by two straight lines diverging from the ship and meeting at its cutwater. Well, the Mach wave is an analogous wave formed in air by the very violent shock of the projectile. In striking against the layers of still air which it meets, the bullet causes a condensation in these layers, a sort of pointed and divergent furrow forming a cone, whose apex is occupied by the point of the projectile, and which is carried along with the velocity of the projectile. When a boat is at some distance to the right or left of an advancing ship, it is lightly rocked at the moment when it is reached by the angular furrow which comes from the ship's bow. In the same way, when the conical wave of condensation, which the high velocity projectile carries along with it, reaches the ear of an observer, the air is struck by a sound, (for a sound wave is only a condensation followed by a rarefaction of the air,) the ear hears the " snap " of the shell, and only a moment later hears the detonation of departure, which was at first wrongly confused with this " snap." Experiment shows further that the shell or bullet produces the " snap " only when its velocity in the air is greater than that of sound. * * *

Many guns, all the mortars, all short guns, many of the shell throwers, all trench guns, throw their projectiles with

a low initial velocity, less than 1,090 feet a second. For all these weapons the "snap" phenomenon does not exist, and only the single detonation of departure is heard. With the long guns of high initial velocity, on the contrary, one can hear two detonations, and this fact entails several curious consequences. [By an ingenious device the Mach wave has been photographed.]

All that we have just said only applies to projectiles of high initial velocities in the first part of their flight, when their mean velocity is greater than that of sound in air; but this mean velocity diminishes as the flight continues, since the projectile gradually slows down; a moment comes when, in case of very long ranges, it has a velocity less than that of sound in air. From this point the sound waves of the detonation of departure are gaining little by little on the shock wave, and a point of the trajectory is reached when they overtake it; at distances beyond this, however great the initial velocity may have been, the shell is once more preceded at the point of arrival by the sound of the gunshot and its own warning hiss.

Very different sounds are produced, which only long experience and good judgment can properly interpret.

[M. Nordmann points out that those meteors which are called bolides produce Mach waves, because they enter the upper layers of the atmosphere with velocities very much greater than that of sound in air. The "snap" rushes forward with them, like the furrow made by the advancing ship; and, as this shock wave may simultaneously reach observers scattered over a considerable space (just as the ship's furrow may simultaneously reach boats far from each other) at the exact time when they see the bolide explode, they interpret the "snap" as the noise of that explosion, and each is ready to declare that the bolide exploded directly over his head. The real noise of the explosion may come several seconds later and may be overlooked altogether.]

Removing Projectiles From the Brain by Electromagnet

Dr. Louis Rocher, Professor in the University of Bordeaux, has contributed a noteworthy article on this subject to the Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine, Paris, from which the subjoined extracts have been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE surgery of this war shows us the frequency of wounds in the skull and of projectiles within the brain. It reveals to us the difficulty of removing these, not only because their location is more or less deep, but because in instrumental exploration there is danger of further injury to the brain tissue already much bruised by the projectile. Besides, there are the difficulties of capturing a foreign body which flees before the forceps. On the other hand, rare indeed are the metallic foreign bodies which eliminate themselves spontaneously, unless they are quite superficial.

The presence in the brain of war projectiles presents a situation of gravity either immediate or mediate; in the first place there are the infectious complications. Still, the wound of the brain may heal, the projectile remain encysted, and operation be indicated only at a later date by brain disorders varying according to the location of the projectile, (epilepsy, paralysis, abscess.) Hence, it seems to the surgeon more and more that he ought to remove at the beginning every foreign body within the brain, (projectile or bony splinters.) It may be that some such bodies have been left at the start, either because it seemed as if their presence might be tolerated, or because their extraction was impossible. Still, there arise in actual practice a certain number of cases in which it is necessary to interfere at a later date and to extract the projectile.

Up to the present time it has been

conceded as a general rule that one should not remove balls lodged in the brain, (uncertainty and danger of operative procedures, risk of false routes, and of augmenting the injuries to the brain.) To us it now seems that with the method of extraction by the electromagnet, the technic is simplified to the point of presenting the maximum of safety, being, as it is, more sure and less destructive than the methods hitherto employed.

Consequently, it seems as if the extraction of balls from within the brain were restricted only by the progress of operative technic.

Knowing the service rendered to ophthalmologists by the large electromagnet as a means of removing metallic bodies from the eye, we conceived the idea of adopting this method for removing foreign bodies from the brain, after having located them by means of the X-ray. In fact, a splinter of shell the size of a twenty-centime piece and two millimeters thick was so removed in June, 1915, from the front of a soldier's brain, and that without anaesthesia, and with recovery.

Because of the success of this operation further experiments were made, and the reports were presented to the army medical men in February, 1916. The technic used in manipulating the electromagnet was similar to that adopted by ophthalmologists. In fact, the one we actually used belonged to a Paris oculist.

Experiments were made on human brains obtained at autopsies, and in these brains were buried at different depths various metallic splinters, (shell, torpedoes, grenades, and also the German ball.) In these cases we knew the location of the projectile in advance of attempting the extraction. In the living, of course, before undertaking extraction with the electromagnet an accurate X-ray examination is made.

The cases are of two classes—either recent wounds of the skull with penetration by the projectile, or late extraction of the projectile. A small body superficially located is readily removed. A larger body which has penetrated deeply requires more method. Prudent exploration and X-ray examination are needed in order to determine the route and location of the projectile, and to avoid fresh injury to the brain by directing erroneously the lines in which the electromagnet exerts attraction. When the circuit is closed the brain rises over the spot where the foreign body is located. Hence, when it is a question of primary search for a foreign body in a recent wound, the rising of the brain localizes it with relation to the orifice where it entered. The electromagnet should be so placed by the surgeon as to withdraw the body along the route by which it penetrated the brain. At every closing of the circuit will be seen an undulation produced on the brain along the path of the projectile, and becoming more and more evident as it approaches the magnet before brusquely leaving the orifice and sticking to the pole of the magnet.

In a case of late extraction of a foreign body it may be found encysted aseptically (if one may say that) in the brain, or situated inside of an abscess. In the latter case after X-ray examination and the opening of the skull, incision may be made at the point of the typical rising of the surface which occurs when the circuit is closed, and the body extracted through the incision. In the case of a ball or a splinter of shell encysted in the brain, the surgeon will need to calculate the best route of access to the projectile without preoccupying himself with the original orifice of entrance or the path followed. He will need to seek the best path to make it traverse in order to reduce to a minimum the traumatism of the nervous centres. Experimentally a ball was drawn by the magnet from the internal surface of the frontal lobe to its external surface. The projectile itself under the influence of the powerful magnet makes its own path just large enough for it to pass through. The bistoury makes a larger wound, and available information as to location of the foreign body is not always accurate. In extracting balls, regard must also be had to giving the ball the least deadly direction in leaving the brain; that is, it should come out point first and not base first. A

chance presentation of the magnet may result in a pirouetting of the ball ending in a presentation by its base.

This experimentation was done at the Hôpital Notre Dame, Epernay. It is to be desired that patients with skull wounds operated on at the front in the ambulances, but without removal of the projectile, should be sent to centres possessing an electromagnet, by means of which the brain could be quickly relieved of the foreign body.

Night Blindness Among the Soldiers

DR. L. WEEKERS IN BULLETIN DE L'ACADEMIE DE MEDICINE, PARIS

Dr. Weekers is a professor in the University of Liége and assistant physician in the Belgian Army. The most interesting portions of his article are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE present war, fertile in novelties of all sorts, has witnessed an affection of the eyes, which, as far as I know, has never been mentioned in previous wars; I mean the night blindness of which some soldiers complain. Although in the daytime their vision is good, toward evening, and especially at night, they are blind to the point of being completely bewildered; they never succeed in changing their location except with the greatest difficulties; they fall into the trenches, into the shell holes frequently filled with water, and would be quite incapable of finding their way again if they were not aided by their companions. Some of them have at times been compelled to wait a very long while in the same place, until their comrades came to find them, not daring to risk themselves alone for fear of an accident or for fear of drowning.

These men, even if very courageous, dread to be on sentinel duty because of the responsibility which they incur as regards their officers and companions in arms, if they are incapable of warning at the approach of danger. I know of errors which have been caused by men smitten with night blindness (hemeralopia) who strayed and were lost in the course of a patrol. The soldiers stricken with night blindness give the utmost detail concerning the troubles which they feel, and so demonstrate their good faith. One of them described to me how in the night marches he always sought to place himself behind one of his companions who carried a shining bowl on his knapsack; for him it was the only guiding point which permitted him to follow the column, and without it he would have been completely disabled. The drivers of vehicles are at night quite incapable of directing their horses, and are obliged to abandon themselves to their teams.

This symptom is frequent. Out of 3,977 patients whose eyes were examined at the front 409, or 10 per cent., presented very marked symptoms of hemeralopia.

These men have no other functional trouble than an insufficiency of retinal adaptation. The objective examination reveals no lesion of the deep ocular membranes. They often have an anomaly of refraction, (in 73 per cent. of the cases.) Most frequently the general condition is satisfactory, but sometimes one notes signs of nervous depression.

The explanation of the cause of these cases of night blindness found among the soldiers is particularly complicated, inasmuch as but little is known regarding the normal physiology of retinal adaptation. There is one distinction to be made. Some soldiers are affected with a congenital hemeralopia whose manifestations may be accentuated by the life in the trenches. It is probable that those afflicted with this congenital form are themselves quite unconscious of the fact, and hence are tempted to attribute their troubles exclusively to their new life. Independently of congenital hemeralopia, there is an acquired form which individuals previously exempt develop. It seems that it may be

the resultant, not of a single cause but of the co-working of a whole series of factors.

The principal cause of night blindness is nervous exhaustion, the overtaxing which is explained only too well by the fatigues and dangers of war, by the monotony and unphysiological character of the life in the trenches, by the irregular sleep, by the rude shocks to which the nervous system is subjected, and perhaps, above all, by the homesickness and anxieties concerning the family left behind in the country occupied by the enemy.

Similar troubles are found among colliers, whose distressing conditions of life at the bottom of the mine have many analogies to those of soldiers in the trenches. In the course of the piercing of the St. Gothard, among the workmen overtaxed by that titanic task numerous cases of night blindness were noted. Here again, as among soldiers and colliers, this symptom betrays an exhaustion of the nervous system. To my mind there exists a clinical form of night blindness which should be called the hemeralopia of exhaustion.

Work in the dark, contrary to what one might think, does not produce night blindness; the darkness gives the evidence of the insufficiency of the retinal adaptation, but is not the cause of it. The ocular fatigue resulting from an error of refraction, or from an inflammation of the external ocular membranes, acts as an auxiliary factor by increasing the fatigue.

A clinical form of night blindness which is well known is that found in endemic form in certain groups by reason of insufficient or defective nutrition, for example, in penitentiaries, in orphan asylums, on ships. In Russia, during the seven weeks of fasting which precede the feasts of Easter, cases of night blindness occur in great number. But I think that this causal factor intervenes but little in the development of night blindness among soldiers. Their nutrition is the object of very special care, it is abundant and healthful. The only grievance against the regimen of our soldiers is one made inevitable by circumstances, and that is, that it is too uniform, and that canned goods form too large a part of it.

The present-day treatment of night blindness includes the wearing of smoked glasses during prolonged exposure to bright light, the correction of errors of refraction, (using round frames and lenses at the front,) strengthening and varied food, rest in the hospital for exceptional cases. The number of catastrophies on the field from this cause is to be lessened by eliminating the congenital cases of night blindness by tests at the recruiting stations. Men who are so affected need not be excluded from military service, but can be assigned to duty not requiring night work.

Endless Chain of Motor Cars That Saved Verdun

France may truly be said to have won the battle of Verdun by means of automobiles. Certainly the battle would have been lost without them. The road from Bar-le-Duc to Verdun, over which the machines traveled, is still called La Voie Sacrée (The Sacred Way) by French writers. The historical facts are thus summarized by Henry Wood, a special correspondent with the French armies.

IT is not improbable that some future poet will sing the song of "The Four Thousand Automobiles of Verdun." When the Germans began their big drive last February the nearest railhead from which the French could bring up their munitions and supplies was at Bar-le-Duc, some thirty miles away and connected with Verdun by a single roadway capable of sustaining heavy motor truck traffic. It was over this one roadway that France immediately established its endless chain of 4,000 automobiles. They maintained a uniform distance from each other of twenty yards and moved at a uniform rate of one yard a second. There was only one order to be observed, and that was that never for a single second

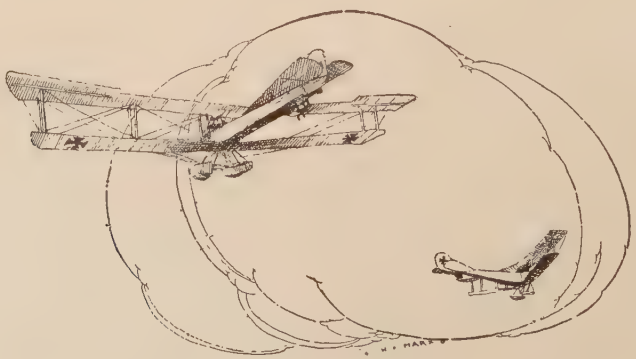
of the night or day must anything stop or slacken this endless, ever-rolling chain. If a chauffeur discovered something going wrong with his machine, his duty was to run the automobile into the ditch before he should be obliged to stop in the roadway and clog the chain.

At all hours there passed up and down the side of the roadway gangs of repair men. They hastily examined each machine as it had been run into the ditch. If it was found it could be quickly repaired it was repaired and thrust back into line. If it was found the accident was serious the auto was ruthlessly cast aside, the repair gang merely carrying away the more essential parts for use in making other repairs. The cost of a single auto at that time was not worth the loss of a second to France.

No road in the world could have sustained this chain of heavy traffic without constant repairs, and here again French genius solved the problem. A stone was found for macadamizing the road sufficiently soft to be crushed under the wheels of the autos themselves without the need of the roller. This stone was distributed along both sides of the roadway for the entire thirty miles, as were also gangs of road repairers. The instant a worn place appeared, a workman rushed in between two automobiles and deposited a shovel full of the soft stone on the spot. He leaped back in time to permit the approaching auto to pass over it, crushing it into the roadbed, and as this auto cleared it a second man leaped in between it and the next machine with another shovel full of stone, this continuing till the weakened spot was again perfectly macadamized.

For fully three months, until railways could be built, France kept up this endless chain of 4,000 autos, 2,000 moving up one side of the roadway from Bar-le-Duc as the other 2,000 moved on in the opposite side from Verdun. The 4,000 automobiles included also the ambulance autos that brought back the wounded. Many of these were urgent cases, and yet these ambulances could only move at the established rate of one yard per second.

Hundreds of lives would have been lost had it not been for the field sections of the American ambulance stationed at Verdun. Equipped with small, light, speedy cars capable of going almost anywhere and everywhere that the heavy French auto-ambulances could not go, the "rush" surgical cases were given to these American drivers. They were not given a place in the endless chain, but were allowed to dart into the intervening space of sixty feet maintained between the cars, and then make their way forward as best they could. When an open field offered, they left the road entirely, and, driving across, would come back into line when they could go no further, and await another chance for getting ahead. They were able to bring the wounded down from Verdun often twice as fast as those who came in the regular ambulances, and always without ever committing the one great error on which the life of France depended—the tying up for a single instant of the endless chain of the 4,000 automobiles of Verdun.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the seizure of all German periodicals by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain for this issue an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[Australian Cartoon]

St. George and the Dragon

—Flanagan in Sydney Bulletin.

Liberty fighting the worst of the dragon brood—Militarism.

[Russian Cartoon]

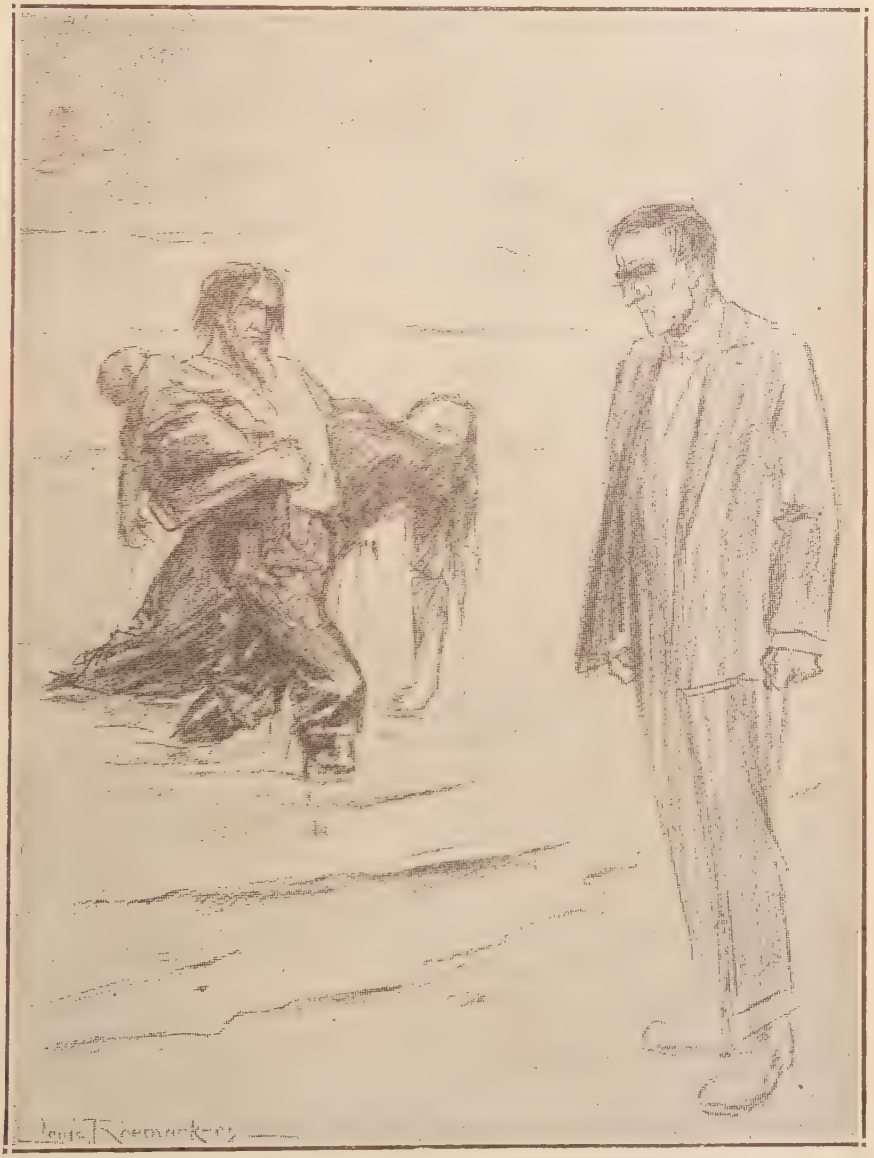
The Busy American

—From the Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

The clink of the shoveled coin deafens him to the cries of those who are perishing at sea.

[English Cartoon]

U-Boat 53 at Nantucket



—*Raemaekers in Land and Water, London.*

PRESIDENT WILSON: "We can save, but cannot we prevent?"

American Taste

—*From La Victoire, Paris.*

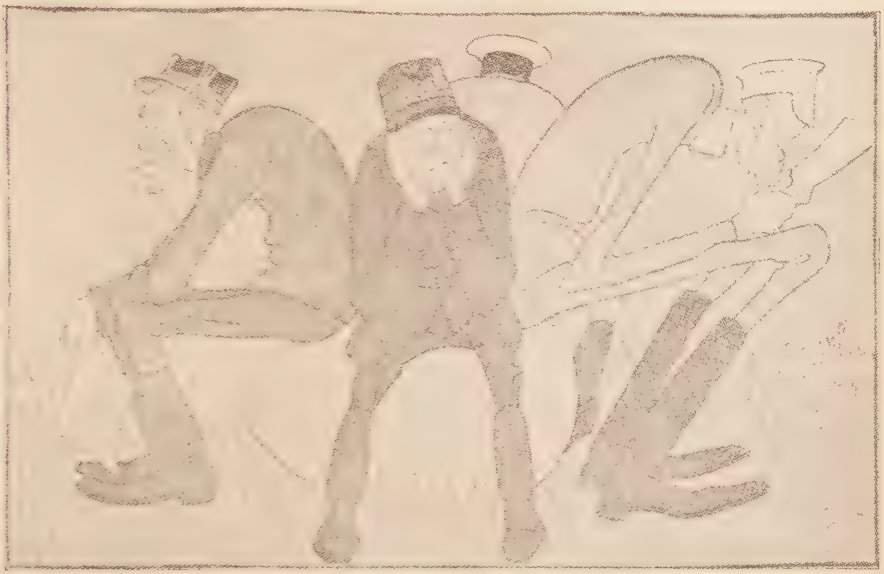
"How clever they are with the torpedo!"

—*From La Victoire, Paris.*

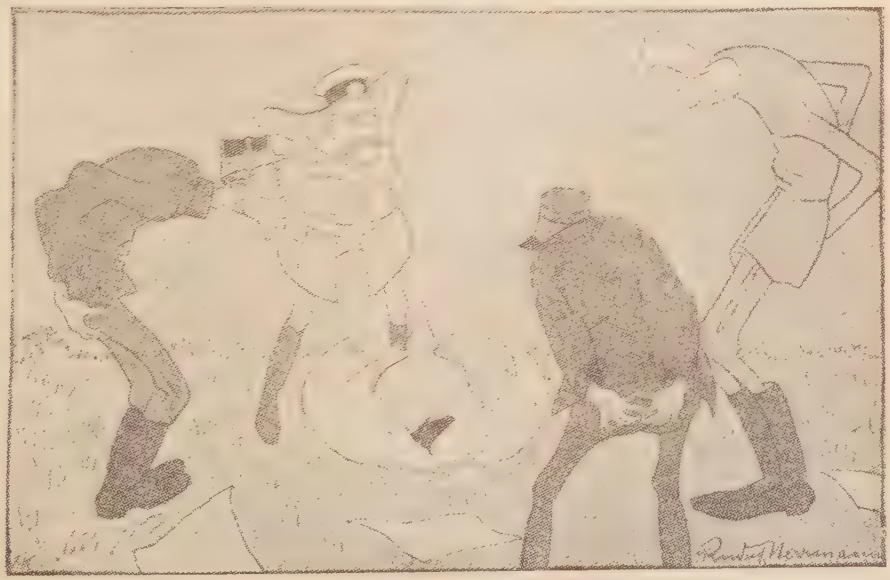
The last German submarine.

[Austrian Cartoon]

The Allied "Offensive" in Rumania



"Don't worry; it will soon hatch out."



—From Die Muskete, Vienna.

"Rotten, by Gosh!"

[Italian Cartoon]

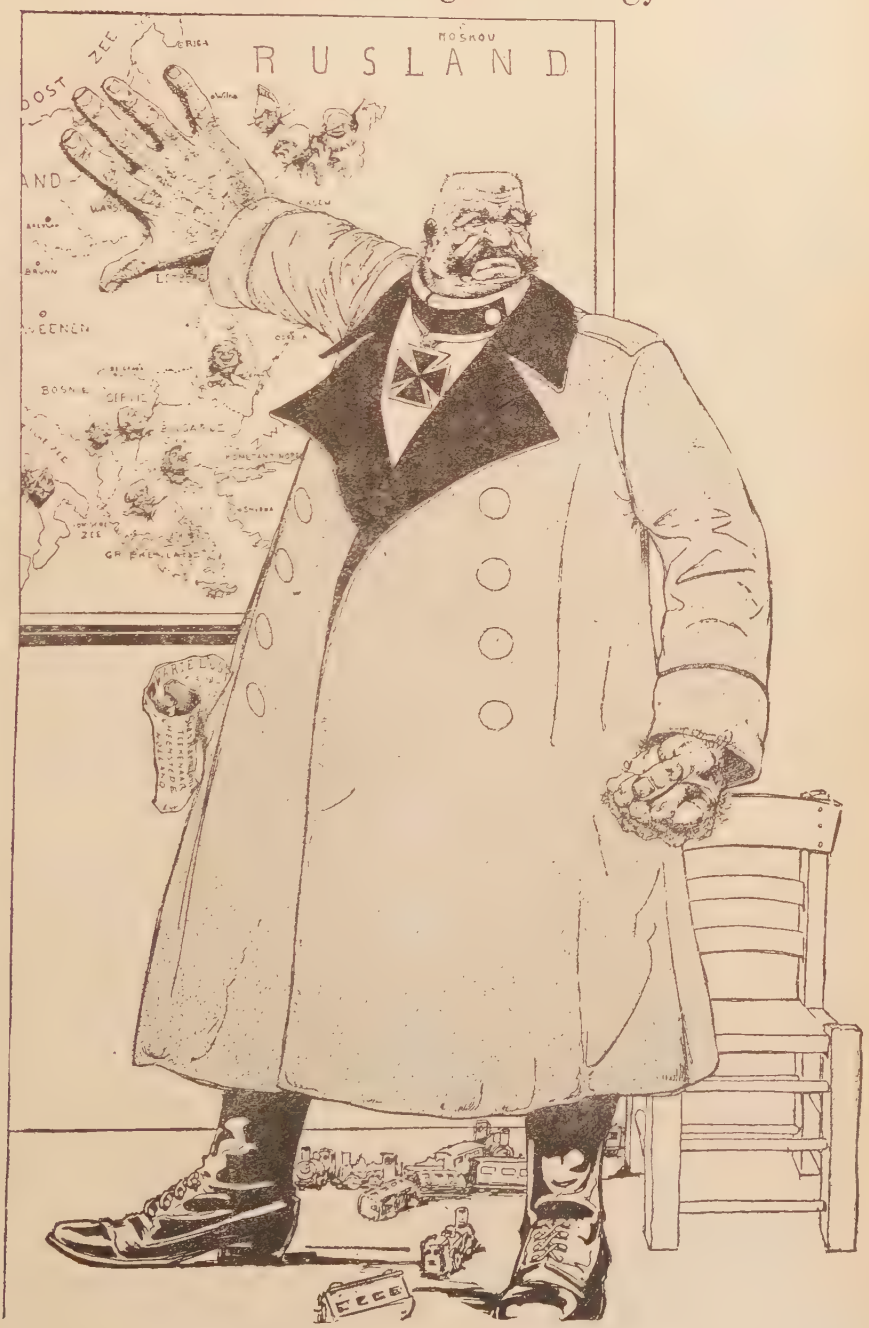
Uncle Sam's Interrupted Nap

—From L'Asino, Rome.

German submarines give America a taste of what Europe suffers daily.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Hindenburg's Strategy



—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

"He strode to a large map of Poland, and, laying a hand as large as a breakfast tray over the centre, said, 'It is here that European and colonial affairs will be settled.'"

[French Cartoon]

Lest Ye Forget!

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

VOICE OF FRANCE'S DEAD: "Cursed be the hand that shall clasp the hand of our assassins!"

[German Cartoon]

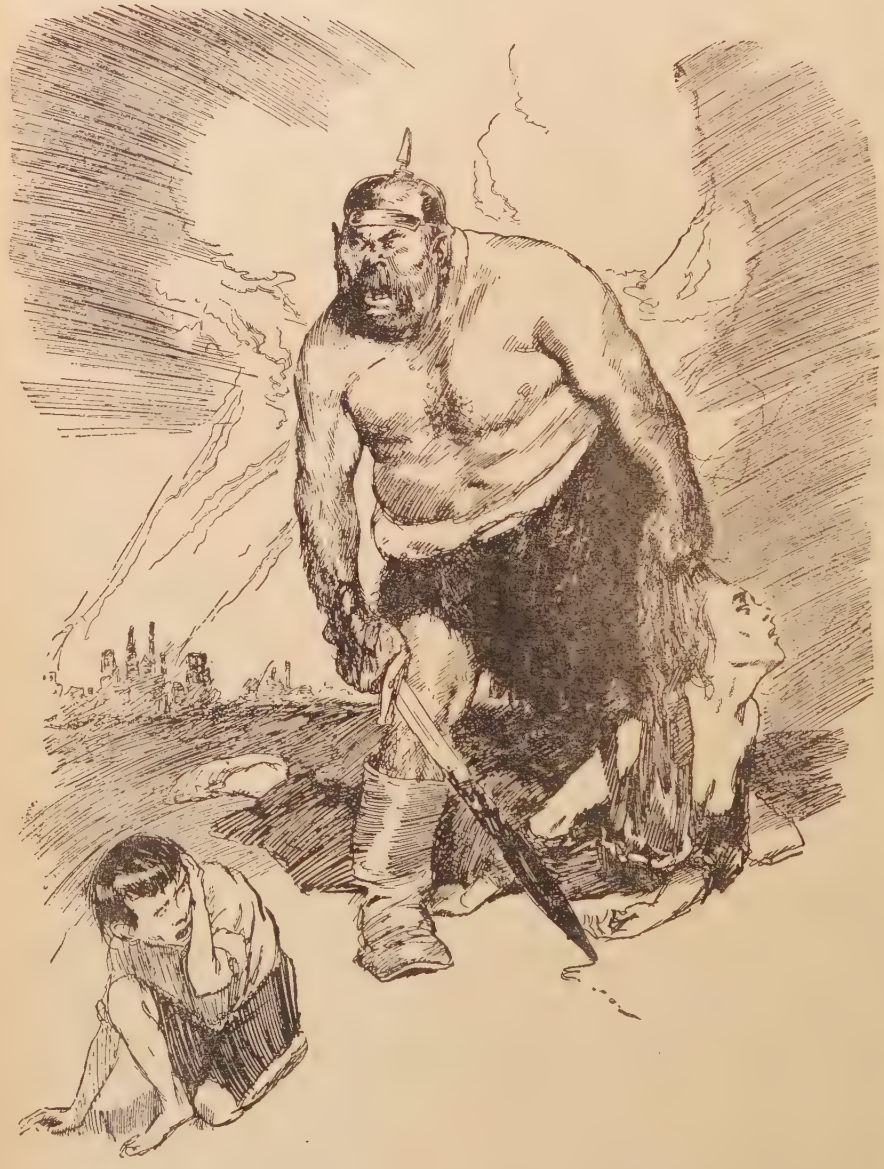
The Butterfly Hunter

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

John Bull after the neutrals. He won't get a single one of them.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Lovers

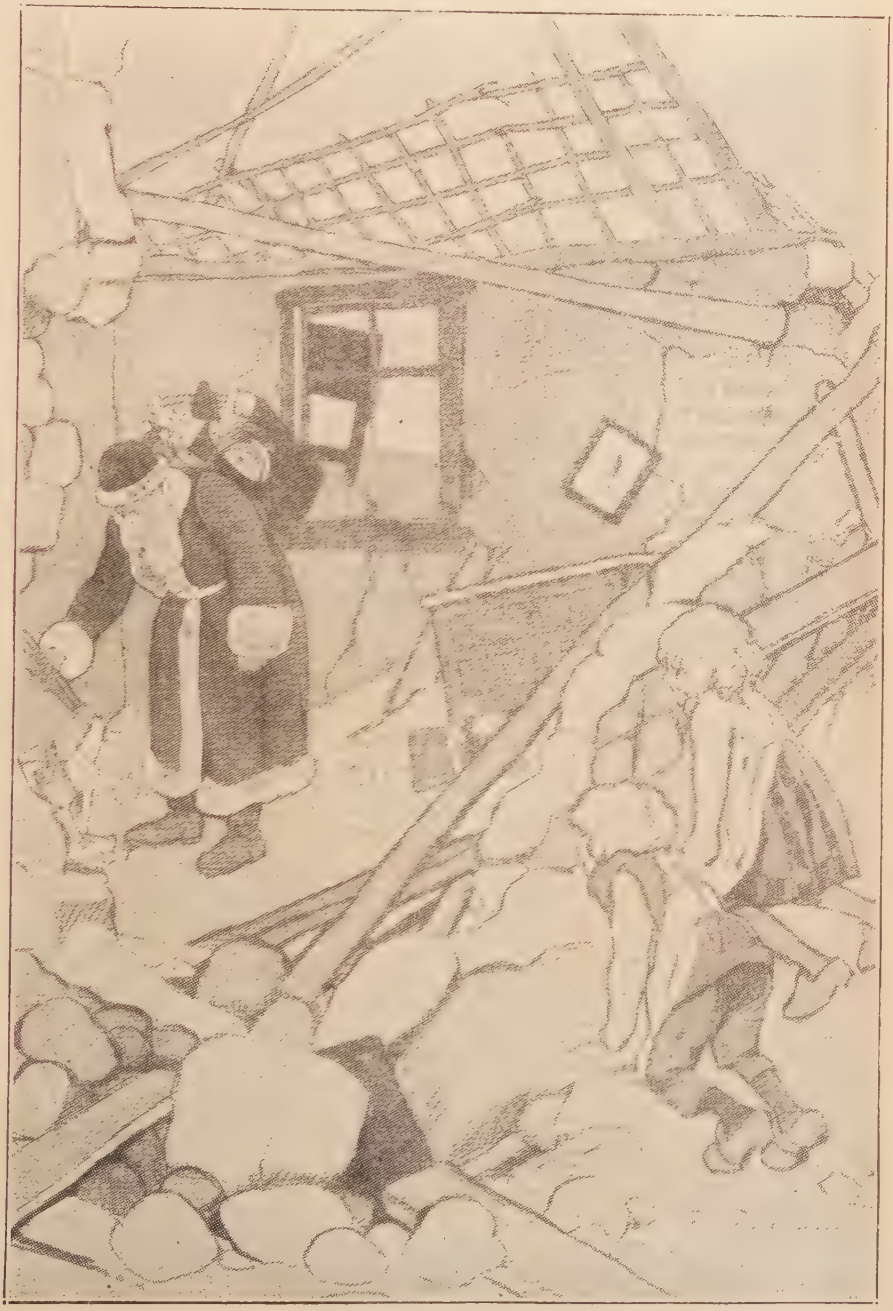


—Norman Lindsay in Sydney Bulletin.

"The conquered loves the conqueror."—Max Harden.

[French Cartoon]

Christmas in the War Zone



—From La Baionnette, Paris.

"What did I tell you! I SAID he'd find our chimney."

[Russian Cartoon]

The Mailed Fist at Home

Many women and children have been wounded in the food riots at Berlin. — *Newspaper report.*

—From Boudilnik, Petrograd.

WILHELM: "In spite of this terrible war we will have neither widows nor orphans."

[English Cartoon]

Oh, Where Has My Little Dog Gone?

—Will Owen in The Sketch, London.

"I for the best hoped have—but now I for the wurst ready am."

[French Cartoon]

Recapture of Fort Douaumont

"The French attack, favored by fog"—*German war bulletin, Oct. 26.*

—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.*

—and the fog was suddenly dissipated.

[French Cartoon]

Polish Freedom—German Style

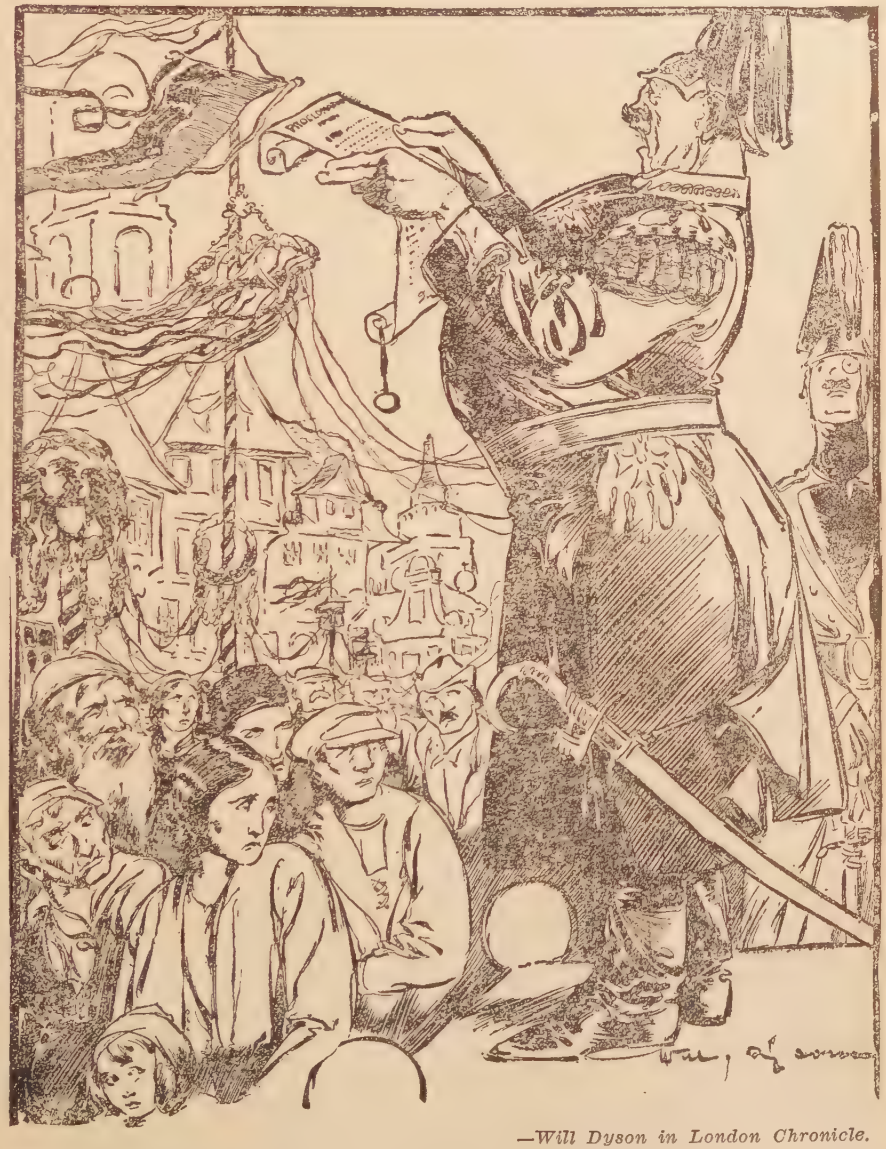
—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.*

"We hereby re-establish the ancient Kingdom of Poland."

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

[English Cartoon]

A German Bargain

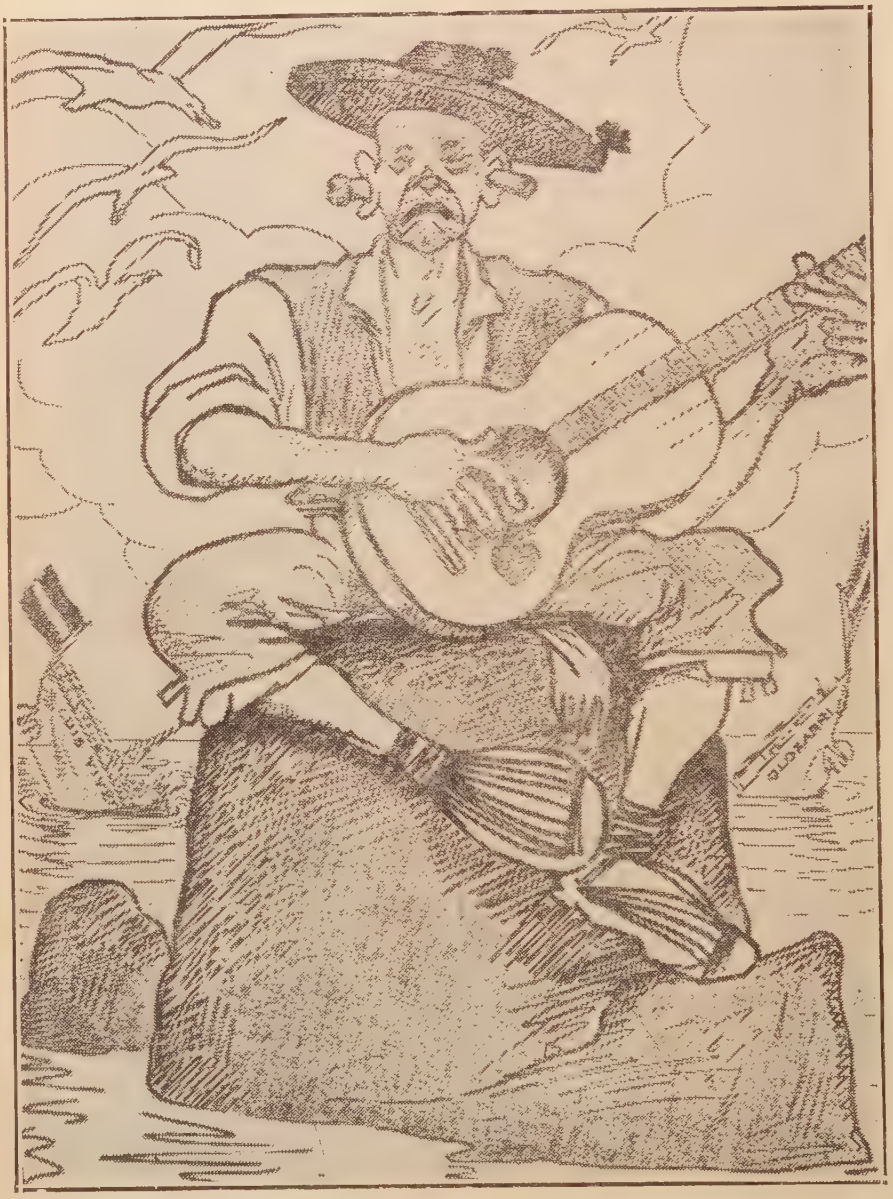


—*Will Dyson in London Chronicle.*

READER OF PROCLAMATION TO THE POLES: "In short, we are giving you a pure Prussian Prince, and taking in return a mere million or two of Polish peasants!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Happy Neutral



—*Campana de Gracia, Barcelona; adapted by Cartoons Magazine.*

I twang my strings for all they're worth
Upon this peaceful lump of earth;
The sounds of war evoke no fears
For I have stopped up both my ears.

The Spanish ships sunk by German submarines are seen in the background.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Greek Situation

—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

King Constantine as the Kaiser's puppet.

[Rumanian Cartoon]

Transylvania

—From a Rumanian Postcard.

Crucified by the two-headed Austrian eagle.

[French Cartoon]

The Crown Prince Prefers Not to Return to Verdun

"Say, Papa, can't you send me now against the Japanese?"

[Australian Cartoon]

The Red Plowman

—Norman Lindsay in Sydney Bulletin.

How much longer will he torture Europe?

[Polish Cartoon]

The Tempter

—From Mucha, Moscow.

KAISER (to Poland): "I will give you all that lies before you."

POLAND: "But what of that which lies beyond?"

KAISER: "Oh, that is mine. You can't expect any of that."

[Australian Cartoon]

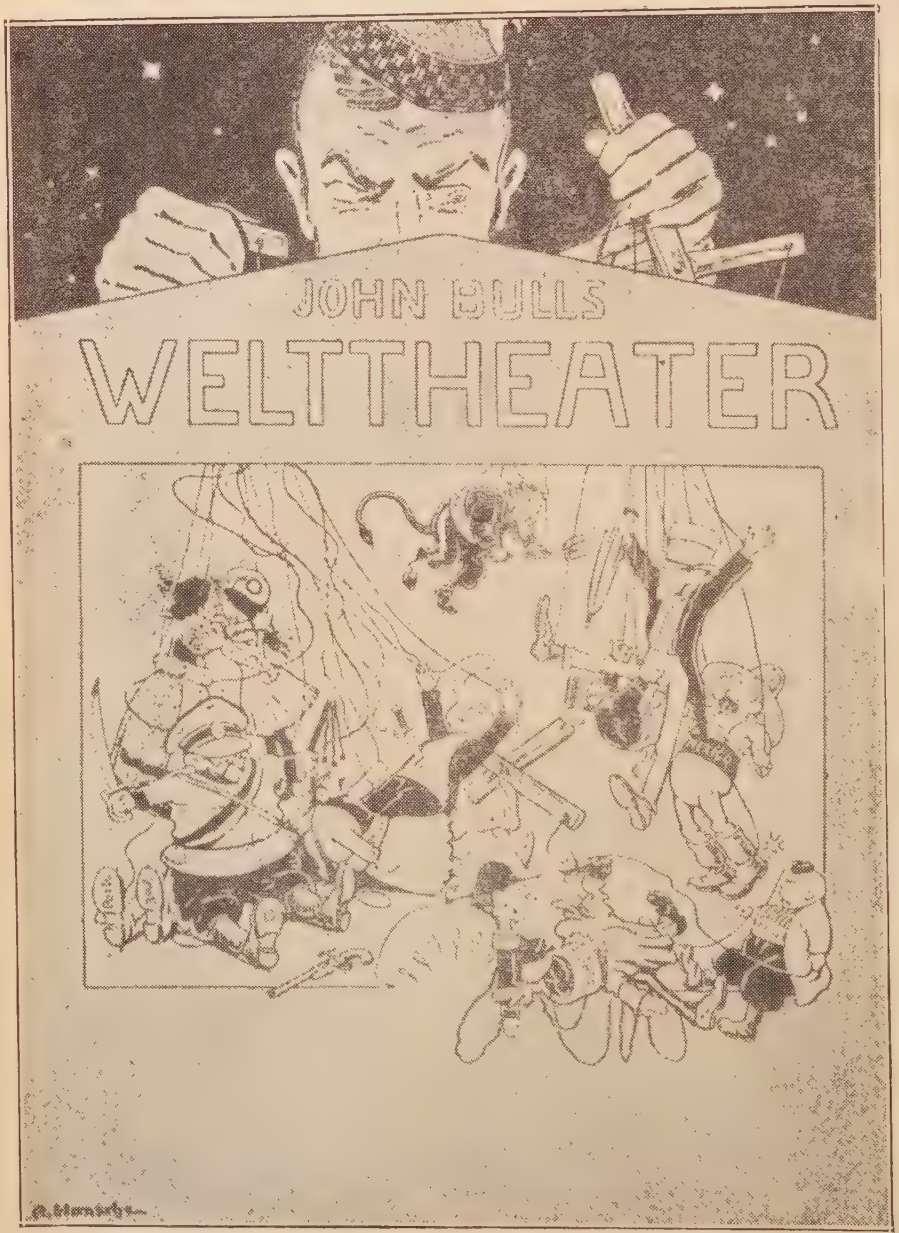
The Poem That Defeated Conscription

THE BLOOD VOTE
"Why is your face so white, Mother?
Why do you choke for breath?"
"O I have dreamt in the night, my son
That I doomed a man to death"
"Why do you hide your hand, Mother?
And crouch above it in dread?"
"It beareth a dreadful brand, my son:
With the dead man's blood 'tis red
"I hear his widow cry in the night.
I hear his children weep;
And always within my sight,
O God!
The dead man's blood
doth leap.
"They put the dagger into my
grasp.
It seemed but a pencil then;
I did not know it was a fiend a-gasp
For the priceless blood of men.
"They gave me the ballot paper,
The grim death-warrant of doom,
And I smugly sentenced the man to death
In that dreadful little room:
"I put it inside the Box of Blood
Nor thought of the man I'd slain,
Till at midnight came like a 'whelming
flood
God's word - and the Brand of Cain.
CONSCRIPTION
BALLOT-BOX
"O little son! O my little son!
Pray God for your Mother's soul,
That the scarlet stain may be white again
In God's great Judgment Roll."
Written by W R Winspear, and drawn by Claude Marquet, St Andrew's Place, Sydney.

[This cartoon, in the form of large posters, is said to have turned the Australian women's vote, defeating compulsory military service in the recent referendum.]

[German Cartoon]

Pulling the Puppet Strings



—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

OLD PUPPET SHOWMAN JOHN BULL: "Confound it! One string after another gets tangled up."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From November 13, Up to and Including December 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Nov. 13—Heavy artillery fighting in Galicia, in the Narayuvka region.

Nov. 15—Russians recapture Narayuvka positions east of Lipnicadolna.

Nov. 24—Russians repulse attacks on the Kovel-Marovich Railway in Volhynia.

Nov. 29—Russians repulse gas attacks on the River Shara.

Dec. 9—Russian troops retire to their own intrenchments after battle near Javornika.

Dec. 11—Austro-German troops take the offensive in the region of Pomorzany in Galicia.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 13—Russians cross the Danube into Dobrudja at two points south of Cernavoda, in the rear of Mackensen's army; Teutons on Transylvanian front push back the Rumanians in the region of the Oituz Valley and northeast of Campulung; Serbs on the Macedonian front advance beyond Polog and capture the Village of Iven.

Nov. 14—Teutons capture the village of Bumbeshti in the Juil Valley and force the Rumanians back in the Alt Valley; Russians retire from the Gyergyo Mountains in Northern Transylvania; Serbs reach the edge of the Monastir plain, flanking frontier defenses to the south.

Nov. 15—Rumanians are forced back further in the Alt and Juil Valleys, but pursue the Teutons from the border of Western Moldavia to the Slanic and Oituz Valleys.

Nov. 16—Mackensen forced back in Dobrudja; army burns villages as it retreats; Bulgar-German army flanked out of whole line of frontier defenses centred on Kenali; French occupy Kenali and several other villages on the Monastir plain and Cerna Heights; British resume offensive on the Struma front and capture Karakaska, east of Lake Tahinos.

Nov. 17—Teutons take Tirgujiulij in the Juil Valley and the Village of Liresht in the Campulung region; British on the Struma take Kerakli.

Nov. 18—Rumanians force Teutons to retreat in the Campulung region; French reach Kanena, five miles south of Monastir; British take Prosenik and Kumli on the Struma.

Nov. 19—Teutons reach the Wallachian Plain and cut the Orsova-Craiova railroad; Rumanians recapture series of heights in the Tirgujiulij region; allied troops take Monastir.

Nov. 21—Teuton forces occupy Craiova; Serbs take many villages east and northeast of Monastir.

Nov. 22—Bulgar-German retreat from Monastir halted on a line running from Snegovo to Hill 1,050, southwest of Makovo.

Nov. 23—Russian reinforcements arrive on the Transylvanian front; Rumanians destroy bridge over the Danube near Corabia; French and Italians advance north of Monastir to the west; Serbs capture another village to the east.

Nov. 24—Teutons capture Turnu-Severin and Orsova; Serbs capture Rapesh and Budimirtse northeast of Monastir; Italians reach Nijpole.

Nov. 25—Germans from Mackensen's front cross the Danube, landing at Islacz at the mouth of the Alt and at Zimnitza; Falkenhayn's forces push down the Alt Valley from Red Tower Pass, cross the Alt River, and drive Rumanians back toward the south.

Nov. 26—Falkenhayn's army gains the railway at Craiova; Mackensen's army advances before Alexandria.

Nov. 27—Teutons capture Alexandria; Rumanians abandon entire Alt River line and withdraw beyond the Topolog River; Orsova forces trapped; French and Serbs in Macedonia capture Hill 1,050, east of Parlavo.

Nov. 28—Falkenhayn captures Curtea de Arges; Mackensen occupies Giurgiu; Rumanians destroy the railroad to Bucharest as they retreat from the Danube; Cabinet moves from Bucharest to Jassy.

Nov. 29—Falkenhayn captures Pitechti; Serbs capture the height northwest of Grunishte; Italians push forward in the region of Tsrvena Stena height.

Nov. 30—Falkenhayn's forces take Campulung; Mackensen's army occupies Tzomana; Russian drive gains in the north, reaching the outskirts of Kirlibaba; Serbs driven back from the west slope of Ruin Mountain.

Dec. 1—Russians launch great offensive all along the Bukowina and Moldavia frontier and in Dobrudja, capturing ranges south of Kirlibaba and in the Buzeu Valley southeast of Kronstadt.

Dec. 2—Russians gain grip on Kirlibaba; Rumanians make further retirement west of Bucharest; Serbs resume their advance in the region of Monastir.

Dec. 4—All Teutonic armies in Rumania reported incorporated under command of General Mackensen; bombardment of

Bucharest begins; Russians break into Transylvania northeast of Kronstadt; Serbs drive Germans and Bulgars from fortified Bulgar positions north of Grunishte.

Dec. 6—Bucharest and Ploechti captured by the Teutons.

Dec. 7—Teutons occupy Campino; Bulgars retake Serb positions north of Sokol.

Dec. 8—Rumanian troops retreating from the Predeal and Altschanz Passes cut off by Teutonic forces and most of them captured.

Dec. 10—Rumanians assume the offensive along the Buzeu-Ploechti road and drive the Teutons back behind the Grikovul River; Bulgarians cross the Danube between Cernavoda and Silistria.

Dec. 11—Teutons driven back for several miles east of Ploechti; French advance near Flaklar, north of Monastir.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Nov. 13—British break German line on five-mile front north and south of the Ancre River and capture the towns of Beaumont-Hamel and St. Pierre Divion.

Nov. 14—British advance further up the valley of the Ancre, capturing the Village of Beaucourt.

Nov. 15—Germans assault French lines from the region of Les Boeufs to Bouchavesnes and make slight advances.

Nov. 16—French expel the Germans from Pressoire and win back contested portion of Saillisel.

Nov. 17—British advance east of Beaucourt, but are forced back east of Warlencourt.

Nov. 18—British on the Ancre reach the outskirts of Grandcourt.

Nov. 20—Germans win back part of Grandcourt.

Nov. 25—Somme fighting halted by bad weather; artillery forces around Fort Vaux show renewed activity.

Nov. 26—French attack upon St. Mihiel salient repulsed; German attacks in the Champagne district east of Maisons-Champagne and Auberive repulsed.

Nov. 28—British positions on both sides of the Ancre heavily shelled; fighting renewed near Souchez.

Nov. 30—Germans repulse British attack on two-mile front near Ypres.

Dec. 4—British repulsed in attempts to enter German trenches at Ypres.

Dec. 6—Germans launch attack on the slopes east of Hill 304, northwest of Verdun.

Dec. 7—Germans capture summit of Hill 304.

Dec. 9-11—Violent artillery duels on the Ancre.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 15—Italians evacuate some trenches on the San Marco, east of Gorizia.

Nov. 17—Italians repel night attacks against salient on the San Marco.

Nov. 18—Italians advance on the Carso and near Vertoibizza.

Nov. 28—Austrians shell Italian front in the Trentino and near Gorizia.

Dec. 2—Austrians repulsed at Monte Granuda in the Fella Valley.

Dec. 6—Austrian attacks in the Upper Astico Valley repulsed.

Dec. 11—Italians repel attacks in the Boscomalo-Ludilog sector on the Carso.

ASIA MINOR

Nov. 13—Russians repel Turks near Gumushkhaneh height and Kighi.

Nov. 24—Turks evacuate Sharafkhan in Armenia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Nov. 19—Portuguese occupy Linda and reach Moama.

Dec. 11—British line has advanced from New Iringa and Kissaki to the coast.

AERIAL RECORD

British naval airplanes raided Ostend and Zeebrugge.

On Nov. 17 a French aviator flew from the French lines to Munich and dropped bombs on the city. He crossed the Alps on his return trip and alighted near Venice, having covered a distance of 435 miles.

Zeppelins raided blast furnaces and industrial establishments in the northeastern counties of England Nov. 27. Two machines were brought down.

The Russians brought down a Zeppelin near Sarny and captured the crew.

Austrian aviators raided Weadova, Ravenna, Ponte Lagoscuro, and Aquila, and set fire to Padua. Italians shelled Prosecco and the pier at Trieste.

Teuton aviators made several raids on Bucharest and on neighboring villages, and on Nov. 15 dropped bombs on the royal palace.

The British raided Maghdaba and Birshaba in Egypt, bringing down two Fokkers.

NAVAL RECORD

German submarines have renewed their campaign in the war zone with unusual vigor. Within a month ninety-six vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been sunk.

Two British hospital ships, the Britannic and the Braemar Castle, were sunk by mines in the Aegean Sea.

Russian submarines sank three Turkish ships in the Black Sea, near the Bosporus.

The American steamship Chemung was torpedoed and sunk near the coast of Spain by an Austrian submarine.

Six German destroyers raided the British coast Nov. 25, bombarded Ramsgate, and sank a patrol ship. In a second raid, near Lowestoft, Nov. 28, another patrol ship was sunk and the crew captured.

The French gunboat Surprise was sunk by German submarines at Funchal, Madeira, the troop ship Karnak has been sunk, and the battleship Suffren has been given up as lost.

WINTER IN THE VOSGES TRENCHES

French Observation Post in the Vosges Mountains: A Sentry Watching for German Aeroplanes

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

WINTER IN GALICIA

A Village Along the Stripa River Through Which an Army's Lines Now Run

(Photo © International Film Service.)

A BRITISH BOMB PROJECTOR

This Bomb Thrower, Seen at the Moment of Loading, Represents an Important Element in Trench Warfare

(Photo © International Film Service.)

NEW PREMIER OF GREECE

Professor Spyridon P. Lambros, President of the Greek Council of Ministers, Has Taken Part in Many Stormy Scenes

(Bain News Agency.)

ADMIRAL VON HOLTZENDORF

Chief of the Admiralty Staff of the German Navy

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

GENERAL LYAUTEY

New Minister of War in the French Cabinet, Former Governor of Morocco, and Member of the French Academy

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. V.—No. 5 February, 1917

25 Cents a Copy
$3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH	An Editorial Survey	771
THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE EFFORTS		777
Text of Reply of Central Powers to President's Peace Note		783
Text of Entente Allies' Reply to President		783
Official French Text of Entente Reply		785
Great Britain's Note Amplifying the Entente Reply	By Arthur J. Balfour	786
Belgium's Separate Reply to the President		788
Germany's Retort to Entente in a Separate Note to Neutrals		789
Replies of Neutral Nations to President Wilson's Peace Note		791
"Peace Founded on the Rock of Vindicated Justice"	By Premier Lloyd George	793
Lloyd George and His Guildhall Speech	By Charles H. Grasty	797
GERMAN PEACE REJECTED: Chronology of German Peace Movement		800
Text of Reply of Entente to Central Powers		801
German Semi-Official Comments on the Entente Reply		805
THE WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES:		
Preparing for the Final Decision: German View	By H. H. von Mellenthin	808
The Month's Military Developments: American View	By J. B. W. Gardiner	811
THE SITUATION IN GREECE		816
Greece Betrayed by Her Rulers: A Documented Indictment		818
TURKEY'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: Text of the Note		822
WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN FRANCE	By Ernest Lavisse	824
THE FRENCH VICTORIES OF DOUAUMONT AND HARDAUMONT	By Military Experts	828
GREAT BRITAIN'S NEW WAR PLANS	By Earl Curzon	833
RECRUITING BRITAIN'S GREAT ARMIES: History of the First Phase		838
TWO YEARS OF BRITISH ACHIEVEMENT	By Ex-Premier Asquith	842
NAVAL POWER IN THE PRESENT WAR, II.	By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill	847

Contents continued on next page

Copyright, 1917, by The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved. Entered at the Post Offices in New York and in Canada as second class matter.

CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
THE NEW "OLD GUARD" OF FRANCE	By John Joseph Casey	855
Reviving the Tradition of Marshal of France		859
THE TEUTONIC ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE POLISH QUESTION		861
EMPEROR CHARLES WITH HIS SOLDIERS	By Karl F. Nowak	864
GERMANY'S EFFORT TO AVERT THE WAR: Full Text of Chancellor's Speech		867
A Reply to Bethmann Hollweg's Speech	By F. H. Howard	871
WARTIME METHODS IN GERMANY	Reichstag Address by Herr Dittmann	873
ENSLAVEMENT OF THE BELGIANS: New Documents in the Case		881
Cardinal Mercier's Appeal and Baron von Bissing's Reply		882
Text of Allies' Declaration Regarding Belgium		886
Protest of Chiefs of Belgian Industries		887
Appeal of Belgian Workingmen to American Workingmen		889
DATES OF DECLARATIONS OF WAR		891
GREAT LAND IRONCLADS AND VICTORY	By H. G. Wells	892
MAKING FOOD FOR HUNGRY GUNS	By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle	898
THE MOLTKE OF 1870 AND THE WAR PLAN THAT FAILED	By T. G. Frothingham	900
WONDERS OF WAR SURGERY		905
A WAR VISION	By Count Ilya Tolstoy	908
AMERICAN PRECEDENTS FOR BRITISH BLOCKADE METHODS	By A. Maurice Low	911
WHAT THE ALLIES ARE FIGHTING AGAINST	By Gilbert Murray	919
THE BASIS OF A DURABLE PEACE	Views of "Cosmos"	921
History of Past Efforts to Enforce Peace	By Sterling E. Edmunds	929
Rising Tide of Democracy a Cause of War	By Henry Dwight Sedgwick	930
HOW OTHER WARS ENDED	By Charles Willis Thompson	933
ARMENIA AND CIVILIZATION	By R. H. Kazanjan	935
Horrors of Armenian Encampments	By an Eyewitness	937
PROGRESS OF THE WAR	Chronology to January 11	939
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS:	26 Cartoons, All Nations	941
FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR: Editorial Summaries		961

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
Winter in the Vosges Trenches	*Frontis*	Re-Educating a Maimed Soldier	816
Winter in Galicia	*Frontis*	French War Cripples at Work	817
A British Bomb Projector	*Frontis*	Artillery Battery in Action	848
New Premier of Greece	*Frontis*	View of German Trenches	849
Admiral von Holtzendorf	*Frontis*	A Camp on the Somme	864
General Lyautey	769	German Aviation School	865
Makers of War History in France	784	British "Tank" in Action	896
Some of Lloyd George's Associates	785	Funeral of Austrian Emperor	897
French Generals and Their Staffs	800	Rumanian Troops Retreating	912
Men Who Command the "Poilus"	801	Athens From the Acropolis	913

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

FEBRUARY, 1917

[FEBRUARY EDITION 56,000 COPIES]

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

PEACE DISCUSSIONS

PEACE was the outstanding topic of the month just past. Germany's peace proposal and President Wilson's formal request that the belligerents state their peace terms overshadowed every other theme. All the official interchanges and documents on both phases of the subject appear textually in this issue. The action of President Wilson at first justified a hope that the preliminaries of a peace conference were in sight, but the definite reply of the Allies discouraged this expectation, and hope was finally shattered both by the effect the reply produced in Germany and by the British Foreign Minister's amplification of the reply, which served to arouse the entire German population through a specific reference to the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France as a condition of peace.

The news from Washington at the hour of going to press indicated that President Wilson had abandoned for the present any further exchange of notes with the belligerents on the subject of peace. Moreover, the rather pointed references in the Balfour note to a league to "enforce peace" rather than a league to "insure peace," such as President Wilson had in mind, is regarded in high circles as a plain intimation that Great Britain does not regard as practical a league that will seek to insure future peace by moral suasion.

* * *

THE MILITARY SITUATION

MILITARY operations were practically at a standstill during the month, except in Northern Dobrudja, the Riga sector, and the Sinai Peninsula. The Germans, with their Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian allies, pushed back the Russian and Rumanian forces from Central and part of Eastern Rumania; they came into complete control of the Dobrudja, with advances threatening Moldavia and even Bessarabia. In the Riga sector the Russians took the offensive and gained some advantage, advancing nearly a mile. The British defeated the Turks in Northern Egypt, removing the danger threatening the Suez Canal; they pushed their forces eastward toward Palestine, taking Raffa, within seventy miles of Jerusalem. British troops also showed activity in Mesopotamia, and again threatened Kut. The Saloniki army was quiet. There was little activity along the Italian fronts, and no important action in France, after the retaking of Hardaumont in the Verdun sector.

German submarines were busy during the month, torpedoing many large merchant vessels and at least one battleship, the Cornwallis, with several transports and minor naval craft. The operations of a German sea raider, reported to have sunk a score of allied merchant vessels in the South Atlantic, were among the months' surprises. The number of allied vessels destroyed in November was 191, according to an official German report.

* * *

THE WAR COUNCIL AT ROME

THE month was replete with political events of deep import. Of chief significance was the conference of the Entente Premiers at Rome. Italy was represented by her Premier, Paolo Boselli; Great Britain by Premier Lloyd George and Viscount Milner; France by Premier

Briand, General Lyautey, War Minister; Russia by General Palitzin. The conference was held on Jan. 6 and 7. No official statements were made of what occurred, except that the conference was entirely satisfactory and would result in a closer harmony than ever before in the plans of the Entente. It is reported that as a result Italy was won over to the Balkan plans of her allies, for a new and drastic ultimatum was served on Greece about this time; it is believed also that an agreement was reached with reference to the Macedonian campaign as well as a general understanding looking to closer unity of operations. All the Governments which participated let it be known that the conference was entirely harmonious and its results eminently satisfactory.

* * *

Important Cabinet Changes

ANOTHER spectacular change occurred in the Russian Cabinet. On Jan. 9 the Premier, Alexander Trepoff, and Count Ignatieff, Minister of Public Instruction, resigned unexpectedly, and it is reported that they did so unwillingly at the demand of the Czar. Prince Golitzine, a Senator and member of the Council of the Empire, was appointed Premier and Senator Kulchitsky Minister of Public Instruction. The new Premier was born in Wiesbaden, Prussia, in 1860. This is the third change in the Premiership in a year; in fourteen months there were eight changes in the Ministry of the Interior. It is the general conviction that the fall of Trepoff means a blow at liberalism and the appointment of Golitzine a triumph for the reactionaries, though Protopopoff, who is regarded as the real power, is accredited with liberal tendencies and a favorable attitude toward a new commercial treaty with the United States.

The downfall of Herr von Koerber, the Austrian Premier, was unexpected, as he had held office only a few weeks following the assassination of Count Stuergkh. His retirement is said to be due to the influence of the Hungarian Premier, Count Tisza, who had found in von Koerber an opponent to the control of Austrian affairs by Germany, and to the dominance of Magyar influences at the Austrian Court; it is stated that while the old Emperor had grown restive under this state of affairs, the new Emperor takes a sympathetic view and practically dismissed von Koerber.

* * *

Danish Islands Transferred

SECRETARY LANSING and Constantin Brun, the Danish Minister, formally exchanged ratifications on Jan. 17, 1917, of the treaty conveying the Danish West Indies to the United States, thus marking the beginning of American sovereignty over the islands. Actual physical possession will take place as soon as the purchase price, $25,000,000, is paid to Denmark, which will be promptly done. It is likely that a Civil Governor, a naval officer and a Customs Collector will be designated, and that the present local administration will not be disturbed.

* * *

Decline in British Securities

THE LONDON BANKERS' MAGAZINE computes the total depreciation in value of 387 representative British securities between July 20, 1914, and Jan. 1, 1916, to be $4,610,000,000; during 1916 the shrinkage was $745,000,000, in 1915 $1,035,000,000. In the ten days immediately preceding the declaration of war these securities decreased in value $950,000,000. The securities range from British and Indian Government bonds to mining shares, comprising all the representative classes of investment. British railway stocks show a decline of $285,035,000. British and Indian Government securities lost value to the extent of $256,930,000.

* * *

ON Jan. 18, 1917, the following were the quotations of foreign exchange, together with the standard values at normal times: 4 marks, 67½ cents, normally, 95 1-5; sterling, 4.75 13-16, normally, 4.86⅝; francs, 5.84⅜, normally 5.18⅛ to the dollar; lire, 7.00, normally, 5.18; Austrian kronen, 10.90, normally, 20.3 cents; rubles, 28.95, normally, 51.2 cents; Holland guilders, 40 13-16, normally, 40.2 cents; Swiss, 5.02, normally, 5.18⅛ cents.

The German Sea Raider

A DRAMATIC but also profoundly tragic episode of the war developed when the Japanese steamer Hudson Maru reached Pernambuco, Brazil, Jan. 15 with 237 men from crews of various British and French vessels that had been torpedoed or captured in the South Atlantic during the two weeks preceding by a German raider. On the 17th the following vessels were reported as having fallen victims to the craft, whose identity up to the hour of going to press was unknown:

Vessel.	Tonnage.	Point of Departure.
Drina, (Br.)	11,483	Rio Janeiro, Dec. 17, for Liverpool.
Georgic, (Br.)	10,077	Philadelphia, Dec. 3, for Liverpool.
Voltaire, (Br.)	8,618	Liverpool, Nov. 28, for New York.
Ortega, (Br.)	8,075	Antofagasta, Oct. 28, for Liverpool.
Mount Temple, (Br.)	7,556	Montreal, Dec. 3, for London.
Samara, (Fr.)	6,007	Last reported from Bordeaux, Nov. 8.
Dramatist, (Br.)	5,421	St. Lucia, Dec. 10, for Liverpool.
Netherby Hall, (Br.)	4,461	Far East, for Cuba.
Hammershus, (Dan.)	3,931	New York, Dec. 24, for South American ports.
Radnorshire, (Br.)	4,302	No data as to movements.
King George, (Br.)	3,852	Philadelphia, Nov. 24, for Manchester.
Hudson Maru, (Japan)	3,798	Bombay, Nov. 27, for Philadelphia.
St. Theodore, (Br.)	3,175	Norfolk, Dec. 5, for Savona.
Yarrowdale, (Br.)	2,914	Supposed to have sailed from Havre.
Nantes, (Fr.)	2,679	Iquiqui, Oct. 9, for London.
Asnières, (Fr.)	2,715	Bahia Blanca, Nov. 29, for Pauillac.
Miniah, (Br.)	2,381	No data as to movements.
St. Sael	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Gailey	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Michnethiel	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Nesser	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Newport Land	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
San Giorgio	— — —	Several vessels of name in register.

On Jan. 18 two other vessels were added to the list of supposed victims. The Araguaya, (British,) 10,537 tons, and the Admiral Latouche Treville, (French,) 5,573 tons. The value of the vessels and cargoes of the missing ships is estimated to be in the neighborhood of $20,000,000. When the news was flashed marine rates jumped immediately from 20 to 50 per cent. Four fast British cruisers, capable of nineteen to twenty-five knots an hour, began the hunt for the raider, but up to the 20th it had not been discovered.

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, Commander in Chief of the British Forces, on Dec. 30 rendered his official report of the offensive on the Somme, covering the period from July 19 until the Winter stopped further activities. This report will be printed in our March number.

The Commander in Chief says in his more general conclusions:

The three main objects with which we had commenced our offensive in July had already (by Nov. 18) been achieved, in spite of the fact that the heavy Autumn rains had prevented full advantage being taken of the favorable situation created by our advance, at a time when we had good grounds for hoping to achieve yet more important successes.

Verdun had been relieved;

The main German forces had been held on the western front, and

The enemy's strength had been very considerably worn down.

Any one of these three results is in itself sufficient to justify the Somme battle. The attainment of all three of them affords ample compensation for the splendid efforts of our troops and for the sacrifices made by ourselves and our allies. They have brought us a long step forward toward the final victory of the allied cause.

Sir Douglas Haig reports the capture of 38,000 prisoners, including more than 800 officers. His message, which is full of the assurance of victory, concludes thus:

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects. The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme

this year. Neither victors nor vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense. Our new armies entered the battle with the determination to win and with confidence in their power to do so. They have proved to themselves, to the enemy, and to the world that this confidence was justified, and in the fierce struggle they have been through they have learned many valuable lessons which will help them in the future.

* * *

Dimitrieff on the Riga Front

THE recent Russian offensive on the Riga-Dvinsk line, with the German base at Mitau as its main objective, has brought once again into the limelight one of the most interesting figures of the war, the Bulgarian General, Radko Dimitrieff, who, it appears, is in command of the Riga-Dvinsk offensive. As long ago as 1886, Radko Dimitrieff made a name for himself by helping to force the abdication of Prince Alexander, by the drastic expedient of kidnapping him in his own yacht, which had been presented to him by the Russian Emperor. In the war of 1912, against Turkey, General Radko Dimitrieff showed himself by far the ablest field commander in the Balkans, winning the great victories of Lule Burgas and Kirk Kilisseh, which practically broke the Turkish power. Unable to support the policies of Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Radko Dimitrieff then went to Russia and, when the world war broke out, offered his sword to the Russian Emperor. He was given command of an army corps in General Brusiloff's first army, which invaded Galicia early in September, 1914, and is said at that time to have created the epigram, "Don't count the enemy; hit him!" in reply to a hesitating subordinate. For a considerable time his name did not appear in the dispatches. It has come to light now in the new Riga-Dvinsk offensive.

* * *

Italy's Eastern Empire

ITALY'S probable intervention in Macedonia may remind us that in recent years the peninsula kingdom has acquired large holdings in the Near East; holdings amounting to many times her own area. Italy has an area of 110,000 square miles, with a population of 36,000,000; in other words, with about half the area of France, she has a population nearly equal to that of France. She holds the following dependencies: Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and taking its name from the old Greek name of that sea, is about equal in area to the former Kingdom of Naples, and has a coast line of some 700 miles. Italian Somaliland is a third larger than Italy, though sparsely peopled. Both these colonies are run at a loss, receiving large subventions from home. The third Italian possession is Lybia, (Tripoli and Cyrenaica,) taken from Turkey by the Italians just before the two Balkan wars, after it had been in Turkish hands for about two centuries. It is between three and four times as large as Italy, and is also subsidized by the home Government. Much of it is fertile, growing both cereals and fruit, but it has also a very important strength of position, linking the British-controlled region of Egypt with the French Tunis, Algeria, and now Morocco; so that the whole coastline of Northern Africa is now in the hands of these three Entente Powers. The possession of Lybia makes Italy an Eastern-Mediterranean power, and brings her directly south of Crete and the Grecian Isles.

* * *

General Brusiloff's Forecast

IMPORTANT light on the situation in Russia is shed by a declaration of General Brusiloff to an English war correspondent in the Carpathian region, on the eve of the new year. General Brusiloff said that Russia would not be able to develop all her forces before the Spring of 1917, but that Russia would then possess the greatest and completest army in her history. Up to the present, and throughout 1916, Russia had had to fight with a notable inferiority in war material and heavy guns, but in 1917 she would find herself mistress of material equal to that of her adversaries, while at the same time disposing of an extraordinary superiority of men; and that this advantage would continue to grow in her

favor until the end of the war. General Brusiloff added that, in his personal view, even from the beginning of the war, the adversaries of Russia had never had the smallest possibility of winning a decisive victory, but that, while these adversaries continued to report a succession of victories in the field, it would be difficult to persuade them that they were certain to be defeated. The situation in Rumania, though grave, was not such as to cause real alarm, and had, so far, no strategic importance, from the point of view of the general plan of the Allies.

* * *

The Murder of Rasputin

THE bloody record of Russia's political history was maintained in December by the murder of Rasputin, the famous monk who was supposed to exercise a great influence over the Czar and who was under suspicion of holding pro-German sympathies. Two previous attempts to assassinate him had failed. The murder is alleged to have been instigated by high officials, one of whom is said to be a Prince.

The Czar first met Rasputin in 1905 through the Countess Ignatieff, wife of a former Governor of Siberia and much interested in the cult of the "Chlysty," a sect of flagellants, which Rasputin was trying to revive. In the Countess's circle, where the Czar was then an occasional visitor, were the Montenegrin Princess Militza, wife of the Grand Duke Peter Nikolaievitch; Prince Putjatin, Court Marshal; Count Benckendorff, Prince Orloff, and, finally, General Soukhomlinoff. The latter was the Russian War Minister during the fatal campaign in East Prussia, when traitors were believed to have betrayed the Russian armies in the field and left them without reserves of munitions at home. In June, 1915, Soukhomlinoff resigned and was later arrested and lodged in the Fortress of Peter and Paul. Rasputin was suspected of participation in the betrayal of military plans to the Germans.

It has been said that when the war began the genuine Muscovites gradually dropped away from the circle, leaving only Baltic Russians with German ideas behind, and that the circle then became the centre of German propaganda, to which Brusiloff referred in April, 1916, when he took command of the southern Russian armies and said to the war correspondents:

"Not a line can you write from here—not a message will go forth till something happens. In Petrograd they have a switchboard with connections with Berlin."

* * *

Austro-Hungarian War Loans

RETURNS from the fifth Austrian war loan show 4,412,800,000 crowns (nominally $895,798,000) subscribed with approximately 300,000,000 additional already subscribed but still outstanding. The loan is thus the largest yet raised in Austria. The first levy was 2,217,000,000 crowns, the second 2,688,320,000, the third 4,202,600,000, the fourth 4,520,300,000. The new loan makes the total raised for war by Austria about 18,400,000,000 crowns. Subscriptions to the Hungarian fifth war loan reached 2,300,000,000 crowns, ($460,000,000 normal exchange,) as compared with 1,175,000,000 for the first, 1,132,000,000 for the second, 1,970,000,000 for the third, and 2,000,000,000 for the fourth.

* * *

Sergeant Julien at Douaumont

ON the evening of the great attack, by which General Nivelle and General Mangin won back the famous fort of Douaumont, Sergeant Julien of the Thirteenth Company, sent out for supplies, losing his way in the dark, was captured by a wandering band of German soldiers, who bound him and took him to a German dugout, which was now, though unknown to its occupants, well within the new French lines. The Germans asked him who he was, how he had come there, and, when, bewildered, he hesitated in his answers, reminded him that they were not inclined to stand on ceremony with a prisoner. "Prisoner?" replied Sergeant Julien; "that remains to be seen! First of all, where are we? At the La Dame ravine? Well, then, listen to this! Thiaumont is in our hands! Douaumont has been ours since this afternoon. You are the only people

who do not know it; consequently, it is you who are prisoners!" The tone of the captors changed. Their commander ordered them to lay down their arms, and the whole company, two hundred in number, with six machine guns, marched over to the French lines after Sergeant Julien. No story could better illustrate the extraordinary suddeness with which General Nivelle's offensive was carried out than this almost fantastic tale, which is, nevertheless, well attested.

* * *

The Isles of Greece

IT has just been announced that England and France have taken possession of the Island of Cerigo, at the southeastern extremity of the Morea, the southern peninsula of Greece, which is, strictly speaking, no longer a peninsula but an island, since the cutting of the canal across the Isthmus of Corinth. The occupation is justified by the fact that there have been submarine bases in this and other islands. It further complicates the situation of the Grecian Isles.

Corfu, one of the Ionian Islands ceded to Greece by England when Prince George of Denmark was made King of Greece, has been for some time in the hands of France, which there fitted out the rejuvenated Serbian Army. Crete has recently declared itself independent of Greece, after seeking union through many turbulent years. Imbros and Tenedos, which the Greek fleet captured in the Balkan war of 1912, were returned, under the treaties of London and Athens, to Turkey, and are now used as bases by the Allies.

The famous islands along the Asian-Ionian coast—Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes—have not been greatly affected by the war; they are still under Turkish sovereignty. But they belong to European, not to Asian, history, and here, perhaps, Italy reaps her reward for more extensive action in the Balkans. Cerigo, by the way, is the ancient Cythera, from which Aphrodite took the name of Cytherea; off its shore the Goddess of Beauty rose from the foam of the sea.

* * *

Viscount Bryce and Armenia

THE declared determination of the Allies to drive the Ottoman Turks from Europe, and the reference to the Amenian massacres as a justification of this determination, draw attention to the report just issued under the editorship of Viscount Bryce, copious extracts from which appeared in Current History Magazine for last November. In his younger days Mr. Bryce was an enthusiastic Alpine climber; as such he visited the Caucasus and was one of the first, if not the first, to climb to the top of Mount Ararat and other summits in the Armenian region. He therefore knows the country well. Lord Bryce thus sums the matter up: "The gravest facts are those for which the evidence is most complete, and it all tallies fatally with that which twenty years ago established the guilt of Abdul Hamid for the deeds that have made his name infamous. In this case there are, moreover, what was wanting then, admissions which add weight to the testimony here presented—I mean the admissions of the Turkish Government and their German apologists. The attempt made to find excuses for wholesale slaughter and for the removal of a whole people from its homes leave no doubt as to the slaughter and the removal. The main facts are established by the confession of the criminals themselves."

* * *

THE war has stimulated remarkably the trade of the United States with South America. During the first seven months of 1914 our total trade with South America (imports and exports) was $202,443,267, whereas it increased to $373,123,532 in the same period of 1916. Exports in the designated period of 1916 were $117,970,099, as against $60,091,209 in the corresponding period of 1914, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

PRESIDENT'S PEACE EFFORTS

Summary of the Movement and Text of Replies From Belligerents and Neutrals

PRESIDENT WILSON'S effort to bring about peace by requesting from the belligerents an avowal of precise terms upon which the war might be concluded was first made known to the world on Dec. 20, 1916, through the publication of an identic note which he had sent through Secretary Lansing on Dec. 18 to all the belligerent and neutral powers. The text of this note was printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The publication of the note created a violent break in the New York stock market, which later became á semi-panic in consequence of an announcement by Secretary Lansing, who, in explaining the note, affirmed that this country was on "the verge of war."

Secretary Lansing's Statements

His first statement was as follows:

It isn't our material interest we had in mind when the note was sent, but more and more our own rights are becoming involved by the belligerents on both sides, so that the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

I mean by that that we are drawing nearer the verge of war ourselves, and therefore we are entitled to know exactly what each belligerent seeks, in order that we may regulate our conduct in the future.

No nation has been sounded. No consideration of the German overtures or of the speech of Lloyd George was taken into account in the formulation of the document. The only thing the overtures did was to delay it a few days. It was not decided to send it until Monday. Of course, the difficulty that faced the President was that it might be construed as a movement toward peace and in aid of the German overtures. He specifically denies that that was the fact in the document itself.

The sending of this note will indicate the possibility of our being forced into the war. That possibility ought to serve as a restraining and sobering force, safeguarding American rights. It may also serve to force an earlier conclusion of the war. Neither the President nor myself regards this note as a peace note; it is merely an effort to get the belligerents to define the end for which they are fighting.

The effect of this statement was so extremely disquieting that Secretary Lansing later in the day (Dec. 20) issued a second statement as follows:

I have learned from several quarters that a wrong impression was made by the statement which I made this morning, and I wish to correct that impression.

My intention was to suggest the very direct and necessary interest which this country, as one of the neutral nations, has in the possible terms which the belligerents may have in mind, and I did not intend to intimate that the Government was considering any change in its policy of neutrality, which it has consistently pursued in the face of constantly increasing difficulties.

I regret that my words were open to any other construction, as I now realize that they were. I think that the whole tone and language of the note to the belligerents show the purpose without further comment on my part. It is needless to say that I am unreservedly in support of that purpose and hope to see it accepted.

While the second announcement was more reassuring, nevertheless the firm request of the President and the apparently contradictory explanations of the Secretary of State produced profound uneasiness throughout the country and caused panicky declines in stocks and sensational fluctuations in grain and commodity markets. Stocks in general declined from 10 to 20 points—some munition stocks fell 100 points. Wheat jumped 10 to 20 cents, and declined with equal suddenness, while cotton oscillated with almost unprecedented violence.

Reception of the Note

The action of the President was received with distinct approval throughout the Central Empires, and was construed as supporting their peace proposals, although the President had distinctly disavowed any connection between the two. Among the Entente nations, on the other hand, President Wilson's action and Secretary Lansing's explanations left an unfavorable impression and were bitterly resented by many influential statesmen, publicists, and newspapers in France, England, Italy, and Canada. In neutral

countries the American note was officially approved, except by Spain, and the general attitude of the neutral public seemed amiably complaisant toward the movement. In the United States the comment was mixed — extreme pro-ally sympathizers were emphatic in denouncing the entire procedure as inopportune and ill-advised, and Secretary Lansing came in for extremely acrid criticism for his explanations. Pacifists, pro-Germans, and partisans of the President applauded his course and prophesied that it would bring about peace. Three weeks later, when the Allies' reply had been received, opinions everywhere had changed, and President Wilson was strongly commended throughout the world for having pursued a judicious and statesmanlike course.

Indorsed by the Senate

The following resolution was introduced Dec. 20, 1916, in the United States Senate by Senator Hitchcock, (Democrat, of Nebraska:)

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the action taken by the President in sending the diplomatic notes of Dec. 18 to the nations now engaged in war, suggesting and recommending that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed.

The resolution was the cause of a notable debate, in which Senators Borah and Lodge took the position that the passage of the resolution in the form offered would commit the United States to a program supporting an international League to Enforce Peace—after the war—and would mean the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine and the precipitation of the United States into the political complications and alliances of Europe.

The opposition to the resolution was so ably presented that its supporters were in the end convinced, and finally accepted the following modification, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the request of the President in the diplomatic notes of Dec. 18 to the nations now engaged in war that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed.

Seventeen votes were recorded against the resolution as finally amended, and 47 in the affirmative.

Senator Borah's Parallel

Senator Borah of Idaho, in his speech opposing the original resolution, used the following illustration, which is characteristic of his argument:

It means not only the abandonment of the doctrine of neutrality established by Washington, but it means the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine announced by Monroe upon the mature advice of Jefferson. Take some of the illustrations which show the dangerous course upon which we are about to enter if we indorse such a policy, and I am going to use the names of some of the nations, although in doing so of course I am not to be considered as using them because I either fear them or would offend them, but simply as an illustration.

We will assume now that the partnership of which the President spoke has been formed, that the co-operation has been completed and the combined alliance has been made, and in that combination and alliance are Japan and Russia and the United States, and we will assume that after the combination is made Russia and Japan have a dispute as to rights in Manchuria. Japan insists that it should be submitted to the arbitral tribunal. Russia insists that it involves her vital interests, refuses to submit it, and moves her troops immediately to the contested territory. Under the league alliance which we have formed and the treaties which we have made we must join with Japan in enforcing or punishing Russia for refusing to submit her proposition to the tribunal.

Let us take another illustration. We will assume that Mexico has been restored to law and order as a Government, and that Mexico is a member of the alliance, and that Japan is a member of the alliance, and that Mexico conceived the idea of leasing Magdalena Bay to Japan for ninety-nine years, and we protest against it. We have already joined the alliance. They are members of it. Mexico says, "Certainly I have a right to dispose of my territory," and Japan says, "I have a right to purchase," and they are all members of a common league bound together for a common purpose. Would the United States submit that question to a tribunal where it has but one vote or one voice and permit its entire future to be disposed of by a court where it has but a single representative?

The "Leak" Episode

Another episode growing out of the note was a declaration in the House of Representatives that the intention to send the note had "leaked out" from official sources several days in advance to certain Stock Exchange firms, and that various Government officials in high station had profited enormously on the stock market by the "inside tip." Congress or-

dered an investigation by the Committee of Rules, and a number of prominent stock operators and public officials were called as witnesses. A letter to a Congressman, signed by one "Curtis," whose identity has not been established, named among others the President's Secretary, Mr. Tumulty, and R. W. Bolling, a brother of the President's first wife, as beneficiaries from the sale of stocks by the advance information. Secretary Tumulty, Mr. Bolling, and others testified before the committee and were fully exonerated, proving clearly the falsity of the charges, while Secretary Lansing and others testified as to the secrecy maintained in official circles respecting the notes. Certain Stock Exchange operators were also summoned, but in the judgment of the committee nothing was developed to justify the charges, though one operator, Thomas W. Lawson of Boston, was so offensive to the committee that he was cited for contempt. He made charges reflecting on Cabinet officers and other high officials, yet refused to give their names or to name his informants unless Congress broadened the scope of the investigating committee and clothed it with inquisitorial powers. This was done by formal resolution on Jan. 13, and on Jan. 15 Mr. Lawson reappeared before the committee and was subjected to a searching cross-examination. He stated that he had been informed by Congressman Henry, Chairman of the Rules Committee, that the rumors regarding "the leak beneficiaries" involved Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Tumulty, Private Secretary to the President, and various prominent New York bankers. Mr. Lawson stated that he had no personal information regarding the matter. His giving of names created considerable excitement and brought forth indignant denials from Secretary McAdoo and Mr. Tumulty, with protests against being thus assailed by irresponsible scandal-gossip. Chairman Henry also denied the statements affecting him.

In consequence of these charges Congress passed a resolution further broadening the scope of the inquiry committee and authorizing it to employ counsel, the evident intention being to ascertain by a thorough inquiry whether or not certain New York financiers and Stock Exchange houses had at any time obtained advance information of proposed official documents or utterances which might affect stock values. This inquiry is proceeding as these pages go to press.

Replies of the Nations

The responses of the belligerents to the President's request showed a wide dissimilarity of tone and contents. The Central Powers replied on Dec. 26, within a week after the note was received by them. While not declining the President's request, they did not avow their terms, but suggested that these would be forthcoming at an "immediate exchange of views" by the belligerents. [The text of this reply appears on Page 783.]

The reply of the Entente Allies was handed to Ambassador Sharp at Paris on Jan. 11, 1917, by Premier Briand, and was made public on Jan. 12. It was elaborate and specific, giving terms in definite language. Belgium presented a separate note. [The text of these replies, including the original French text of the Entente note, appears on Pages 783-8.]

The same day Premier Lloyd George made an important address at London regarding the new loan. It bore directly on the reply and confirmed more elaborately the Entente's general terms. Likewise on the same day Paul Déschanel, addressing the Chamber of Deputies after his re-election to the Presidency of that body, stated that the first articles of France's peace program were the restitution of Belgium and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. [These utterances appears on Pages 793-6.]

Germany on Jan. 11 issued another address to the neutral world to appear contemporaneously with the answer of the Allies; it explains in detail why Germany took up arms, and formulates her ideals. [Page 789.]

The reply of the Entente Allies was supplemented by a statement issued Jan. 13 by Arthur J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the nature of an amplification of the joint reply. This was made public Jan. 18, 1917. It appears on Page 786.

The action of President Wilson brought forth approving replies from Switzerland, Greece, and the Scandinavian States, but Spain, while approving the efforts to bring about peace, indicated that she could not concur in the President's course at the present time. The text of these replies appears in the pages that follow.

Kaiser Denounces Allies' Reply

The first official cognizance of the reply of the Allies came from Kaiser Wilhelm in the form of the following Proclamation to the German People, issued Jan. 13, 1917:

Our enemies have dropped the mask. After refusing with scorn and hypocritical words of love for peace and humanity our honest peace offer, they have now, in their reply to the United States, gone beyond that and admitted their lust for conquest, the baseness of which is further enhanced by their calumnious assertions.

Their aim is the crushing of Germany, the dismemberment of the powers allied with us, and the enslavement of the freedom of Europe and the seas, under the same yoke that Greece, with gnashing of teeth, is now enduring.

But what they could not achieve in thirty months of the bloodiest fighting and unscrupulous economic war they will also fail to accomplish in the future. Our glorious victories and our iron strength of will with which our fighting people at the front and at home have borne all hardships and distress guarantee that also in the future our beloved Fatherland has nothing to fear.

Burning indignation and holy wrath will redouble the strength of every German man and woman, whether it is devoted to fighting, to work, or to suffering. We are ready for all sacrifices.

The God who planted His glorious spirit of freedom in the hearts of our brave peoples will also give us and our loyal allies, tested in battle, the full victory over all the enemy lust for power and rage for destruction.

WILHELM, I. R.

Two German Kings Approve

On Jan. 15 the Bavarian and Saxon Kings sent telegrams to the Emperor congratulating him on this proclamation. The King of Bavaria said: "Your Majesty's strong words to the German people at the arrogant reply of our enemies find a lively echo in all hearts."

He offered assurances that the Bavarians would continue "the fight which was forced upon us" in order to enforce peace.

The King of Saxony sent a similar telegram, thanking the Emperor for his appeal to the German people and expressing the King's indignation at the rejection by the Allies of the peace proposal and a determination not to sheathe the sword until a complete victory is achieved.

Dr. Johannes Kaempf, President of the Reichstag, also wired Emperor William, saying that the entire German Nation would stand round the Emperor with unshakable will "until the enemy's disgraceful plans are shattered."

The comments of the German newspapers and public men were in the same tone as the Emperor's proclamation. A wave of indignation is reported to have swept over the German Empire, and the official news agencies assert that the answer of the Allies has united the German people to fight to the end as has no other incident since the war began.

Dr. Zimmermann's Reply

Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the new German Foreign Minister, stated for publication officially on Jan. 15 that in his opinion the Entente reply to President Wilson's peace note barred the possibility for the present of further German steps to bring about peace. In particular, he said, it precluded any direct announcement by Germany of her peace conditions in answer to the terms set forth in the Entente note.

Dr. Zimmermann asserted, however, that the answer of the Entente to the President did not finally and completely close the door to later efforts for peace before one side or the other was completely crushed.

The Foreign Minister, in the course of a conversation with The Associated Press correspondent, said that it was impossible for him to give a more definite statement of the peace program of the Central Powers than that indicated in the declarations of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the Chancellor, because the German terms were such that "the unsolicited promulgation of them in their moderate details," after what he characterized as the aspiring program of "conquest and dismemberment" outlined

by the Entente, would be interpreted by the Entente Powers as a sign of weakness and of a desire for peace at any cost.

Publication of the peace terms of the Central Powers, therefore, would defeat its every purpose, said Dr. Zimmermann. The Foreign Minister expressed doubt whether, after what he described as the rebuff to President Wilson's peace efforts given in the reply of the Entente, the President could take any further action for the present, adding that the Entente answer excluded for the present any possibility of peace.

Expressing a profound conviction that the program of the Entente Powers never would be carried into effect, Dr. Zimmermann intimated that a failure of the Entente's offensive this year, which he expected, might again make it possible to approach the subject of peace on reasonable terms and with some prospect of success.

"The Entente Powers gave out for themselves a big program," said Dr. Zimmermann, in answer to a question as to his opinion on the note to President Wilson. "What more is there for Germany to say regarding it?"

"Now that the Allies have to a certain extent outlined their plans," said the correspondent, "do you think there is any possibility of Germany declaring in some form or other its program for a peace settlement?"

"No," replied the Minister, "I think we can do nothing more. We cannot afford to give the impression that we are chasing after peace at all costs. After the Entente Allies have put out this highly ambitious program, an announcement of the firm and moderate German terms of peace would by contrast probably be interpreted by our adversaries as an indication of weakness, and would be used by them to encourage their people to fight on. Our people would not understand any further effort by us for the introduction of peace after the Entente's declaration. We have to consider public opinion here."

Dr. Zimmermann said that obviously he could discern the advantages from one point of view in stating Germany's terms and letting the world see by contrast with those to which the Entente Powers have committed themselves the real state of affairs, but he seemed to be convinced that such advantages were not sufficient to affect the attitude of the Entente Powers or to outweigh the effect on opinion in enemy countries of the announcement of the terms regarding Belgium and other nations in this war.

To the question as to whether he saw the possibility of Germany's making such a declaration of her intentions, should a further inquiry be made from the neutral side, for example, by President Wilson, the Minister replied critically:

"But will he make such an inquiry after the Entente reply, which in its nature is, shall we say, insulting?"

"Do you think that after an interval there will be any possibility of an offer of mediation for peace being accepted by both sides?" the Minister was asked.

"Yes," he replied. "The desire for peace of all the peoples (peoples, mind you, I say, not Governments) is so strong that after the Entente has had another try with a new offensive, after it has seen the fruitlessness of all the endeavors to crush the military strength of the Central Powers, there may be a better possibility of negotiating a satisfactory and reasonable peace.

"Of course, if the Entente Powers persist in trying to execute their program, the war must be fought out to the bitter end. There is not a German who would not rather die than see the accomplishment of the announced intention of the Entente Powers with respect to Germany—see German provinces with predominant German populations torn from the German Empire, and united Germany, which our fathers so labored to achieve, torn asunder and the country reduced, as the Allies have plainly announced as their ambition, to a condition of subjection to rival great powers of Europe.

"The conditions for Austria-Hungary are even more difficult. Its dismemberment to satisfy the passion for territorial aggrandizement of Russia, Italy, Serbia, and Rumania would leave the State not even a third-rate power, while

who can say what would be the fate of the 'redeemed small nationalities' when brought under the sway of Russia! Bulgaria, of course, would be bitterly punished, and Turkey would practically cease to exist if the plans contemplated in the Entente's answer were attained.

"The Entente tries to justify its aims of conquest by what it calls liberation, instead of pillaging. Charity begins at home. Why does not England give a practical example of her idea of liberty by setting Ireland free?"

Germany Solidified

Within a week after the Entente's reply and the Emperors' proclamation, German public opinion had crystallized, and it seemed everywhere evident that the door to peace had been closed for the present. Moreover, the attitude of the Allies had the further effect of solidifying the German people in the determination to make gigantic efforts toward a final decisive victory in the field.

The German newspapers began printing daily columns of letters addressed to the Kaiser, in which societies, cities, Chambers of Commerce, labor unions, and similar bodies thanked him for the sentiment expressed in his address "to the German people" and assured him that every woman and child in Germany was ready to sacrifice the last drop of blood and the last penny "to compel the war-maddened lawyers who run the Entente nations to make peace."

The Hansabund for Trade, Commerce, and Industry telegraphed to the Kaiser that the classes represented in its organization "stand resolutely indomitable behind your Majesty in face of the Entente's encircling policy before the war, the campaign of slander and lies during the war, now followed up by the shameless confession of the Entente's intention to annihilate Germany and her allies. This threat must be met by an energetic application of all and every arm at our disposal with iron determination. We shall not rest one minute unless the victorious end is achieved. Such is the answer of the German people to your Majesty's call to the German people."

The central organization of German bankers telegraphed to the Kaiser that "in view of the enemy's frivolous war aims as exposed in the Entente's note," their organizations were ready for any sacrifice. The League of Agrarians threatened the Entente with "the holy wrath of the German people," which desired an even more intensified war. The Trade Chambers of Berlin promised the Kaiser that their last man and their smallest workshop would be at the Fatherland's disposal.

Frankfort's Chamber of Commerce declared that every thought of peace must now be suppressed.

The Associated Press correspondent at Berlin on Jan. 16 telegraphed that the pronunciamento of the Allies, together with earlier interchanges of opinion on the peace proposals, might be regarded as having virtually eliminated the peace party in Germany, except for a small minority of dissident Socialists, some of whose newspaper organs still saw the possibility of continuing the discussions after the Entente's reply.

The large and influential section, including a majority of the Socialists and powerful influences among non-Socialists, which up to last month was bringing the heaviest pressure to bear on the Government to take steps for the opening of negotiations for peace, based on an understanding, had now become convinced that such negotiations were impossible.

Regarding the possibility that Germany would make a statement of terms, the announcement of Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the Foreign Secretary, indicated that this was now out of the question, and the Government apparently had adopted this as a definite decision. For some reason, however, there was an impression which would not down that the Government might perhaps reconsider and make some announcement of its peace program, particularly in regard to Belgium.

The specific reference by Foreign Minister Balfour to Alsace and Lorraine—also to "Italia Irredenta" and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe—as the price of peace in his note of Jan. 13 further inflamed German sentiment and dispelled all hopes of peace at present.

Text of Reply of Central Powers to President Wilson's Peace Note

GERMANY and her ally, Austria-Hungary, were the first of the belligerents to reply to the note sent by President Wilson—under date of Dec. 18—to all the belligerent and neutral powers, in which the warring nations were asked to state the terms which they would consider a sound basis for peace when their aims had been attained. The official text of the German Government's reply was handed to the American Ambassador at Berlin on Dec. 26, and was made public the same day at Washington by Secretary Lansing. It is as follows:

Foreign Office.

Berlin, Dec. 26, 1916.

With reference to the esteemed communication of Dec. 21, Foreign Office, No. 15,118, the undersigned has the honor to reply as follows:

To his Excellency, the Ambassador of the United States of America, James W. Gerard:

The Imperial Government has accepted and considered in the friendly spirit which is apparent in the communication of the President, the noble initiative of the President looking to the creation of bases for the foundation of a lasting peace. The President discloses the aim which lies nearest his heart and leaves the choice of the way open.

A direct exchange of views appears to the Imperial Government as the most suitable way of arriving at the desired result. The Imperial Government has the honor, therefore, in the sense of its declaration of the twelfth instant, which offered the hand for peace negotiations, to propose the speedy assembly, on neutral ground, of delegates of the warring States.

It is also the view of the Imperial Government that the great work for the prevention of future wars can first be taken up only after the ending of the present conflict of exhaustion. The Imperial Government is ready, when this point has been reached, to cooperate with the United States at this sublime task.

The undersigned, while permitting himself to have recourse to the good offices of his Excellency the Ambassador in connection with the transmission of the above reply to the President of the United States, avails himself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of his highest consideration.

ZIMMERMANN.

Reply of Austria-Hungary

The Austrian Government's reply, which also arrived on Dec. 26, took the form of a memorandum delivered to Ambassador Penfield at Vienna, and was given out by Mr. Lansing as follows:

Aide Memoire: In reply to the aide memoire communicated on the 22d instant by his Excellency the American Ambassador containing the proposals of the President of the United States of America for an exchange of views among the powers at present at war for the eventual establishment of peace, the Imperial and Royal Government desires particularly to point out that in considering the noble proposal of the President it is guided by the same spirit of amity and complaisance as finds expression therein.

The President desires to establish a basis for a lasting peace without wishing to indicate the ways and means. The Imperial and Royal Government considers a direct exchange of views among the belligerents to be the most suitable way of attaining this end. Adverting to its declaration of the 12th instant, in which it announced its readiness to enter into peace negotiations, it now has the honor to propose that representatives of the belligerent powers convene at an early date at some place on neutral ground.

The Imperial and Royal Government likewise concurs in the opinion of the President that only after the termination of the present war will it be possible to undertake the great and desirable work of the prevention of future wars. At an appropriate time it will be willing to co-operate with the United States of America for the realization of this noble aim.

Turkey's reply to President Wilson's note was received at the State Department on Dec. 29. It is substantially the same as Germany's and Austria's.

Text of Entente Allies' Reply to President

THE reply of the Allies to President Wilson's note was written at Paris and received the indorsement of the ten Governments concerned. It was handed to Ambassador Sharp on Jan. 10, and the translation of the French text was cabled to Secretary Lansing, (Telegram No. 1,806.) Following is the full

official text, in which have been incorporated various improvements of translation taken from the London version of the same document:

Paris, Jan. 10, 1917.

The allied Governments have received the note which was delivered to them in the name of the Government of the United States on the 19th of December 1916. They have studied it with the care imposed upon them both by the exact realization which they have of the gravity of the hour and by the sincere friendship which attaches them to the American people.

In a general way they desire to declare their respect for the lofty sentiments inspiring the American note, and their wholehearted agreement with the proposal to create a league of nations which shall assure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the benefits which will accrue to the cause of humanity and civilization from the institution of international arrangements designed to prevent violent conflicts between nations and so framed as to provide the sanctions necessary to their enforcement, lest an illusory security should serve merely to facilitate fresh acts of aggression.

But a discussion of future arrangements for assuring a durable peace presupposes a satisfactory settlement of the present conflict. The Allies have as profound a desire as the Government of the United States to terminate as soon as possible a war for which the Central Empires are responsible and which inflicts such cruel sufferings upon humanity. But in their judgment it is impossible to obtain at this moment such a peace as will not only secure to them the reparation, the restitution, and the guarantees justly due them by reason of the act of aggression, the guilt of which is fixed upon the Central Powers, while the very principle from which it sprang was undermining the safety of Europe; and at the same time such a peace as will enable future European nations to be established upon a sure foundation. The allied nations are conscious that they are not fighting for selfish interests, but, above all, to safeguard the independence of peoples, of right, and of humanity.

The Allies are fully aware of the losses and suffering which the war causes to neutrals as well as to belligerents, and they deplore them, but they do not hold themselves responsible for them, having in no way either willed or provoked this war; and they strive to reduce these damages in the measure compatible with the inexorable exigencies of their defense against the violence and the wiles of the enemy.

It is with satisfaction, therefore, that they take note of the declaration that the American communication is in nowise associated in its origin with that of the Central Powers transmitted on the 18th of December by the Government of the United States. They did not doubt, moreover, the resolution of that Government to avoid even the appearance of a support, even moral, of the authors responsible for the war.

The allied Governments feel it their duty to challenge in the most friendly but also in the clearest way the analogy drawn between the two groups of belligerents. This analogy, based on public declarations of the Central Powers, is in direct conflict with the evidence, both as regards responsibility for the past and guarantees for the future. President Wilson in alluding to this analogy did not, of course, intend to adopt it as his own.

If there is a historical fact established at the present date, it is the willful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. By her declaration of war, by the instant violation of Belgium and Luxemburg, and by her methods of warfare, Germany has proved that she systematically scorns every principle of humanity and all respect due to small States. More and more, as the struggle has progressed, has the attitude of the Central Powers and their allies been a constant challenge to humanity and civilization.

Is it necessary to recall the horrors that marked the invasion of Belgium and of Serbia, the atrocious régime imposed upon the invaded countries, the massacre of hundreds of thousands of inoffensive Armenians, the barbarities perpetrated against the populations of Syria, the raids of Zeppelins on open towns, the destruction by submarines of passenger steamers and of merchantmen even under neutral flags, the cruel treatment inflicted upon prisoners of war, the judicial murders of Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt, the deportation and the reduction to slavery of civil populations, et cetera? The execution of such a series of crimes, perpetrated without any regard for universal reprobation, fully explains to President Wilson the protest of the Allies.

They consider that the note which they sent to the United States in reply to the German note will be a response to the questions put by the American Government, and, according to the exact words of the latter, "constitute a public declaration as to the conditions upon which the war could be terminated."

President Wilson desires more: he desires that the belligerent powers openly affirm the objects which they seek by continuing the war; the Allies experience no difficulty in replying to this request. Their objects in the war are well known; they have been formulated on many occasions by the chiefs of their divers Governments. Their objects will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensation and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations. But the civilized world knows that they imply, in all necessity and in the first instance, the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded ter-

MAKERS OF WAR HISTORY IN FRANCE

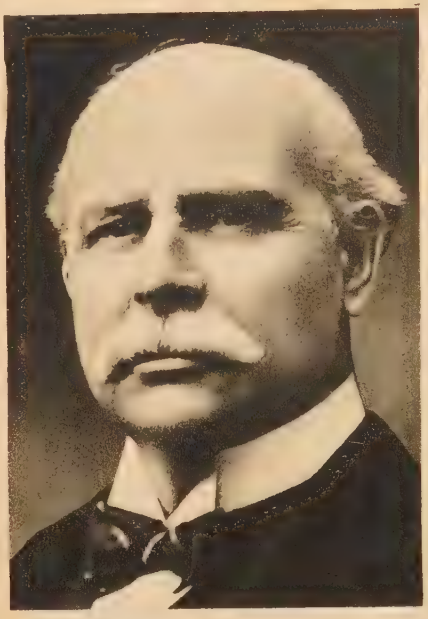
Albert Thomas
Minister of Munitions

General Nivelle
Commander in the Field

Rear Admiral Lacaze
Minister of Marine

Rene Viviani
Ex-Premier, Minister of Justice

SOME OF LLOYD GEORGE'S ASSOCIATES



Baron Devonport
British Food Controller

Lord Robert Cecil
Minister of Blockade

Lord Wimborne
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

Sir Henry E. Duke
Secretary for Ireland

ritories of France, of Russia, and of Rumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable settlement, based alike upon the principle of nationalities, on the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development, and also upon territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations; the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Rumanians, and of Tcheco-Slovaques from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to Western civilization. The intentions of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, regarding Poland, have been clearly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies.

It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligations with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

United in the pursuit of this supreme object, the Allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which, they are convinced, not only their own safety and prosperity depend, but also the future of civilization itself.

Official Text of the Entente Reply

THE following is the official text of the reply of the Entente Allies in the original French as received by the State Department:

Réponse des gouvernements alliés à la note américaine du 19 décembre 1916.

1. Les Gouvernements alliés ont reçu la note qui leur a été remise le dix-neuf décembre 1916 au nom du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Ils l'ont étudiée avec le soin que leur commandaient à la fois l'exact sentiment qu'ils ont de la gravité de l'heure et la sincère amitié qui les rattache au peuple américain.

2. D'une manière générale ils tiennent à déclarer qu'ils rendent hommage à l'élévation des sentiments dont s'inspire la note américaine et qu'ils s'associent de tous leurs voeux au projet de création d'une ligue des nations pour assurer la paix et la justice à travers le monde. Ils reconnaissent tous les avantages que présentera, pour la cause de l'humanité et de la civilisation, l'institution de règlements internationaux destinés à éviter des conflits violents entre les nations, règlements qui devraient comporter les sanctions nécessaires pour en assurer l'exécution et empêcher ainsi qu'une sécurité apparente ne serve qu'à faciliter de nouvelles agressions.

3. Mais une discussion sur les arrangements futurs destinés à assurer une paix durable suppose d'abord un réglement satisfaisant du conflit actuel. Les Alliés éprouvent un désir aussi profond que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis de voir se terminer, le plus tôt possible, la guerre dont les empires centraux sont responsables et qui inflige à l'humanité de si cruelles souffrances. Mais ils estiment qu'il est impossible, dès aujourd'hui, de réaliser une paix qui leur assure les réparations, les restitutions et les garanties auxquelles leur donne droit l'agression dont la responsabilité incombe aux Puissances centrales et dont le principe même tendait à ruiner la sécurité de l'Europe, une paix qui permette, d'autre part, d'établir sur une base solide l'avenir des nations européennes. Les nations alliés ont conscience qu'elles ne combattent pas pour des intérêts égoistes, mais avant tout pour la sauvegarde de l'indépendance des peuples, du droit et de l'humanité.

4. Les Alliés se rendent pleinement compte des pertes et des souffrances que la guerre fait supporter aux neutres comme aux belligérants, et ils les déplorent; mais ils ne s'en tiennent pas pour responsables, n'ayant en aucune façon ni voulu ni provoqué cette guerre, et ils s'efforcent de réduire ces dommages dans toute la mesure compatible avec les exigences inexorables de leur défense contre les violences et les pièges de l'ennemi.

5. C'est avec satisfaction, dès lors, qu'ils prennent acte de la déclaration faite que la communication américaine n'est associée d'aucune manière dans son origine avec celle des Puissances centrales transmise le 18 décembre par le Gouvernement de l'Union. Ils ne doutaient pas, au surplus, de la résolution de ce Gouvernement d'éviter jusqu'à l'apparence d'un appui même moral, accordé aux auteurs responsables de la guerre.

6. Les Gouvernements alliés croient devoir s'élever, de la manière la plus amicale mais la plus nette, contre l'assimilation établie dans la note américaine entre les deux groupes des belligèrants; cette assimilation, basée sur des déclarations publiques des Puissances centrales, est en opposition directe avec l'évidence, tant en ce qui concerne les responsabilités du passé qu'en ce qui concerne les garanties de l'avenir; le Président Wilson

en la mentionnant n'a certainement pas entendu s'y associer.

7. S'il y a un fait historique établi à l'heure actuelle, c'est la volonté d'agression de l'Allemagne et de l'Autriche-Hongrie pour assurer leur hégémonie sur l'Europe et leur domination économique sur le monde. L'Allemagne a, par la déclaration de guerre, par la violation de la Belgique et du Luxembourg, et par la façon dont elle a conduit la lutte, manifesté son mépris de tout principe d'humanité et de tout respect pour les petits états; à mesure que le conflit a évolué l'attitude des Puissances centrales et de leurs alliés a été un continuel défi à l'humanité et à la civilisation. Faut-il rappeler les horreurs qui ont accompagné l'invasion de la Belgique et de la Serbie, le régime atroce imposé aux pays envahis, le massacre des centaines de milliers d'Arméniens inoffensifs, les barbaries exercées contre les populations de Syrie, les raids des Zeppelins sur les villes ouvertes, la destruction par les sous-marins de paquebots et de navires marchands, même sous pavillon neutre, le cruel traitement infligé aux prisonniers de guerre, les meurtres juridiques de Miss Cavell et du Capitaine Fryatt, la déportation et la réduction en esclavage des populations civiles, etc.

L'exécution d'une pareille série de crimes, perpétrés sans aucun souci de la réprobation universelle, explique amplement au Président Wilson la protestation des Alliés.

8. Ils estiment que la note qu'ils ont remise aux Etats-Unis, en réplique à la note allemande, répond à la question posée par le Gouvernement américain et constitue, suivant les propres expressions de ce dernier, "une déclaration publique quant aux conditions auxquelles la guerre pourrait être terminée."

9. M. Wilson souhaite davantage. Il désire que les Puissances belligérantes affirment, en pleine lumière, les buts qu'elles se proposent en poursuivant la guerre; les Alliés n'éprouvent aucune difficulté à répondre à cette demande. Leurs buts de guerre sont bien connus: ils ont été formulés à plusieurs reprises par les chefs de leurs divers Gouvernements. Ces buts de guerre ne seront exposés dans le détail, avec toutes les compensations et indemnités équitables pour les dommages subis, qu'à l'heure des négociations. Mais le monde civilisé sait qu'ils impliquent, de toute nécessité et en première ligne, la restauration de la Belgique, de la Serbie et du Monténégro et les dédommagements qui leur sont dûs; l'evacuation des territoires envahis en France, en Russie, en Roumanie, avec de justes réparations; la réorganisation de l'Europe, garantie par un régime stable et fondée à la fois sur le respect des nationalités et sur les droits à la pleine sécurité et à la liberté de développement économique que possèdent tous les peuples, petits et grands, et en même temps sur des conventions territoriales et des règlements internationaux propres à garantir les frontières terrestres et maritimes contre des attaques injustifiées; la restitution des provinces ou territoires autrefois arrachés aux Alliés par la force ou contre le voeu des populations; la libération des Italiens, des Slaves, des Roumains et des Tcheco-Slovaques, de la domination étrangère; l'affranchissement des populations soumises à la sanglante tyrannie des Turcs; le rejet hors d'Europe de l'Empire ottoman, décidément étranger à la civilisation occidentale.

Les intentions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie à l'égard de la Pologne ont été clairement indiquées par la proclamation qu'il vient d'adresser à ses armées.

10. Il va sans dire que si les Alliés veulent soustraire l'Europe aux convoitises brutales du militarisme prussien, il n'a jamais été dans leurs desseins de poursuivre, comme on l'a prétendu, l'extermination des peuples allemands et leur disparition politique. Ce qu'ils veulent avant tout, c'est assurer la paix sur les principes de liberté et de justice, sur la fidélité inviolable aux obligations internationales dont n'a cessé de s'inspirer le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

11. Unis dans la poursuite de ce but supérieur, les Alliés sont déterminés, chacun, et solidairement, à agir de tout leur pouvoir et à consentir tous les sacrifices pour mener à une fin victorieuse un conflit dont ils sont convaincus que dépendent non seulement leur propre salut et leur prospérité, mais l'avenir de la civilisation même.

Paris, le 10 janvier 1917.

Great Britain's Note Amplifying the Entente Reply

SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE, the British Ambassador at Washington, presented to the State Department on Jan. 17 the following note supplementing the Entente reply of Jan. 10. It is the first important public utterance of Arthur J. Balfour in his new rôle of British Foreign Minister:

London, Jan. 13, 1917.

His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Cecil Spring-Rice:

In sending you a translation of the allied note I desire to make the following observations, which you should bring to the notice of the United States Government:

I gather from the general tenor of the President's note that, while he is animated by an intense desire that peace should come

soon and that when it comes it should be lasting, he does not, for the moment at least, concern himself with the terms on which it should be arranged. His Majesty's Government entirely share the President's ideas; but they feel strongly that the durability of peace must largely depend on its character and that no stable system of international relations can be built on foundations which are essentially and hopelessly defective.

This becomes clearly apparent if we consider the main conditions which rendered possible the calamities from which the world is now suffering. These were the existence of great powers consumed with the lust of domination in the midst of a community of nations ill-prepared for defense, plentifully supplied, indeed, with international laws, but with no machinery for enforcing them, and weakened by the fact that neither the boundaries of the various States nor their internal constitution harmonized with the aspirations of their constituent races or secured to them just and equal treatment.

That this last evil would be greatly mitigated if the Allies secured the changes in the map of Europe outlined in their joint note is manifest, and I need not labor the point.

It has been argued, indeed, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe forms no proper or logical part of this general scheme. The maintenance of the Turkish Empire was, during many generations, regarded by statesmen of worldwide authority as essential to the maintenance of European peace. Why, it is asked, should the cause of peace be now associated with a complete reversal of this traditional policy?

The answer is that circumstances have completely changed. It is unnecessary to consider now whether the creation of a reformed Turkey, mediating between hostile races in the Near East, was a scheme which, had the Sultan been sincere and the powers united, could ever have been realized. It certainly cannot be realized now. The Turkey of "Union and Progress" is at least as barbarous and is far more aggressive than the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In the hands of Germany it has ceased even in appearance to be a bulwark of peace, and is openly used as an instrument of conquest. Under German officers Turkish soldiers are now fighting in lands from which they had long been expelled, and a Turkish Government controlled, subsidized, and supported by Germany has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries. Evidently the interests of peace and the claims of nationality alike require that Turkish rule over alien races shall, if possible, be brought to an end, and we may hope that the expulsion of Turkey from Europe will contribute as much to the cause of peace as the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, or Italia Irredenta to Italy, or any of the territorial changes indicated in the allied note.

Evidently, however, such territorial rearrangements, though they may diminish the occasions of war, provide no sufficient security against its recurrence. If Germany, or rather those in Germany who mold its opinions and control its destinies, again set out to domineer the world, they may find that by the new order of things the adventure is made more difficult, but hardly that it is made impossible. They may still have ready to their hand a political system organized through and through on a military basis; they may still accumulate vast stores of military equipment; they may still persist in their methods of attack, so that their more pacific neighbors will be struck down before they can prepare themselves for defense. If so, Europe, when the war is over, will be far poorer in men, in money, and in mutual goodwill than it was when the war began, but it will not be safer; and the hopes for the future of the world entertained by the President will be as far as ever from fulfillment.

There are those who think that for this disease international treaties and international laws may provide a sufficient cure. But such persons have ill-learned the lessons so clearly taught by recent history. While other nations, notably the United States of America and Britain, were striving by treaties of arbitration to make sure that no chance quarrel should mar the peace they desired to make perpetual, Germany stood aloof. Her historians and philosophers preached the splendors of war; power was proclaimed as the true end of the State, and the General Staff forged with untiring industry the weapons by which at the appointed moment power might be achieved. These facts proved clearly enough that treaty arrangements for maintaining peace were not likely to find much favor at Berlin; they did not prove that such treaties, once made, would be utterly ineffectual. This became evident only when war had broken out, though the sought demonstration, when it came, was overwhelming. So long as Germany remains the Germany which, without a shadow of justification, overran and barbarously ill-treated a country it was pledged to defend, no State can regard its rights as secure if they have no better protection than a solemn treaty.

The case is made worse by the reflection that these methods of calculated brutality were designed by the Central Powers, not merely to crush to the dust those with whom they were at war, but to intimidate those with whom they were still at peace. Belgium was not only a victim, it was an example. Neutrals were intended to note the outrages which accompanied its conquest, the reign of terror which followed on its occupation, the deportation of a portion of its population, the cruel oppression of the remainder. And,

lest the nations happily protected, either by British fleets or by their own from German armies, should suppose themselves safe from German methods, the submarine has (within its limits) assiduously imitated the barbarous practices of the sister service. The war staffs of the Central Powers are well content to horrify the world if at the same time they can terrorize it.

If, then, the Central Powers succeed, it will be to methods like these that they will owe their success. How can any reform of international relations be based on a peace thus obtained? Such a peace would represent the triumph of all the forces which make war certain and make it brutal. It would advertise the futility of all the methods on which civilization relies to eliminate the occasions of international dispute and to mitigate their ferocity. Germany and Austria made the present war inevitable by attacking the rights of one small State, and they gained their initial triumphs by violating the treaty guarantees of the territories of another. Are small States going to find in them their protectors or in treaties made by them a bulwark against aggression? Terrorism by land and sea will have proved itself the instrument of victory. Are the victors likely to abandon it on the appeal of neutrals? If existing treaties are no more than scraps of paper, can fresh treaties help us? If they be crowned with success, will it not be in vain that the assembled nations labor to improve their code? None will profit by their rules but powers who break them. It is those who keep them that will suffer.

Though, therefore, the people of this country share to the full the desire of the President for peace, they do not believe peace can be durable if it be not based on the success of the allied cause. For a durable peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled: The first is that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened; the second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples; the third is that behind international law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor.

These conditions may be difficult of fulfillment. But we believe them to be in general harmony with the President's ideas, and we are confident that none of them can be satisfied, even imperfectly, unless peace be secured on the general lines indicated (so far as Europe is concerned) in the joint note. Therefore it is that this country has made, is making, and is prepared to make sacrifices of blood and treasure unparalleled in its history. It bears these heavy burdens, not merely that it may thus fulfill its treaty obligations, nor yet that it may secure a barren triumph of one group of nations over another. It bears them because it firmly believes that on the success of the Allies depend the prospects of peaceful civilization and of those international reforms which the best thinkers of the New World, as of the Old, dare to hope may follow on the cessation of our present calamities. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

Belgium's Separate Reply to the President

THE separate answer of Belgium to President Wilson's note was transmitted from Paris by Ambassador Sharp to the Secretary of State in the following translation:

Paris, Jan. 10, 1917.

The Government of the King, which has associated itself with the answer handed by the President of the French Council to the American Ambassador on behalf of all, is particularly desirous of paying tribute to the sentiment of humanity which prompted the President of the United States to send his note to the belligerent powers, and it highly esteems the friendship expressed for Belgium through his kindly intermediation. It desires as much as Mr. Woodrow Wilson to see the present war ended as early as possible.

But the President seems to believe that the statesmen of the two opposing camps pursue the same object of war. The example of Belgium unfortunately demonstrates that this is in no wise the fact. Belgium has never, like the Central Powers, aimed at conquest. The barbarous fashion in which the German Government has treated, and is still treating, the Belgian Nation does not permit the supposition that Germany will preoccupy herself with guaranteeing in the future the rights of the weak nations, which she has not ceased to trample under foot since the war, let loose by her, began to desolate Europe.

On the other hand, the Government of the King has noted with pleasure and with confidence the assurance that the United States is impatient to co-operate in the measures which will be taken after the conclusion of peace to protect and guarantee the small nations against violence and oppression.

Previous to the German ultimatum, Belgium only aspired to live upon good terms with all her neighbors. She practiced with scrupulous loyalty toward each one of them the duties imposed by her neutrality. In the same manner she has been rewarded by Germany for the confidence she placed in her, through which, from one day to the other, without

any plausible reason, her neutrality was violated, and the Chancellor of the Empire, when announcing to the Reichstag this violation of right and of treaties, was obliged to recognize the iniquity of such an act and predetermine that it would be repaired.

But the Germans, after the occupation of Belgian territory, have displayed no better observance of the rules of international law or the stipulations of The Hague Convention. They have, by taxation as heavy as it is arbitrary, drained the resources of the country; they have intentionally ruined its industries, destroyed whole cities, put to death and imprisoned a considerable number of inhabitants. Even now, while they are loudly proclaiming their desire to put an end to the horrors of war, they increase the rigors of the occupation by deporting into servitude Belgian workers by the thousands.

If there is a country which has the right to say that it has taken up arms to defend its existence, it is assuredly Belgium. Compelled to fight or to submit to shame, she passionately desires that an end be brought to the unprecedented sufferings of her population. But she could only accept a peace which would assure her, as well as equitable reparation, security and guarantees for the future.

The American people, since the beginning of the war, has manifested for the oppressed Belgian Nation most ardent sympathy. It is an American committee, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which, in close union with the Government of the King and the National Committee, displays an untiring devotion and marvelous activity in revictualing Belgium. The Government of the King is happy to avail itself of this opportunity to express its profound gratitude to the Commission for Relief as well as to the generous Americans eager to relieve the misery of the Belgian population. Finally, nowhere more than in the United States have the abductions and deportations of Belgian civilians provoked such a spontaneous movement of protestation and indignant reproof.

These facts, entirely to the honor of the American Nation, allow the Government of the King to entertain the legitimate hope that at the time of the definitive settlement of this long war, the voice of the Entente Powers will find in the United States a unanimous echo to claim in favor of the Belgian Nation, innocent victim of German ambition and covetousness, the rank and the place which its irreproachable past, the valor of its soldiers, its fidelity to honor, and its remarkable faculties for work assign to it among the civilized nations.

Germany's Retort to the Entente in a Separate Note to Neutrals

ON Jan. 11, the day after the Entente reply to President Wilson was made public, the German Foreign Office handed to the neutral Ambassadors at Berlin a communication acknowledging receipt of the Entente note of Dec. 12, (which had rejected Germany's peace proposal,) and continuing in a virtual reply to the Entente note to President Wilson, as follows:

Our adversaries declined this proposition, giving as the reason that it is a proposition without sincerity and without importance. The form in which they clothe their communication excludes an answer to them, but the Imperial Government considers it important to point out to the Governments of neutral powers its opinion regarding the situation.

The Central Powers have no reason to enter into any discussion regarding the origin of the world war. History will judge upon whom the immense guilt of the war shall fall. History's verdict will as little pass over the encircling policy of England, the revengeful policy of France, and the endeavor of Russia to gain Constantinople as over the instigation of the Serbian assassination in Serajevo and the complete mobilization of Russia, which meant war against Germany.

Germany and her allies, who had to take up arms for defense of their liberty and their existence, consider this, their aim of war, as obtained.

On the other hand, the hostile powers always went further away from the realization of their plans, which, according to the declarations of their responsible statesmen, were, among others, directed toward the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine and several Prussian provinces, the humiliation and diminution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the partition of Turkey, and the mutilation of Bulgaria. In the face of such war aims, the demand for restitution, reparation, and guarantee in the mouth of our adversaries produces a surprising effect.

Our adversaries call the proposal of the four allied (Teutonic) powers a war manoeuvre. Germany and her allies must protest in the most energetic fashion against such a characterization of their motives, which were frankly explained. They were persuaded that a peace which was just and acceptable to all the belligerents was possible; that it could be brought about by an immediate spoken exchange of views, and that therefore the responsibility for further bloodshed could not be

taken. Their readiness was affirmed without reservation to make known their peace conditions when negotiations were entered into, which refutes every doubt as to their sincerity.

Our adversaries, who had it in their hands to examine the proposition as to its contents, neither attempted an examination nor made counterproposals. Instead, they declared that peace was impossible so long as the re-establishment of violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities, and the free existence of small States were not guaranteed.

The sincerity which our adversary denies to the proposals of the four allied powers will not be conceded by the world to these demands, if the world holds before its eyes the fate of the Irish people, the destruction of the liberty and independence of the Boer Republic, the subjugation of Northern Africa by England, France, and Italy, the suppression of Russian alien nations, and also the violation of Greece, which is without precedent in history.

Against the pretended violations of the laws of nations by the four allies, (Teutonic,) those powers are not entitled to complain, which from the beginning of the war trampled on justice and tore to pieces the treaties upon which it is built. England already during the first weeks of the war had repudiated the London Declaration, the content of which had been recognized by its own delegates as a valid law of nations, and in the further course of the war violated in the most severe fashion also the Paris Declaration, so that, by her arbitrary measures for warfare, a condition of lawlessness has been created.

The war of starvation against Germany and the pressure exercised in England's interest against neutrals are not less scandalously conflicting with the rules of the laws of nations than with the commands of humanity.

Likewise, contrary to the laws of nations and incompatible with the usages of civilization are the use of colored troops in Europe and the extension of the war into Africa, which was done by a breach of existing treaties and which undermines the prestige of the white race on that continent. The barbarous treatment of prisoners, especially in Africa and Russia, and the deportation of the civilian population from Eastern Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia, and Bukowina are further proof of how our adversaries respect justice and civilization.

At the end of their note of Dec. 30, our adversaries point out the special situation of Belgium. The Imperial Government is unable to acknowledge that the Belgian Government has always observed the duties which were enjoined upon her by her neutrality. Already before the war Belgium, under England's influence, sought support in military fashion from England and France, and thus herself violated the spirit [of the treaty] which she had to guarantee her independence and neutrality.

Twice the Imperial Government declared to the Belgian Government that it did not come as an enemy to Belgium, and asked it to spare the country the terrors of war. Germany offered to guarantee the integrity and independence of the kingdom to the full extent and compensate for all damages which might be caused by the passage of the German troops. It is known that the Royal British Government in 1887 was resolved not to oppose the use of the right of way through Belgium under those conditions. The Belgian Government declined the repeated offer of the Imperial Government. Upon her and those powers which instigated her to this attitude falls the responsibility for the fate which befell Belgium.

The accusations about the Germans' warfare in Belgium and the measures taken there in the interest of military safety have been repeatedly refuted by the Imperial Government as untrue. Germany again offers energetic protest against these calumnies.

Germany and her allies have made an honest attempt to terminate the war and open the road for an understanding among the belligerents. The Imperial Government asserts the fact that it merely depended upon the decision of our adversaries whether the road toward peace should be entered upon or not. The hostile Governments declined to accept this road. Upon them falls the full responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed.

Our allied powers, however, shall continue the struggle in quiet confidence and with firm trust in their right, until peace is gained which guarantees to their nations honor, existence, and liberty of development, and which to all the nations of the European Continent gives the blessing to co-operate in mutual respect and under equal rights together for the solution of the great problems of civilization.

Similar Note From Austria

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Czernin von Chudenitz, delivered a similar note at Vienna on Jan. 12 to the diplomatic representatives of the neutral powers and the Holy See. The Austrian note lays special emphasis on the situation existing between Austria and Serbia, saying:

In the years preceding the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia the monarchy displayed sufficient proof of its forbearance toward the ever-increasing hostility, aggressive intentions, and intrigues of Serbia until the moment when finally the notorious murders at Serajevo made further indulgences impossible.

In a later passage appears the following:

The question which side has the stronger military situation appears idle, and may confidently be left to the judgment of the world. The four allied powers now look on their purely defensive war aims as attained, while their enemies travel further and further from the realization of their plans.

For the enemy to characterize our peace proposals as meaningless before peace negotiations were begun, and so long as, therefore, our peace conditions are unknown, is merely to make an arbitrary assertion. We had made full preparations for the acceptance of our offer to make known our peace conditions on entering into the negotiations. We declared ourselves ready to end the war by a verbal exchange of views with the enemy Governments, and it depended solely on our enemies' decision whether peace were brought about or not.

Before God and mankind we repudiate responsibility for continuance of the war.

Replies of Neutral Nations to President Wilson's Peace Note

NEARLY all the neutral nations of Europe sent formal replies to President Wilson's note of Dec. 18, and all of these except Spain indicated their willingness to co-operate with the United States in a peace movement of the kind suggested.

Text of Swiss Note

Switzerland was the first of all the nations to make a formal reply. The response was addressed by the Swiss Federal Council, under date of Dec. 23, 1916, to all belligerents and neutrals. The text of the note, as received by the Swiss Consul at Washington and given out by Secretary Lansing, is as follows:

The President of the United States of America, with whom the Swiss Federal Council, guided by its warm desire that the hostilities may soon come to an end, has for a considerable time been in touch, had the kindness to apprise the Federal Council of the peace note sent to the Governments of the Central and Entente Powers. In that note President Wilson discusses the great desirability of international agreements for the purpose of avoiding more effectively and permanently the occurrence of catastrophes such as the one under which the peoples are suffering today. In this connection he lays particular stress on the necessity for bringing about the end of the present war. Without making peace proposals himself or offering mediation, he confines himself to sounding as to whether mankind may hope to have approached the haven of peace.

The most meritorious personal initiative of President Wilson will find a mighty echo in Switzerland. True to the obligations arising from observing the strictest neutrality, united by the same friendship with the States of both warring groups of powers, situated like an island amid the seething waters of the terrible world war, with its ideal and material interests most sensibly jeopardized and violated, our country is filled with a deep longing for peace, and ready to assist by its small means to stop the endless sufferings caused by the war and brought before its eyes by daily contact with the interned, the severely wounded, and those expelled, and to establish the foundations for a beneficial cooperation of the peoples.

The Swiss Federal Council is therefore glad to seize the opportunity to support the efforts of the President of the United States. It would consider itself happy if it could act in any, no matter how modest a way, for the rapprochement of the peoples now engaged in the struggle, and for reaching a lasting peace.

The Scandinavian Note

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the three Scandinavian nations, answered in an identical note, which was handed to Secretary Lansing on Dec. 29, 1916. The text of the Norwegian version, as delivered by Minister Bryn, is here given as representative of all three:

It is with the liveliest interest that the Norwegian Government has learned of the proposals which the President of the United States has just made with the purpose of facilitating measures looking toward the establishment of a durable peace, while at the same time seeking to avoid any interference which could cause offense to legitimate sentiments.

The Norwegian Government would consider itself failing in its duties toward its own people and toward humanity if it did not express its deepest sympathy with all efforts which would contribute to put an end to the ever-increasing suffering and the moral and material losses. It has every hope that the initiative of President Wilson will arrive at a result worthy of the high purpose which inspires it.

Spain's Polite Refusal

The Spanish Government replied to the

American note on Dec. 30, expressing sympathy with the President's purpose of facilitating peace, but declining at present to co-operate to that end. The official text was not given out at Washington, but the following version has come direct from Madrid by way of a London newspaper. The note is addressed to C. S. Wilson, Chargé d'Affaires at the United States Embassy in Madrid:

His Majesty's Government has received through your embassy a copy of the note which the President of the United States has presented to the belligerent powers, expressing the desire that an early opportunity should be sought for obtaining from all the nations now at war a declaration as to their intentions so far as regards the bases upon which the conflict might be terminated. This copy is accompanied by another note, signed by yourself, and dated Dec. 22, in which your embassy, in accordance with the instructions of your Government, says, in the name of the President, that the moment seems to be opportune for action on the part of his Majesty's Government, and that it should, if it thinks fit, support the attitude adopted by the Government of the United States.

With regard to the reasonable desire manifested by the latter Government to be supported in its proposition in favor of peace, the Government of his Majesty, considering that the initiative has been taken by the President of the North American Republic, and that the diverse impressions which it has caused are already known, is of opinion that the action to which the United States invites Spain would not have efficacy, and the more so because the Central Empires have already expressed their firm intention to discuss the conditions of peace solely with the belligerent powers.

Fully appreciating that the noble desire of the President of the United States will always merit the gratitude of all nations, the Government of his Majesty is decided not to dissociate itself from any negotiation or agreement destined to facilitate the humanitarian work which will put an end to the present war, but it suspends its action, reserving it for the moment when the efforts of all those who desire peace will be more useful and efficacious than is now the case, if there should then be reasons to consider that its initiative or its intervention would be profitable.

Until that moment arrives the Government of his Majesty regards it as opportune to declare that in all that concerns an understanding between the neutral powers for the defense of their material interests affected by the war, it is disposed now, as it has been since the beginning of the present conflict, to enter into negotiations which may tend toward an agreement capable of uniting all the nonbelligerent powers which may consider themselves injured or may regard it as necessary to remedy or diminish such injuries.

The Greek King's Reply

King Constantine of Greece summoned the American Minister, Garrett Dropper, to his palace in Athens on Dec. 30 and communicated to him the text of a message to President Wilson, the press version of which is as follows:

I wish to express, Mr. President, feelings of sincere admiration and lively sympathy for the generous initiative you have just taken with the view to ascertaining whether the moment is not propitious for a negotiable end of the bloody struggle raging on earth.

Coming from the wise statesman who, in a period so critical for humanity, is placed at the head of the great American Republic, this humanitarian effort, dictated by a spirit of high political sagacity and looking to an honorable peace for all, cannot but contribute greatly toward hastening re-establishment of normal life and assuring through a stable state of international relations the evolution of humanity toward that progress wherein the United States of America always so largely shares.

[There follows a recital of the trials Greece has suffered from the war, which, on account of the censorship, it is useless to attempt to cable. The King's message ends as follows:]

Such are the conditions in which your proposals find my country. This short and necessarily incomplete recital is not made with the purpose of criticism of the cruel blows at her sovereignty and neutrality from which Greece has been forced to suffer the effects. I have merely wished to show you, Mr. President, how much the soul of Greece at this moment longs for peace, and how much it appreciates your proposals, which constitute so important a step in the course of the bloody world tragedy of which we are witnesses. CONSTANTINE.

A formal note from the Greek Government to the same effect was handed to the State Department at Washington on Jan. 16. It said in part:

The Royal Government learns with the most lively interest of the steps which the President of the United States of America has just undertaken among the belligerents for the cessation of a long and cruel war which is ravishing humanity. Very sensitive to the communication made to it, the Royal Government deeply appreciates the generous courage as well as the extremely humanitarian and profoundly politic spirit which dictated that suggestion. The considerations given in it to the subject of the sufferings of neutral nations as a result of the colossal struggle, as well as guarantees which will be equally desired by both belligerent factions for the rights and privileges of all States, have particularly found a sympathetic echo in the soul

of Greece. In fact, there is no country which, like Greece, has had to suffer from this war, while at the same time remaining a stranger to it.

Through circumstances exceptionally tragic, she has less than other neutral countries been able to escape a direct and pernicious effect from the hostilities between the belligerents. Her geographical position contributed toward diminishing her power of resistance against violations of her neutrality and sovereignty, which she has been forced to submit to in the interest of self-preservation.

The Royal Government would certainly have made all haste to accede to the noble demand of the President of the United States of America, to help with all means in its power until success were achieved, if it were not entirely out of communication with one of the two belligerents, while toward the other it must await the solution of difficulties which seriously weigh upon the situation in Greece. But the Royal Government is following with all the intensity of its soul the precious effort of the President of the United States of America, hoping to see it completed at the earliest possible moment.

China Favors Peace League

The Chinese Government, in a note sent through the American Minister at Peking on Jan. 11, indicated its readiness to cooperate after the war in a league to insure peace. The note was written by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs and is addressed to the American Minister. The text follows:

I have examined, with the care which the gravity of the questions raised demands, the note concerning peace which President Wilson has addressed to the Governments of the Allies and the Central Powers now at war, and the text of which your Excellency has been good enough to transmit to me under instructions of your Government.

China, a nation traditionally pacific, has recently again manifested her sentiments in concluding treaties concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes, responding thus to the wishes of the peace conference held at The Hague.

On the other hand, the present war by its prolongation has seriously affected the interests of China, more so perhaps, than those of other powers which have remained neutral. She is at present at a time of reorganization which demands economically and industrially the co-operation of foreign countries, co-operation which a large number of them are unable to accord on account of the war in which they are engaged.

In manifesting her sympathy for the spirit of the President's note, having in view the ending as soon as possible of the hostilities, China is but acting in conformity with not only her interest but also with her profound sentiments.

Persia Eager for Peace

Medhi Kahn, the Persian Minister at Washington, presented the following note to Secretary Lansing on Jan. 15:

His Imperial Majesty's Government has instructed me to communicate to your Excellency that it experienced the utmost pleasure upon receipt of the President's note of Dec. 18, 1916, regarding peace terms transmitted through the United States plenipotentiary at Teheran, and to express to you the hope that a step so benevolent and humane will meet with the success it deserves.

I am further instructed to say that, notwithstanding we declared ourselves neutral, a large part of our country has been disturbed and devastated by the fighting of the belligerents within our boundaries. In view of this fact you cannot doubt that we heartily welcome and indorse the move the President has made.

Furthermore, inasmuch as his Majesty's Government understands from the President's note that he desires the preservation of the integrity and freedom of the powers and the weaker nations, and in view of the firm friendship which has always existed between our two countries, it ardently hopes that the Government of the United States will assist our oppressed nation to maintain its integrity and rights, not only for the present, but whenever a peace conference shall take place.

"Peace Founded on the Rock of Vindicated Justice"

Lloyd George's Guildhall Address, Jan. 11, 1917

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE delivered an important address at the Guildhall, London, Jan. 11, appealing primarily for subscriptions to the new war loan, but also touching largely upon questions in the peace discussion. The speech was punctuated throughout with cheers and applause, indicating how aptly it expressed the opinions of the auditors. The full text, as sent to THE NEW YORK TIMES by special cable, is as follows:

My Lord Mayor, my Lords, Ladies, and

Gentlemen: The Chancellor of the Exchequer [Bonar Law] in his extremely lucid and impressive speech has placed before you the business side of this proposal, and I think you will agree with me, after hearing his explanation of his scheme, that he has offered for subscription a loan which possesses all the essential ingredients of an attractive investment. They are the most generous terms that the Government can offer without injury to the taxpayer. I agree that the Chancellor was right in offering such liberal terms because it is important that we should secure a big loan now, not merely in order to enable us to finance the war effectively, but as a demonstration of the continued resolve of this country to prosecute the war; and it is upon that aspect of the question that I should like to say a few words.

The German Kaiser a few days ago sent a message to his people that the Allies had rejected his peace offers. He did so in order to drug those whom he could no longer dragoon. Where are those offers? We have asked for them; we have never seen them. We were not offered terms; we were offered a trap baited with fair words. They tempted us once, but the lion has his eyes open. We have rejected no terms that we have ever seen. Of course, it would suit them to have peace at the present moment on their terms. We all want peace; but when we get it it must be a real peace.

War Better Than Prussian Peace

The allied powers separately and in council together have come to the same conclusion. Knowing well what war means, knowing especially what this war means in suffering, in burdens, in horrors, they have still decided that even war is better than peace at the Prussian price of domination over Europe. We made it clear in our reply to Germany; we made it still clearer in our reply to the United States.

Before we attempt to rebuild the Temple of Peace we must see now that the foundations are solid. They were built before upon the shifting sands of Prussian faith; henceforth, when the time for rebuilding comes, it must be on the rock of vindicated justice.

I have just returned from a council of war of the four great allied countries upon whose shoulders most of this terrible war falls. I cannot give you its conclusions; they might be information to the enemy. There were no delusions as to the magnitude of our task; neither were there any doubts about the results.

I think I can say what was the feeling of every man there. It was one of the most businesslike conferences I ever attended. We faced the whole situation, probed it thoroughly, and looked its difficulties in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them. We separated feeling more confident than ever. All felt that if victory were difficult, defeat was impossible. There was no flinching, no wavering, no faint-heartedness, no infirmity of purpose.

Challenge to Free Nations

There was a grim resolution at all costs that we must achieve the high aim with which we accepted the challenge of the Prussian military caste and rid Europe and the world forever of her menace. No country could have refused the challenge without the loss of honor. None could have rejected it without impairing national security. No one would have failed to take it up without forfeiting something which is of greater value to every free and self-respecting people than life itself. Those nations did not enter into the war lightly. They did not embark upon this enterprise without knowing what it really meant. They were not enticed by the prospects of immediate victory.

Take this country. The millions of our men who enlisted in the army enlisted after the German victories of August, 1914, when they knew the accumulated and concentrated power of the German military machine. That was when they placed their lives at the disposal of their country. What about the other lands? They knew what they were encountering; that they were fighting an organization which had been perfected for generations by the best brains of Prussia—perfected with one purpose, the subjugation of Europe.

Why did they do it? I passed through hundreds of miles of the beautiful land of France and of Italy, and as I did so I asked myself this question: Why did the peasants leave by myriads these sunny vineyards and cornfields in France? Why did they quit these enchanting valleys, with their comfort, their security, their charm, in order to face the grim and wild horrors of the battlefield? They did it for one purpose, and one purpose only. They were not driven to the slaughter by Kings. These are great democratic countries. No Government would have lasted twenty-four hours that had forced them into an abhorrent war against their own free will. They embarked upon it because they knew the fundamental issue had been raised which no country could shirk without imperiling all that has been won in the centuries of the past and all that remains to be won in the ages of the future.

That is why, as the war proceeds and the German purpose becomes more manifest, the conviction is becoming deeper in the minds of those people that they must work their way through to victory in order to save Europe from an unspeakable despotism. That was the spirit that animated the allied conference in Europe last week.

Allies' Increasing Trust in Britain

But I tell you one thing that struck me, and strikes me more and more each time I attend these conferences and visit the Continent: The increasing extent to which the allied peoples are looking to Great Britain. They are

trusting her rugged strength and great resources more and more. She is to them like a great tower in the deep. She is becoming more and more the hope of the oppressed and despair of the oppressor; and I feel more and more confident that we shall not fail the people who put their trust in us.

But when that arrogant Prussian caste flung the signature of Britain in the treaty in the waste paper basket as if it were of no account, they knew not the pride of the land they were treating with such insolent disdain. They know it now. Our soldiers and our sailors have taught them to respect it. You had an eloquent account from my colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the achievements of our soldiers; our sailors are gallantly defending the honor of the country on the high seas. They have strangled the enemy's commerce; they will continue to do so in spite of all the piratical devices of the foe.

Predicts Victory in 1917

In 1914 and 1915, for two years, a small, ill-equipped army held up the veterans of Prussia, with the best equipment in Europe; in 1916 hurling them back and delivering a blow from which they are reeling. In 1917 the armies of Britain will be more formidable than ever in training, in efficiency, in equipment; and you may depend upon it, if you give them the necessary support, they will cleave a road to victory through the dangers and perils of the next few months.

But we must support them; they are worth it. Have you ever talked to a soldier who has come back from the front? There is not one of them who will not tell you how he is encouraged and sustained by hearing the roar of the guns behind him.

I will tell you what I want to do. I want to see checks hurtling through the air, fired from the City of London; fired from every city, town, and village and hamlet throughout the land; fired straight into the intrenchments of the enemy.

Every well-directed check, well loaded, properly primed, is a more formidable weapon of destruction than a twelve-inch shell. It clears a path to the barbed-wire entanglements for our gallant fellows to march through. A big loan helps you, insures victory; a big loan will help shorten the war; it will help save lives; it will help save the British Empire; it will help save Europe; it will help save civilization.

That is why we want the country to rise to this occasion and show that the old spirit of Britain, represented by those great men [pointing to the monuments in the hall] you have here, is still alive, alert, and as potent as ever.

I want to appeal to the men at home—yes, and to the women. I want to appeal to both; they have done their part nobly in this war. A man who has been a Munitions Minister for twelve months must feel a debt of gratitude to the women for what they have done. They have helped to win the war, and without them we could not have done it; but I want to make special appeal, or rather to enforce the special appeal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Fervid Appeal for Self-Denial

Let no money be squandered in luxury and indulgence which can be put into the fight and which counts—every penny of it; every ounce has counted in this struggle. Do not waste it, do not throw it away; put it there to help the valor of our brave young boys. Back them up! Let every one contribute to assist them, with greater pride in it than in costly garments. It will become them; they will feel prouder of it today, and their pride will increase in the years to come, when the best garment they have got will have rotted, when the glisten and glitter of it will improve with the years. They can put it on in old age and say: "This is something I contributed in the great war," and they will be proud of it.

Men and women of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland! The first charge upon all your surplus money, over your needs for yourselves and your children, should be to help those gallant young men who tendered their lives to the cause of humanity. The more we get the surer the victory; the more we get the shorter the war; the more we get the less it will cost in treasure, and the greatest treasure of all is brave blood. The more we give the more you will be enriched by your contribution, by your sacrifices of extravagance.

I want to bring this home to every man and woman. This extravagance during the war has cost blood—valiant blood, the blood of heroes. It will be worth millions to save one of them—the big loan will save myriads of them. Help them not merely to win; help them to come home, to shout for the victory which they have won.

It means better equipment for our troops, it means better equipment for the allies as well; and this I say for the fiftieth, if not the hundredth, time: this is a war of equipment. That is why we are appealing for your assistance. Most of us could not do more, but what we can do it is our duty, it is our pride, to do.

I said it was a war of equipment. Why are the Germans pressing back our gallant allies in Rumania? It is not that they are better fighters; they certainly are not. The Rumanian peasant has proved himself to be one of the doughtiest fighters in the field when he has the chance—he never had much—and as for the Russian, the way in which, with bared breast, he has fought for two years and a half, with inferior guns, insufficient rifles, inadequate supplies of ammunition, is one of the tales of heroism of the world.

Helping to Equip the Fighters

Let us help to equip them, and there will be another story to tell soon; but it is for us to

do so, and that is why I am glad to follow the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the appeal he has made to the patriotism of our race—but with true Scottish instinct he put the appeal to prudence first. He had a good foundation for patriotism, and reserved that for his peroration. I am going to reverse the order, belonging to a less canny race. I want to say it is a good investment, after all; the Old Country is the best investment in the world. It was a sound concern before the war; it will be sounder and safer than ever after the war, and especially safer.

I do not know the nation that will care to touch it after this war. They had forgotten what we were like in those days, and it will take them a long time to forget these. It will be a safer investment than ever, and a sounder one.

Have you been watching what is going on? Before the war we had a good many shortcomings in our business, our commerce, our industry. The war is settling them all right in the most marvelous way. You ask a great business man like my friend, Lord Pirrie, what is going on in those great factories throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Old machinery is scrapped; the newest, the best, and the latest is set up; slipshod and wasteful methods are scrapped, and hampering customs discontinued. Millions are brought into the labor market to help to produce who were before purely consumers.

I do not know what the national debt will be at the end of this war, but I will make a prediction: Whatever it is, what is added in real assets to the real riches of the nation will be infinitely greater than any debt we ever acquire. The resources of the nation in every direction have been developed and directed; the nation itself disciplined, braced up, quickened, has become a more alert people. We have thrown off the useless tissues; we are a nation that has been taking exercise. We are a different people.

I will tell you another thing: the Prussian menace was a running mortgage which detracted from the value of our national security. Nobody knew what it meant. We know too well now. You could not tell whether it meant millions or hundreds of millions or thousands of millions, or how many of them. You could not tell that it would not mean ruin.

That mortgage will be cleared off forever—better security on a better foundation, safer security, and at a better rate of interest. The world will then be able, when this war is over, to attend to its business in peace. There will be no war or rumors of war to disturb and to distract. We can build up, we can reconstruct, we can till, we can cultivate and enrich, and the burden and terror and waste of war will have gone.

Predicts a League of Peace

The peace and security for peace will be that the nations will band themselves together to punish the first peacebreaker who comes out.

As to the armies of Europe, every weapon will be a sword of justice in the Government of men; every arm will be a constabulary of peace. There were men who had hoped to see this achieved in the way of peace. We were disappointed. It was ordained that you should not reach that golden era except along the path which was paved with gold—yea, and cemented with valiant blood. There are millions who have given of the latter who are ready—nay, millions more ready, myriads more ready—for the sacrifice, if the country needs it.

It is for us to contribute the former. Let no man no woman, in this crisis of the nation's fate, through indolence, greed, avarice, or selfishness, fail. If they are doing their part, then, when the time comes for the triumphal march through the darkness and terror of the night into the bright dawn of the morning of the new age, they will each feel that they have done their share.

PAUL DESCHANEL'S ADDRESS

Paul Deschanel, in addressing the French Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 11, after his re-election as President of that body, said:

The first articles of our program remain the deliverance of Belgium and the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine. This is the only program that can recompense us for our sacrifices and assure to our children a durable peace worthy of France and the republic.

Speaking of the work of Parliament, M. Deschanel took occasion to reply to certain criticisms, saying:

In the most critical moments it was you who established the program for the production of armaments and munitions, after which you made every effort to diminish the delays in providing the army with what was most urgently demanded. Some reproach you with interfering too much in diplomatic and military affairs, but if there were failures they would seek to make you responsible, since it is you who have supervision. It is desired to shorten the war, but when you propose measures for a greater activity of effort which would abridge it, your initiatives are criticised.

In apparent allusion to the request of the Government for authority to issue decrees, in anticipation of legislation, on urgent questions, M. Deschanel said:

Since the war is prolonged, it is our duty to adapt our methods and accelerate our procedure. To maintain order and discipline in our debates also is a form of patriotism, but to that end it is not necessary to throw our institutions into confusion. It will be to the eternal honor of our country to have faced the greatest upheaval of all the ages without changing our laws.

Lloyd George and His Guildhall Speech

By Charles H. Grasty

Of The New York Times Staff

Cabling from London on Jan. 11, Mr. Grasty sent the following vivid description of the Premier as he appeared during the delivery of his address:

THIS is neither a character sketch of the Prime Minister nor a report of the big meeting held at the beautiful and historic Guildhall; it is a series of rough impressions made on an American and here given in chronological rather than logical order from notes jotted down as these impressions were produced during the progress of the meeting.

The hall was packed with a representative gathering of London business men. I tried to compare them with a similar body in New York. They were less animated than a New York body, but there was no doubt of their solidity. The Lord Mayor came in with several Sheriffs, the big gold mace borne before them, escorting the Prime Minister.

Mr. Lloyd George took his welcome very quietly, showing but a trace of response as he stood at the rail of the platform. The crowd sang "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," but the song limped and the performance was more spiritless than the same thing would have been in New York. Then Mr. Lloyd George sat down next to his little daughter, a pink-cheeked girl, who had come with Mrs. Lloyd George a few minutes before. The wife of the Prime Minister wore a black hat, with a plume and a gold buckle, and a velveteen wrap, trimmed with fur, and a collar of muskrat. She had a dark silk frock and white gloves with black stripes. She is a large, wholesome-looking, motherly woman.

When the Prime Minister took his seat he surveyed the crowd and twirled his watch chain, after first putting his right ankle on his left knee, in which position he maintained it during about twenty minutes of Mr. Bonar Law's speech. From time to time he took his gold pince-nez into the hand that was not busy with the watch chain. After looking straight out on to his audience for a while, his eye sought the vaulted ceiling of the Guildhall. I could observe that he was not studying Gothic architecture, but was further preparing himself for the speech he was to make later.

Reformer with Sense of Humor

Some men have hands larger than their feet, and some men have it the other way round. Lloyd George's foot is small, and he seemed to take considerable pains about his boots. His hands are large and strong. He wore a standing collar with wings upon which his double chin rested comfortably. He is much cleaner-cut than his pictures represent him. He would seem to have a greater degree of health and less spiritual quality than I had supposed.

His eyes look brown or black, but the man next to me said they were in fact dark blue. One expects large eyes in such a man, but the Prime Minister's seemed smallish. He has a very merry twinkle in them, and that is one of his most marked characteristics. You feel that here is a reformer, but one who does not take himself too deadly seriously. He is not so terribly in earnest as to fall over his own feet. I should say that he had taken to himself the wisdom of Plato's counsel: "The best is frequently the enemy of the good."

To leave the Prime Minister for just one instant: I was surprised at how differently Bonar Law looked from below. Heretofore I have examined him from the gallery in the House of Commons, and he seemed to me a short man. Today I observed that he was tallish and spare, and more like the man I had visualized from his photograph. His manner of speaking was a study to me, because his is an oratory absolutely different from anything we have in the United States. He has spirit, but absolutely no warmth. He uses emphasis with miserly

care and restraint, and the effect is most convincing.

Lloyd George whispered something to his daughter and smiled, and it gave me a chance of observing that his face is built along curved lines. If I may speak so of a great statesman, his mouth has a Cupid's bow effect. He has a small nose and delicate nostrils. While his color only comes when he exerts himself in speaking, he is not pallid, and there is not the slightest suspicion of weariness about him.

For a while he rested his right hand on his right knee and continued to study the vaulted roof; then he put his hand in his inside coat pocket and drew out a sheaf of notes. These were cards with a round hole in the upper left-hand corner, through which ran a blue cord tied in a bow knot. Then from his left-hand waistcoat pocket he drew out a very elaborate gold pencil that must have been given to him as a testimonial, for no man would buy such a pencil for himself.

This pencil was fastened by a rope-end of gold, the corresponding portion of which on the right-hand side secured his watch. I noticed, too, that he had a gold chain extending from his right-hand trousers pocket to his right-hand hip pocket, and that to one of the ends of this his bunch of keys was fastened.

When the Lord Mayor introduced the Prime Minister I noticed with interest that he dropped the "g" when reading, which made me feel quite at home.

The Idealized John Bull

When Lloyd George arose I had a new impression of him. It seemed to me that he had a certain bovine beauty. He is a Celt, but he would not make a bad model for the idealized John Bull. He was quite free from self-consciousness when the great audience gave him its ovation. As he stood up with his hands on the rail I noticed the depth of his chest, and how flat and straight his back was. He was dressed in a cutaway coat, quite in the prevailing style of exaggerated tail. He wore a black four-in-hand, with a very small diamond pin in it. But for his hair of black and white, in the proportion of fifty-fifty, and worn long and brushed back, Lloyd George would be quite the conventional type of professional man.

There is just a suggestion of Bob Ingersoll and W. J. Bryan in the Prime Minister's appearance. In a general way he belongs to the breed of statesmen who react sensitively to the aspirations, needs, and wrongs of the masses; but he is a very high type, and whatever visionary qualities he may have started with have been pretty well knocked out of him by his experience in the stand-up and knock-down fighting of parliamentary government. A man cannot get very gay with the hard facts of life if he is subject to the hazing that is the principal sport in the House of Commons.

When Lloyd George began I said to myself: "About the only difference between Bonar Law and the Prime Minister as public speakers is that one is an Episcopalian and the other a Baptist," but as things went along I discovered the error of this judgment. Lloyd George indeed is very careful not to get on a high key, but he possesses a dramatic quality which at times he calls into use.

Except at these rare moments the coming and going of reporters and stenographers, who made a confusion between the speaker and his audience, had no psychological effect on the impression he was producing. He was not seeking for rapt attention. A phrase that occurred now and again throughout his remarks was, "You may depend upon it." If he had it in mind to convey a strong impression of dependability, he succeeded admirably.

Avoidance of Eloquence

When cameras were fired at him early in his speech and clouds of smoke floated over him, he was not in the least disconcerted, nor did it spoil the effect of his opening. When he touched a high point —for example, after his allusion to rebuilding on the rock of vindicated justice —he seemed to make a point of it to put on his glasses and consult his notes, as if to keep himself out of any flow of eloquence. As such he got home splendidly with the impression of dependability when he said that he had just returned from a meeting where there had been no delusions about the magnitude of the Al-

lies' task and no doubt about the result; that they had met like a lot of business men, looked facts in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them.

In this passage, as in others, there was no flight of oratory to fall from, and only enough spirit to prevent any impression of deadness. He makes you feel, as so many English speakers do, the power of his reserve. He looks very strong physically, but he hasn't a big voice, and today it broke just a little into hoarseness after a few minutes.

There isn't the slightest suggestion of age or waning powers in Lloyd George. He is evidently a careful liver and keeps himself well in hand. One is struck with a sense of the harmoniousness of the whole Lloyd George—head, body, and intellectual personality.

He made his points very telling with what we in America would regard as a minimum of effort. His allusion to the Russians who have stood with bared breasts against the Germans, his assurance that, no matter how great the debt, the added wealth would be still greater, his picture of England struggling before the war under a running mortgage of menace from Germany, and his statement that the nations would band together after the war to punish the first peace-breaker, were among the high points touched by him, with his feet firmly on the ground. While he used accent and intonation very much more freely than did Bonar Law, he had a measured manner of speech that was the opposite of spellbinding.

Only at the very end did he put dramatic quality into it. He threw his notes down on the table with a gesture of having finished that chapter; then he put his hand on the red cloth-covered rail and spoke his last four or five sentences as Forbes-Robertson might have done, with an appearance of restrained passion.

After the voting of the usual resolution those on the platform and in the audience rose and sang "God Save the King!" Lloyd George stood up very straight and sang with a will. The crowd then filed out.

I fell in with Lord Claud John Hamilton, and we walked over the wet, glistening street to Cheapside. Lord Claud has been a Conservative member of the House of Commons nearly the whole time for fifty-one years. He and his family and his class have stood for different things than those represented by Lloyd George. I was very much interested in what Lord Claud should think about the meeting.

"I have attended a great many meetings in the Guildhall," he said, "but this was the largest I have ever seen. Lloyd George and Bonar Law presented the matter most forcibly, and the loan will be a success."

Ruines

Par FREDERIC RAISIN

Les murs assassinés par le feu des Vandales
Et dont les pans noircis,—inoubliable effroi,—
Disent le long martyre, hélas! les nobles Halles,
Les jacquemarts, les tours, les clochers, les beffrois,

Ainsi que la splendeur des hautes cathédrales,
—Monuments de la foi des peuples et des rois,—
Tout, malgré les serments, les traités et les lois,
Tout a croulé sous les fureurs impériales.

Gardez-vous de toucher à ces reliques saintes!
Laissez-les vers le ciel faire monter leur plainte,
Ou retentit l'écho des funèbres tocsins!

Ne relevez jamais ces illustres masures!
Qu'elles vivent avec toutes leurs meurtrissures,
Gage éternel de haine envers les assassins!

GERMAN PEACE REJECTED

Reply of Allies Characterizes the Proposal as "Empty and Insincere"

CHRONOLOGY OF GERMAN PEACE NOTE.

Dec. 12, 1916—Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg presents the German peace proposal to the Reichstag.

Dec. 12—Premier Briand, in French Chamber, denounces the proposal as "a trap."

Dec. 13—Bonar Law, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, says peace is impossible without reparation and security.

Dec. 19—Baron Sonnino, Italian Foreign Minister, discredits the sincerity of the proposal in the Italian Chamber.

Dec. 19—Premier Lloyd George delivers an address in Parliament rejecting the proposal.

Dec. 19—Earl Curzon, Lord President of the British War Council, declares against proposition in House of Lords.

Dec. 22—King George, in proroguing Parliament, expresses inflexible determination to achieve final victory.

Dec. 25—Czar of Russia, in an order to his armies, asserts that no peace is possible until Russia's aims are won.

Dec. 30—Formal reply of Entente Allies is sent to Germany.

Dec. 31—Kaiser Wilhelm, in a general order, declares that Germany is victorious in all theatres on land and sea.

Jan. 6, 1917—German and Austrian Emperors issue orders announcing the Allies' refusal, and lay upon them the blame for continuation of the war.

Jan. 8.—Sultan of Turkey announces intention of redoubling his efforts to destroy his enemies.

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for January contained the official documents mentioned in the first half of the chronology printed above, with the portion of Lord Curzon's speech of Dec. 19 then obtainable. That important utterance appears in full in the present issue.

Taking up the chronological narrative of the German peace episode where it broke off last month, the speech of King George V. of England in proroguing Parliament on Dec. 22, 1916, comes into the story. The text is as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen:

Throughout the months that have elapsed since I last addressed you, my navy and my army, in conjunction with those of our gallant and faithful allies, have by their unceasing vigilance and indomitable valor justified the high trust I placed in them.

I am confident that, however long the struggle, their efforts, supported by the inflexible determination of all my subjects throughout the empire, will finally achieve the victorious consummation of those aims for which I entered into the war.

My Government has been reconstructed with the sole object of furthering those aims unaltered and unimpaired. I thank you for the unstinted liberality with which you continue to provide for the burdens of the war.

The vigorous prosecution of the war must be our single endeavor until we have vindicated the rights so ruthlessly violated by our enemies and established the security of Europe on a sure foundation. In this sacred cause I am assured of the united support of all my peoples, and I pray that the Almighty God may give us His blessing.

Czar's Official Comment

Germany's peace proposal called forth from the Emperor of Russia the following utterance on Dec. 25 in the form of a general order to the Russian armies:

It is now more than two years since Germany, in the midst of peace and after secretly preparing over a long period to enslave all the nations of Europe, suddenly attacked Russia and her faithful ally France. This attack compelled England to join us and take part in our battle.

The complete disdain which Germany showed to principles of international law as demonstrated by the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, and her pitiless cruelty toward the peaceful inhabitants in the occupied provinces, little by little united the great powers of Europe against Germany and her ally Austria.

Under the pressure of the German troops, which were well provided with the technical aids to warfare, Russia as well as France was compelled in the first year of the war to give up a portion of its territory, but this temporary reverse did not break the spirit of our faithful allies, nor of you, my gallant troops. In time, by the concentrated

FRENCH GENERALS AND THEIR STAFFS

General Marchand of African Fame, Before His Headquarters on the Somme Front

General Gouraud Before the Divisional Headquarters on the Champagne Front

(Photos from Press Illustrating Co.)

MEN WHO COMMAND THE "POILUS"

General Humbert Leaving Headquarters for a Tour of the Lines in the Verdun District

(Press Illustrating Co.)

General Joffre, While Still Commander in Chief, Consulting a Group of His Generals

(Underwood & Underwood.)

efforts of the Government, the inequalities between our own and the German technical resources were gradually reduced. But long before this time, even from the Autumn of 1915, our enemy was experiencing difficulty in retaining a single portion on Russian soil, and in the Spring and Summer of the current year suffered a number of severe defeats and assumed the defensive along the whole front. His strength apparently is waning, but the strength of Russia and her gallant allies continues to grow without failing.

Germany is feeling that the hour of her complete defeat is near, and near also the hour of retribution for all her wrong-doings and for the violation of moral laws. Similarly, as in the time when her war strength was superior to the strength of her neighbors, Germany suddenly declared war upon them, so now, feeling her weakness, she suddenly offers to enter into peace negotiations. Particularly she desires to begin these negotiations and to complete them before her military talent is exhausted. At the same time she is creating a false impression about the strength of her army by making use of her temporary success over the Rumanians, who had not succeeded in gaining experience in the conduct of modern warfare.

But if, originally, Germany was in the position to declare war and fall upon Russia and her ally France, in her most favorable time, having strengthened in wartime the alliance, among which is to be found all-mighty England and noble Italy, this alliance in its turn has also the possibility of entering into peace negotiations at such a time as it considers favorable for itself.

The time has not yet arrived. The enemy has not yet been driven out of the provinces occupied by her. The attainment by Russia of the tasks created by the war—the regaining of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, as well as the creation of a free Poland from all three of her now incomplete tribal districts—has not yet been guaranteed.

To conclude peace at this moment would mean the failure to utilize the fruits of the untold trials of you, heroic Russian troops and fleet. These trials, and still more the sacred memory of those noble sons of Russia who have fallen on the field of battle, do not permit the thought of peace until the final victory over our enemies.

Who dares to think that he who brought about the beginning of the war shall have it in his power to conclude the war at any time he likes?

I do not doubt that every faithful son of holy Russia under arms who entered into the firing line, as well as those working in the interior for the increase of her war strength or the creation of her industry, will be convinced that peace can only be given to the enemy after he has been driven from our borders; and then only when, finally broken, he shall give to us and our faithful allies reliable proof of the impossibility of a repetition of the treacherous attack and a firm assurance that he will keep to these promises. By the strength of these guarantees he will be bound to the fulfillment in times of peace of those things which he undertakes.

Let us be firm in the certainty of our victory and the All Highest will bless our standards and will cover them afresh with glory, and will give to us a peace worthy of your heroic deeds, my glorious troops—a peace for which the future generation will bless your memory, which will be sacred to them.

NICHOLAS.

Text of Formal Reply of the Entente Allies to the Central Powers

THE reply of the Entente Allies to the peace proposals of the Central Powers was handed to the American Ambassador at Paris by Premier Briand, Dec. 30, 1916, and was at once forwarded by cable to President Wilson, who in turn transmitted it to the Central Powers. The note reached Berlin from the United States on Jan. 4, 1917, and was presented by Ambassador Gerard that day at noon; the Swiss Minister at Berlin had already presented an official copy on Jan. 2, which had come by way of Rome.

The reply was the result of prolonged conferences between the Foreign Ministers of the Entente Allies and a full interchange of views by the respective Governments. It is reported that the main draft was first written in French, and that the reference at the close to Belgium was added at the request of King Albert after the rest of the note had been completed.

The full official text of the reply is as follows:

The allied Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, and Serbia, united for the defense of the liberty of their peoples and faithful to engagements taken not to lay down their arms separately, have resolved to reply collectively to the pretended propositions of peace which were addressed to them

on behalf of the enemy Governments through the intermediary of the United States, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

Before making any reply, the allied powers desire particularly to protest against the two essential assertions of the notes of the enemy powers that pretend to throw upon the Allies responsibility for the war and proclaim the victory of the Central Powers. The allied Governments cannot admit an affirmation doubly inexact and which suffices to render sterile all tentative negotiations. The allied nations have sustained for thirty months a war they did everything to avoid. They have shown by their acts their attachment to peace. That attachment is as strong today as it was in 1914. But it is not upon the word of Germany, after the violation of its engagements, that the peace broken by her may be based.

A mere suggestion without a statement of terms, that negotiations should be opened, is not an offer of peace. The putting forward by the Imperial Government of a sham proposal lacking all substance and precision would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war manoeuvre. It is founded on calculated misinterpretation of the character of the struggle in the past, the present, and the future.

As for the past, the German note takes no account of the facts, dates, and figures, which establish that the war was desired, provoked, and declared by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

At The Hague Conference it was a German delegate who refused all proposals for disarmament. In July, 1914, it was Austria-Hungary, who, after having addressed to Serbia an unprecedented ultimatum, declared war upon her in spite of the satisfaction which had at once been accorded.

The Central Empires then rejected all attempts made by the Entente to bring about a pacific solution of a purely local conflict. Great Britain suggested a conference; France proposed an international commission; the Emperor of Russia asked the German Emperor to go to arbitration, and Russia and Austria-Hungary came to an understanding on the eve of the conflict. But to all these efforts Germany gave neither answer nor effect.

Belgium was invaded by an empire which had guaranteed her neutrality and which had the assurance to proclaim that treaties were "scraps of paper," and that "necessity knows no law."

At the present moment these sham offers on the part of Germany rest on the war map of Europe alone, which represents nothing more than a superficial and passing phase of the situation and not the real strength of the belligerents. A peace concluded upon these terms would be only to the advantage of the aggressors, who, after imagining that they would reach their goal in two months, discovered after two years that they could never attain it.

As for the future, the disasters caused by the German declaration of war and the innumerable outrages committed by Germany and her allies against both belligerents and neutrals demand penalties, reparation, and guarantees. Germany avoids mention of any of these.

In reality these overtures made by the Central Powers are nothing more than a calculated attempt to influence the future course of war and to end it by imposing a German peace. The object of these overtures is to create dissension in public opinion in the allied countries. But that public opinion has, in spite of all the sacrifices endured by the Allies, already given its answer with admirable firmness, and has denounced the empty pretense of the declaration of the enemy powers.

They [the peace overtures] have the further object of stiffening public opinion in Germany and in the countries allied to her—one and all severely tried by their losses, worn out by economic pressure and crushed by the supreme effort which has been imposed upon their inhabitants.

They endeavor to deceive and intimidate public opinion in neutral countries, whose inhabitants have long since made up their minds where the initial responsibilities lie and are far too enlightened to favor the designs of Germany by abandoning the defense of human freedom.

Finally, these overtures attempt to justify in advance in the eyes of the world a new series of crimes—submarine warfare, deportations, forced labor and forced enlistment of the inhabitants against their own countries, and violations of neutrality.

Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the allied Governments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere.

Once again the Allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationality and of the free existence of small States, so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations, and to afford the only effective guarantee for the future security of the world.

In conclusion, the allied powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war. In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European powers, of which Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guarantee of the powers, outside all European conflicts. She was, however, in spite of these treaties, the first to suffer the

aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian Government think it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the Entente Powers for right and justice.

Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality violated by Germany and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

On the 4th of August, 1914, in the Reichstag the German Chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice, contrary to the laws of nations, and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it. During two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages, and have been responsible for innumerable massacres, executions, and imprisonments.

At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

Belgium before the war asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her King and her Government have but one aim—the re-establishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, guarantees, and safeguards for the future.

Kaiser's New Year Order

The first official document that succeeded the issuance of the Entente reply was an address to the German Army and Navy by Emperor William on Dec. 31. Though doubtless written before the text of the reply had been made public, it bears upon the subject. The Kaiser's address was in the form of a general order to his soldiers and sailors as follows:

Again a year of war lies behind us, with hard fighting and sacrifices, rich in successes and victories. The hopes which our enemies put in 1916 have been foiled. All their assaults, east and west, have collapsed, owing to your bravery and devotion.

Our recent triumphal march through Rumania, has, by Divine Providence, again added imperishable laurels to your banners. The greatest naval battle this year was our victory in the Skagerrak and the gallant deeds of our submarines have secured for my navy glory and admiration forever.

You are victorious in all theatres of war on land and sea. A grateful Fatherland looks to you with unshakable confidence and proud reliance. The incomparable warlike spirit alive in your ranks, your tenacity, your never-slackening will to vanquish, your love of the Fatherland, are to me a guarantee that in the new year also victory will remain with our banners. God also in the future will be with us.

On the same day the King of Bavaria issued the following order:

If the enemy refuses the hand we offered him in the consciousness of our strength, we shall enforce the peace which he refuses. We approach with firm confidence the decision which the new year will bring us.

Kaiser's "Steel" Rejoinder

The German Emperor's direct comment upon the reply of the Entente Powers was published officially on Jan. 6 in the form of the following general order to the German Army and Navy:

Conjointly with the allied (Central Powers) rulers, I proposed to our enemies to enter forthwith into peace negotiations. Our enemies refused my offer. Their hunger for power desires Germany's destruction.

The war will be continued. Before God and humanity, I declare that on the Governments of our enemies alone falls the heavy responsibility for all the further terrible sacrifices from which I wished to save you.

With justified indignation at our enemies' arrogant crime and with determination to defend our holiest possessions and secure for the Fatherland a happy future, you will become as steel.

Our enemies did not want the understanding offered by me. With God's help our arms will enforce it. WILHELM, I. R.

Emperor Charles also issued an order on Jan. 6 to the Austro-Hungarian Army and Fleet in connection with the receipt of the reply from the Entente Allies. He declared that the Entente alone was to blame for the continuation of the war.

Two days later the same sentiments were echoed by the Sultan of Turkey in a proclamation to the army. Recalling the peace proposal of the Central Powers, the Sultan said:

The enemy countries, disregarding the serious intention and sublime spirit of our purpose, disdainfully rejected our offer, and we are obliged, with our allies, to continue the war, leaving to the enemy the moral and material responsibility of fresh bloodshed and the ruin of homes. * * * With the aid of the Almighty we shall obtain final victory and deliver our country from the greed of our enemies. Henceforth, with our allies, we will redouble our zeal and efforts in order, with the aid of God, to destroy our enemies everywhere.

Trend of Public Opinion

The Associated Press dispatches from

Berlin on Jan. 4 reported the effect of the Entente note upon German opinion in these words: "Sober second thought in official circles confirms the impression expressed on the day the press version of the note was received here, that the note puts an end for the present to all chances of peace, and Germany and her allies must buckle down to the task of continuing the struggle with all energy. This undercurrent of opinion is largely supported by the opinion expressed in the neutral press."

The answer had been foreshadowed by previous dispatches printed in Germany and throughout Central Europe. It therefore created no shock; nevertheless, the comments of the German press and publicists were extremely bitter. The semi-official Berlin Vossische Zeitung characterized the reply as "scornful," and added that "cold steel" must be Germany's rejoinder. The Tageblatt said it confirmed the fact that the Entente was bent upon the dismemberment of Germany and Austria. The Kreuz-Zeitung said it was an "insult," and the only reply Germany could give must be "with the sword." Vorwärts, the Socialist organ, said the refusal indicated that the Entente hoped to "lay Germany prostrate." The Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger said: "Every one will be surprised and shocked at the shallowness, levity, and mendacity of the reasons given for the refusal, and it is difficult to explain how ten serious men were able to affix their signatures to the document without blushing. Our answer can only be given on the battlefield."

In the Entente countries the reply was received by the press with practically unanimous approval. In the United States comment by public men and newspapers was colored by their previous sympathies, the preponderance of opinion being one of strong approval of the position the Allies had taken.

Origin of the Move

On Jan. 15, 1917, the German newspapers printed an autograph letter from the German Emperor to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg under date of Oct. 31, 1916, in which the Kaiser expressed his wish that peace proposals be initiated. The letter follows:

My Dear Bethmann:

I have since been turning over our conversation thoroughly in my mind. It is clear that the peoples in the enemy countries, who are kept in hard endurance of the war by lies and frauds and deluded by fighting and hatred, possess no men who are able or who have the moral courage to speak the word which will bring relief—to propose peace.

What is wanted is a moral deed to free the world, including neutrals, from the pressure which weighs upon all. For such a deed it is necessary to find a ruler who has a conscience, who feels that he is responsible to God, who has a heart for his own people and for those who are his enemies, who is indifferent to any possible willful misinterpretation of his act, and possesses the will to free the world from its sufferings.

I have the courage. Trusting in God, I shall dare to take this step. Please draft notes on these lines and submit them to me, and make all necessary arrangements without delay.

A characteristic English comment on this letter is an editorial in The London Telegraph of Jan. 15, 1917, as follows:

Where was the Kaiser's conscience or the conscience of the German military caste when for forty years they plotted and schemed for war? Did the Kaiser then feel his responsibility to God or did he then possess a heart for his own people and those of his enemies? To charge him with mere hypocrisy is to accuse him of much too small a vice. The truth is rather that if ever there was a ruler afflicted with the incurable malady known to the philosophers of old as "the lie in the soul," it is the monarch who dares to invoke the name of God in connection with a heartless sham.

He proclaims himself by implication as the only belligerent ruler with a conscience—he who sanctioned the preparation long years ago of plans for the invasion of Belgium and the deliberate and cold-blooded barbarities carried out by the German army of occupation in order to cow the people into submission.

He feels his responsibility to God—he who decorated the commander of the submarine which sank the Lusitania and did not interfere to save Nurse Cavell. He has a heart even for the peoples of his enemies—he who never spoke a word in restraint of the massacres of hundreds of thousands of Armenians. And he has the will to free the world from its sufferings, though at the outset he might have stopped the war with a gesture. That would, in truth, have been a "moral deed," which would have made his name famous forever, though the great machine of evil which he had created was even in August, 1914, getting fast beyond his control.

But the idea of the supreme war lord of the world stepping down into the arena as a

beneficent prince of peace because he was growing tired of his victories or because the weight of his armor had become irksome to him and his caprice longed for another rôle—this was a change, indeed, which must have caused his Chancellor some troubled hours.

German Semi-Official Comments on the Entente Reply

THE impression created in German official circles by the Entente's reply was reflected in two important semi-official utterances. One of these was a statement made on Jan. 2 to the Overseas News Agency by Dr. Hammann, who until the turn of the year had been Director of the Intelligence Department of the German Foreign Office. The statement was sent entire from Berlin to New York by wireless, a sufficient evidence of its approval by the German Government. Dr. Hammann said:

If I am to express an opinion in a few words, it is this: Instead of taking place around a peace table, the Entente's deliberations took place on a Judge's chair. Apparently the Entente forgot nothing that could possibly influence neutrals against us.

The point of the accusation, however, to which the largest space is allotted in the Entente note is "the martyrdom of Belgium." But if one desires to pass judgment on "the martyrdom of Belgium" one must speak beforehand regarding "neutral and loyal Belgium," and this Belgium had ceased to exist long before the war. I do not want to speak about the documents which we found in Brussels and which have been published. They can be read by everybody. I only wish to single out one point which up to now has not been sufficiently considered—the report made by Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, dated Dec. 23, 1911.

This clear-sighted statesman then explained forcibly that already at that time the Entente was inspired by nothing but the one thought of encircling Germany from the north. As proof of this, Baron Greindl quoted the outcry started in Paris and London a short time before, when the Dutch plan to fortify Flushing had become known. Baron Greindl then said: "The reason why they wished that the Scheldt remain without defense was not concealed. In this they admitted their purpose to be able to transport an English garrison to Antwerp without hindrance, thus creating in Belgium a basis for operations in the direction of the lower Rhine and Westphalia."

Responsibility of Belgium

Baron Greindl reported that the plan was then changed in such a manner that the English auxiliary army was not to be landed on the Belgian coast, but in the adjoining French ports. This same plan of an English landing in order to threaten Germany was equally hinted at as imminent by Lord Roberts during the last Moroccan crisis. In such circumstances it most certainly would have been an easy thing for Belgium, after the German question in 1914, (whether Belgium would permit the passage of German troops,) to take her armies back to Antwerp and then let the Germans, under protest, march through the country.

How little such action would have violated the spirit of existing conditions may be understood if one recalls the secret clauses of the treaties of 1831. In them certain agreements from former times were maintained, which reserve, as well to England as to Germany, the right to occupy a Belgian fortress. In 1887 a great English newspaper—if I am not mistaken, it was The Standard—still declared that employment on the part of Germany of the right of way through Belgium could not be taken as in violation of Belgian neutrality.

The principle of nationality plays a large part in the answer of the Entente. No nation is better able to understand this principle than the German, for no great civilized nation has suffered so much, has been forced to struggle so greatly, because of being suppressed and dismembered by neighboring races. Equally, no single great nation has less to fear from the application of this principle of nationalities than the German. Germany would absolutely consent if this principle of nationalities were carried out in Egypt, India, Morocco, Ireland, by the country in power, not to speak of Russia's nationalities.

Germany has been brutally treated for centuries by her neighbors, despite this principle of nationalities. Yet in 1866, fifty years ago, that is, in the Nikolsburg peace, (closing the war between Prussia and Austria,) a clause was inserted, upon the demand of Napoleon III., which left open for the southern German States the conclusion of a separate confederation. The leading, but unavowed, idea was then to found a new Rhine Bund.

Rumania and Greece

As to the free existence of small nations, this idea, too, has found a very strange illustration during the war. Only a few weeks have elapsed since a leading English Minister termed the misfortune of the Rumanians plainly a "gross blunder." By this "blunder" a whole nation has been pushed into misery. Rumania has been dragged into a

great war by all sorts of dark machinations. And then look at Greece! There the Entente has occupied the ports, the railroads, cable and postal stations and whole districts of the country, all against the law of nations. There the Entente has simply taken what is needed and by blockade and hunger has forced the Greeks to surrender those things which the Entente was unable to take.

As to the reproach that Germany in the decisive week of July, 1914, declined the British proposal of a conference and thus made war unavoidable: The proposal was made July 26 by Grey. The meaning of it was that delegates of France, Italy, and Germany should meet with Grey in conference and try to find a way out of a difficult situation. The first condition making the holding of such a conference possible should have been that the Russian Cabinet declare its consent, but it was answered July 27 in an evasive manner and referred to conversations with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) as having begun under the most favorable auspices.

The following day Grey agreed to the German proposal that a direct understanding between Vienna and St. Petersburg would result in quicker and better action. Thus Grey, on July 28, telegraphed to Goschen (British Ambassador at Berlin): "But as long as there is a prospect of a direct exchange of views between Austria and Russia I should suspend every other suggestion, as I entirely agree that it is the most preferable method of all."

Agitation in France

I can only advise every one to read the English Blue Book if he wants to be informed about these matters. But to my mind it seems to be altogether wrong to look for the real causes of the war in the events during the last weeks of July, 1914. Then, perhaps, the last impulse for war was given, but the real cause must be found a considerable time before.

Since the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904 a complete literature had sprung up in France, in which openly and loudly the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine was discussed, and everything said in order to suggest to the French the idea of Germany's inferiority. The Entente's note points out that at the last peace conference Germany treated the proposition to disarm with distrust. But Germany knew then pertinently that the proposition was mainly directed against her existence.

Russia, after the economic regulation that followed the war with Japan, had worked with increasing zeal for the preparedness of her army. When Germany employed the surplus of her youth for military service, France, in order to surpass us, introduced a three-year service, thus sapping her capital of vital forces. Six months before the beginning of the war the French military specialists published openly discussions regarding the reasons for billions and billions of French money streaming into Russia and the conditions under which France undertook the construction of strategical railroads in Russia.

In this literature, it was explained, with all the circumstances, that not Warsaw but Grodno and Koyno would be the base for Russian deployment, because from there the Prussian army corps in Königsberg and Allenstein could most quickly be rolled up, and thus the road to Berlin could be opened.

In August, 1914, the attempt was made at least to make things go this way, and today they want to persuade the nations of the world that Germany prepared herself, not for protection against an aggressive coalition, but in order to annihilate France.

Conquest of Constantinople

The same people who promised to Russia the conquest and possession of Constantinople dare to assert that Germany has aggressive intentions. Of course, the conquest of Constantinople, which was announced by Trepoff (the Russian Premier) in the Duma, is passed in silence in the Entente note, just as they, in a discussion of diplomatic events in July, 1914, elegantly slide over the decisive event—that brusque intervention in all attempts at mediation by the Russian mobilization, which was even repeatedly dissuaded by the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

Do I think that under these circumstances the moral indignation in the tone of the Entente note is sincere? Most certainly I do. I am of the same opinion as Bernard Shaw, and consider the sincerity of this moral indignation as a new instance of the providential harmony between the interests and moral and political ideas of England. We know this moral indignation from history, when the Prussians and Austrians marched into Schleswig-Holstein in order to assist their countrymen and fight on the side of the Schleswig-Holstein irredentists for the independence of the German race; then Lord Palmerston and Lord Shaftsbury, in the lower and upper houses, manifested the same moral indignation. They also immediately found the same sincere words as "outrage," "violence," "most cowardly," and "frightful atrocities."

Sincere was Sir Edward Grey's indignation when, on July 29, 1914, he received from the German Chancellor the suggestion that Germany, if English neutrality were guaranteed, would enter into an obligation not to aspire to territorial extension at France's cost if Germany were victorious in the war. At that time Grey declared this proposal as most shameful, an offer of base traffic at France's expense.

Entente and Public Opinion

The tangible point in the German peace proposal was that Germany declared her readiness to communicate her peace conditions in conference with her adversaries. The Entente has declined this proposal. To me it seems evident that the Entente, when doing this, felt seriously concerned and greatly depressed on account of the impression this

refusal of the German peace offer must make on the neutral world.

This is clearly indicated by the tone of the Entente note. It is exactly as if the Entente were in a certain sense afraid to listen to the conditions of the Central Powers. Are those men who gave to the Entente note its particular tone perhaps afraid that these conditions of the Central Powers are much too sensible and moderate for them, before their nations, who long for peace, to undertake the responsibility of declining those individual conditions?

At all events, our adversaries would have acted more frankly if they had flatly and plainly said: "We will wait because we still hope that we need not negotiate but can dictate the terms of peace." In order to avoid this awkward avowal, the Entente now takes the attitude of the judge of the world. But all that the Entente obtains by this proceeding is that its guilt for the continuation of the war unmistakably in the eyes of the whole world is not diminished, but increased.

I do not know the official peace plan, but I do know what every German, what every citizen in the countries allied with us feels at this hour. Of such overbearing language there need be no discussion.

Dr. Ludwig Stein's View

Another German comment of official significance is that of Dr. Ludwig Stein, the foreign political expert of the powerful Ullstein papers, including the Vossische Zeitung. On Jan. 3 he said:

The answer is no answer at all, but documentary evidence of the Entente's embarrassment. When one has no matters of fact to recite one takes refuge in and behind historic diffuseness and verbosities. Examination into the question of the blame for the war, which introduces the answer, cannot be made by one of the parties concerned, but must be left to nonpartisan judgment. President Wilson was quite right when he said the causes of the war were shrouded in darkness.

This note is not addressed to Germany, but to the neutrals, on one hand, and is for home consumption on the other. The historical retrospect should be left either to the professional historians or else to a nonpartisan court, but never to the interested parties, who naturally always assert the exact contrary, as in the case of the famous answer to the telegram which precipitated the Franco-Prussian war. It was not the dispatch, however, but Sedan which ended the war.

The historic start has no bearing on the winding up of a war. If there is any logic to be seen in the Entente answer it is only in that the Entente asserts that it has prepared a "hunger Sedan" for us.

Quite apart from the fact that the attempt to starve out 180,000,000 people, including women and children, is quite contrary to the heroic, the granary of Rumania will insure that, while we may perhaps hunger, we shall never be starved out.

The note proceeds from two premises—that we started the war and that we claim to have won it. What hurts the Entente most is the premise that the Central Powers assert that they are victor, the Entente refusing to consider the actual victor as the political victor as well. Here, however, is where the work of President Wilson comes in. President Wilson's proposal is to find a way so that both groups will confess and admit that there are neither victorious nor vanquished in this war. Mr. Wilson's logical train of thought was quite right—that no longer the sword, but diplomacy, must have the word. President Wilson demands decision of the war through ink, the Entente through blood.

It has struck me that always and only Belgium is spoken of, which represents only England's interest; in the note nothing is said of Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, &c., because England has no interest there, but only Russia. The key to the meaning of this obvious omission in the Entente answer is furnished by a conversation I had recently in which my informant quoted a Russian Ambassador, whom he had met shortly before, as saying that Russia did not dream of restoring the small Balkan States, but, on the contrary, that, now that the Central Powers had swept away the monarchs from the Balkans, it had thereby been made easier for Russia to make all the Balkan States into a Russian province.

In this light the Entente note does not jibe with the theoretical professions regarding the principle of nationalities. This principle covers and extends only to England's intentions, which include only Belgium, but is not consistent with Russian interests and intentions, Russia being purely a conqueror, a State which suppresses all small nations, and desires to crush even ancient Turkey and make Constantinople a war goal. How can one say in the same breath, "Save the small States and conquer and crush Turkey?"

President Wilson still has open to him Paragraph 3 of The Hague Convention, which specifically states that an offer of mediation is not to be regarded as an unfriendly act. This convention is still in force, having been signed by all the States. The Boer war called The Hague Convention into life, and if President Wilson appeals to the Czar, reminding him of his work, the Czar won't murder the favorite child of his own brain.

From the tone of the note there is, to be sure, apparently no way left open to peace. Lloyd George's political trinity—restitution, reparation, and guarantees—bars all doors. The fact, however, that the Entente does not demand that we make known our specific peace conditions may be because that would be like requiring us to placard them on the billboards. The conditions can be made known only at a preliminary conference such as President Wilson proposed, the conditions to be tentatively felt out there.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Preparing for the Final Decision

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

THE Central Powers made their peace offer upon the claim that their war aims have been attained. They support this claim by pointing to the present European war map. The rejection of this offer by the Entente Powers is based upon the contention that the map of Europe as it looks today represents merely an insignificant and momentary phase of the situation, and not the real strength of the belligerents. The war aims fixed and announced by the Allies presuppose a victory which the future is expected to bring them. Therefore, the war goes on.

Such, from a military standpoint, is the logical necessity. The war must be continued until it definitely decides whether the war map does represent only an insignificant and temporary phase of the situation or the real strength of the belligerents. The war must decide the justification or the inadmissibility of the expectation of future victory. It will continue until the force of arms has brought about a situation which will compel recognition from both sets of belligerents as the decisive basis for peace negotiations. And that is the sum and substance of the military axiom that only war can lead to peace—that is, to a peace whose duration is guaranteed.

The Entente's rejection of the Central Powers' peace proffer would have been beyond all criticism had it been openly and frankly voiced in this form:

"We are not in a position, in view of the present military situation, even to sit down with you at the same table for a talk about peace, for we are firmly convinced that we will yet attain decisive victory. In this unshakable expectation we are preparing for a new blow which, true to our conviction and our firm will, is to decide the war on the field of battle in our favor! We cannot talk of peace today because we mean to force it tomorrow upon a thoroughly beaten foe!"

In any case the military outlook is clear once more. The net result of the peace notes, which of late have overshadowed interest in the military developments, is this: That this war, too, is to be decided upon the battlefield.

The Rumanian Campaign

The development of the military situation during the period which is the subject of this review (up to the middle of January) was again confined almost exclusively to the Rumanian campaign.

One of the war aims of the Central Allies is the consolidation of the communication with the Near East by way of the Balkans. The Rumanian campaign represents the definite regulation of the conditions in the Balkans. This regulation has during the latest phase of the war developed progress as follows:

The Rumanian campaign, as far as the Dobrudja and Small and Great Wallachia are concerned, is ended. With the occupation of Rimnicu-Sarat, on the road from Buzeu to Focsani, by the Teuton Ninth Army, under General von Falkenhayn, the last line of defense before Braila, Galatz, and Focsani was pierced. On the Buzeu road the Russo-Rumanian forces had once more rallied for an energetic stand. For five days the battle raged, (Dec. 23-27, 1916.) It ended in the capture of Rimnicu-Sarat.

On Jan. 5 the Teutonic Allies took Braila, the important Rumanian Danube port which, with Galatz, formed the only Rumanian water communication with Russia after the fall of the Black Sea port Constanza.

Braila, situated in the loop of the Danube, on the river's left bank, has an adequate port and is the most important export harbor for the Wallachian grain. It is, further, the terminus of the railroad lines from Wallachia and Moldavia as well as of the shipping lines from Constantinople and Odessa.

With Braila the south bank of the Sereth also fell to the invaders. The occupation of Focsani, chief bulwark of the Sereth line, sixteen kilometers west of the Sereth River, rendered this line untenable for the combined Russian and Rumanian forces.

The Teutonic advance, in the plan of the defenders, was to be brought to a standstill in front of the strongly fortified Sereth position. The Russians launched a powerful counteroffensive along the twenty-five-kilometer front between Focsani and Fundeni, and, indeed, regained some ground at one point of the line. However, during the course of these battles southeast of Focsani, the left wing of Falkenhayn's Ninth Army pushed forward in the area west of Focsani and reached Odobesti Mountain, whose strongly fortified peak was taken by storm.

This brought Focsani fortress itself under the attackers' flanking fire, which decided the stronghold's fate.

Importance of Focsani

Focsani is strategically important because of its geographical position and its rail communications, which extend as far as the Bukowina and the capital of that crown land, Czernowitz, and, across the Carpathians, into Transylvania. The city is a station on the railroad Bucharest-Buzeu-Itzkani-Czernowitz. From Focsani the railroad runs first along the Sereth in Northern Moldavia and then turns westward at Suczawa into the Bukowina. About sixty kilometers to the north of Focsani a branch rail runs northwestward through the Carpathian Pass, Gyimes, into Transylvania.

Focsani forms one of the main pivotal points of the great line of operation, Bucharest-Buzeu-Jassy-Czernowitz. It is at the same time the left point of support of the whole fortified Sereth line, which was designed to block the road of invasion from the area between the Carpathians and the Danube to the north. Focsani, in fact, had been fortified as a point of defense against a possible Russian invasion. The ring of forts, which adjoins the Milcovu River and has a diameter of from six to eight kilometers, surrounds the city to the north and east. To the west there is an opening. Through this opening the victors entered the city.

The right wing of Falkenhayn's army, after completely defeating the defenders in the five days' battle of Jan. 4-8, on a front of twenty-five kilometers, had driven them out of their positions on the east bank of the Putna and subsequently across the Sereth. This meant the piercing of the Sereth front on its southern end, and the consequence is that the Russians are now forced to fall back to the Pruth line.

The Teutonic allies' front in Moldavia, Rumania's northern province, now stretches in an almost straight line from northwest to southeast. It comprises:

1. The Gerok army, forming the right wing of the army group under General von Koevess.
2. The army group of Arz von Straussenburg.
3. The army under Krafft von Delmensingen.
4. The army under General von Morgen, which forms the right wing of the Ninth Army and the right of Field Marshal von Mackensen's forces.
5. The Danube army under General Kosch.
6. The Dobrudja army under the Bulgarian General Nezeroff.

The artillery of the Dobrudja army since Jan. 14 has been battering the fortifications and military works of Galatz, as well as the railroad station and the railroad bridge near the city, from the Dobrudja bank of the Danube. This means that the attack against Galatz from the east has begun. To the southwest the Danube army is marching on the city. At this writing (Jan. 15) this army stands some six miles below Galatz, at Vadena.

Fighting on Dvina Front

The Russians are at present endeavor-

MAP OF EASTERN RUMANIA, SHOWING REGION SWEPT BY GERMAN ARMIES. THE BLACK LINE INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT ON JAN. 15, 1917

ing to relieve the irresistible pressure against their Carpathian and Transylvanian fronts by launching attacks at other points of the far-flung battle line in the East.

Winter makes possible an action on a large scale on the Dvina front, where since the disastrous collapse of the Russian Spring offensive in 1916 comparative calm has prevailed.

The new Russian offensive southwest of Riga is, in fact, a repetition of previous efforts. Last Winter Kuropatkin, then in command of the northern end of the Russian western front, tried by similar methods to pierce the German lines, with Mitau as his goal. The failure of this attempt, which had cost the Russians the bloodiest sacrifices, cost Kuropatkin his official head.

The battle area here comprises the swampy terrain extending eastward as far as Riga, southward to Mitau, and westward to Tukkum. Through it flows the Aa, which empties into Babit Lake. The immediate fighting objective is the village of Kalnzem.

The Russian attacks were extended along the Dvina front as far as Lake Narotch, in the district of Dvinsk. Violent artillery duels continue to rage between Riga and Friedrichstadt, and near Dvinsk a small island in the Dvina was first captured by the Teutons, then retaken by the Muscovites. Through the occupation of this island the Germans had frustrated the Russian plan to break through at that point. When the Russians regained it, the German lines had been so firmly and thoroughly consolidated that every onslaught against them broke down. Mitau, the objective of the Russian offensive, lies on the railroad Riga-Mitau-Libau, which constitutes the main rear communication of the Germans.

From a military standpoint the present operations in the swampy regions of the Aa River cannot be characterized as anything but local enterprises. Last Winter the Russians could not resist the temptation of trying to assume the offensive, taking advantage of the fact that the extreme frost had converted the swamps into firm attacking ground. At that time, too, Hindenburg had withdrawn to the heights circling the region and thence had beaten off all attacks.

According to the official Petrograd report of Jan. 10, the Russians took in the fighting around Babit Lake twenty-one heavy guns and eleven light cannon. But this success, too, is incapable of exerting

any serious influence upon the further development of the Russian offensive on that front. Thus far there has not been the slightest sign of any effect of the Russian Riga offensive upon the situation on the Sereth front. The Rumanian campaign goes on entirely independent of any offensives the Russians may undertake on any other part of the front.

The Russian "feeler" put out against the German lines in the east, with the view to finding a weak spot, was unsuccessful. In spite of the use of powerful effectives in Rumania, the German east front is still strong enough to beat off attacks at any point.

War Conference at Rome

The Entente Powers recently held a war council in Rome. The importance of the conference is illustrated by the very fact that the British Premier, Lloyd George, personally went to the Tiber city; heretofore the Italian ally had hardly been honored by such attention. As for the plans and decisions of the council, the details are naturally kept secret. It is reported that three main problems were discussed and solved: Greece, the military operations in Macedonia, and a more comprehensive and united conduct of war.

Indications are that the Macedonian front is to be included in the unity of the Entente war conduct. From the latest joint ultimatum to Greece such intention may well be deduced. This ultimatum aims at the elimination of the Greek army as a possible factor in threatening the allied Saloniki expedition. The Greek army is to be withdrawn from Macedonia and Thessalonica and concentrated in the Peloponnesus, which means that it is to be placed under Entente control.

Should the Allies have really decided upon a concerted campaign in Macedonia, "military expediency" may be named as a basis for the Entente ultimatium. Manifestly the Rome conference discussed the probability of the Teutons' turning their attention to the Macedonian front after the completion of the Rumanian campaign. Such a probability suggests to the Allies to safeguard the rear of their Saloniki expedition.

On the west front there has been comparative calm of late. There was a flare-up of fighting activity, such as the British advance against the German positions at Seres, north of the Ancre. But that was all.

However, from the inflexible confidence which the Entente professes to have in the future, and from their expressed will to carry the war to a successful conclusion, it may be safely asserted that the final decision of the war will fall in the west. For this final decision both sides are now feverishly preparing. All signs point to the bloodiest and last struggle of this terrible conflict on that front in the coming Spring.

[American View]

The Month's Military Developments

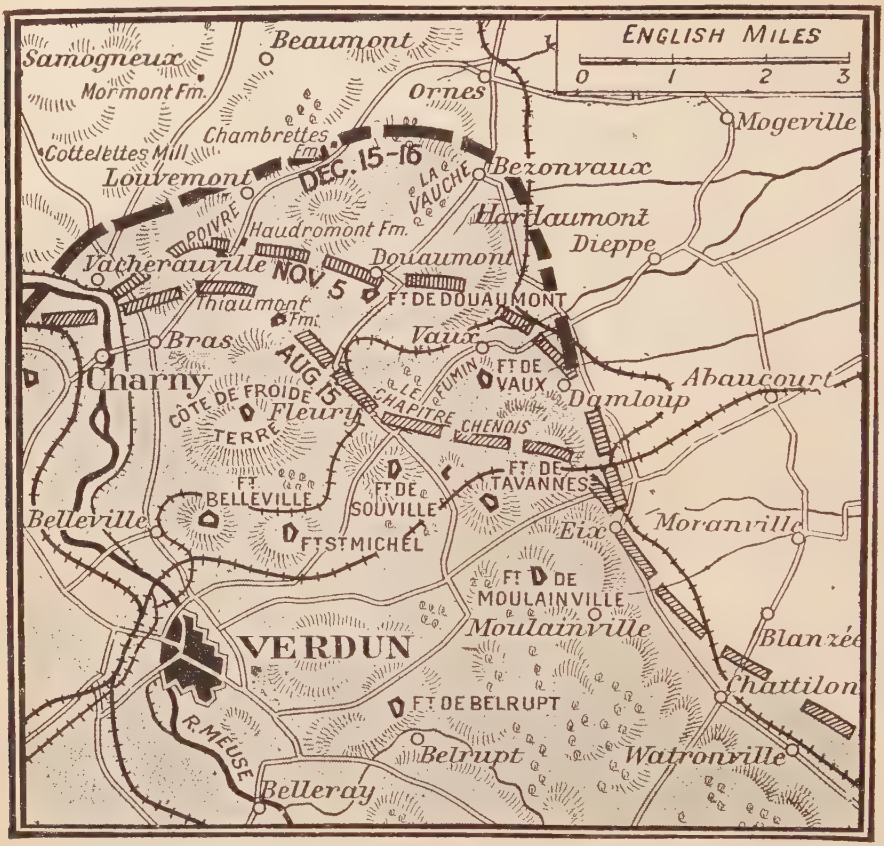
From December 15, 1916, to January 15, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

DURING the month just passed there have been but three military movements of importance — a French thrust at Verdun, which was entirely successful; the continuance of the German campaign against Rumania, and a sudden blow by the Russians against the German lines in the Riga sector, the fate of which still hangs in the balance. I have stated these in their chronological order, and probably in the order of their importance.

The French thrust against the German lines before Verdun was a true triumph



SCENE OF FRENCH VICTORIES ON VERDUN SECTOR. (SEE ALSO ARTICLE ON PAGE 828)

of French artillery over that of the Germans, and may well be an augury of future fighting on the western front. It is this fact that gives it its importance. If the war is ever fought to a military decision, it is almost axiomatic that the decision must come on the western front. Von Hindenburg, the apostle of a German war in the east, may find in the east excellent opportunities for dramatic, spectacular efforts. Such efforts, by very reason of their spectacular character, will undoubtedly make their appeal both to neutrals and to the German people. But it is not to be gainsaid that this appeal is deceptive.

To judge of the outcome of the great war from the amount of territory conquered is to deceive one's self. The very basis of judgment is wrong, and the judgment itself must be at fault as a consequence. Particularly is this true when the territory occupied is that of one of the lesser belligerents. Napoleon was before Moscow, and if men had judged from the map there would have been no question as to who was the victor. But a year or two later came the surrender of Paris and the exile of Napoleon to Elba. In the present war we have seen the Germans all but eliminate the Russian Army and occupy Poland as far east as the Pinsk marshes. But the territory gained has not, as far as events have yet determined, given Germany any particular advantage.

Germany is the mainspring of the forces of the Central Powers, and to defeat them the Allies must defeat Germany. On this point there will not be the slightest dispute. The German Army is in the west. A total of 120 divisions have been positively identified on the western front, and it is certain that these

constitute the bulk of the German Army in the field. And as the German Army is in the west, and the German Army must be defeated before the Allies can be victorious, it must also be recognized that the decision, if decision there be, will be found on the western front. Once the western situation is solved, the eastern situation will solve itself. In fact, there will be no eastern question to solve, as there will be an immediate and total collapse the very minute the army in the west is decisively defeated. It is therefore necessary to scan every movement in the west with an attention not necessary of the events of the east if we would frame an opinion of the importance of the various moves.

French Success of Dec. 15-16

To return to the French attack in the Verdun sector: The object was the ridge of Louvemont. This ridge forms the main defensive line on the east bank of the river. There are individual points south of this ridge which are capable of sustained defense, as the French proved after the Louvemont position fell into German hands; but the only continuous line of defense on the east side of the Meuse is the Louvemont ridge. The French began their attack on Hill 304 on the west bank, but their artillery in the meantime was pounding the German lines across the stream. For three days the artillery kept up its preparation. Then the attack was suddenly shifted to the east bank and the infantry sent forward. Pepper Hill, the most eastern point of the Louvemont ridge, fell into their hands immediately. This success exposed the German gun positions about the village of Louvemont and at the same time brought the German trenches near the town under an enfilade fire from the French infantry. The village was therefore given up and the French infantry swept on. From there they struck due east, and in thirty-six hours took the Farm of Chambrettes and the village of Bezonvaux. Here they rested. Many guns were taken, many others destroyed, and nearly 10,000 unwounded prisoners were left in French hands.

There is ample food for reflection in this attack, as many factors entering into it are positively known. In the first place there was no material disparity in numbers between the attacking force and that of the defenders. Such as there was, was in German favor. The French used four divisions in the attack, the Germans five in the defense. All elements of terrain were strongly in favor of the defense. And yet so accurate was the fire of the French artillery, and so devastating, that the French infantry were able to seize in less than two days' fighting all that the Germans had taken between Feb. 26 and April 9. We can with small effort recall the ferocity of the fighting that occurred in this sector of the battle of Verdun between those dates, and we know in a general way how very great the German losses were. And yet, with a loss in killed and wounded not equaling the number of prisoners captured, the French have taken away every foot of valuable territory the Germans occupied during those terrible days of last Spring.

The attack was delivered over a front of only six miles, held by nearly 100,000 men, or over 16,000 to the mile. It is perfectly evident then that the German line had not been weakened in order to use the men in other fields. The Germans were outfought man to man and gun to gun. That is the whole thing in a nutshell.

I would call attention particularly to the number of prisoners captured. This number is 10 per cent. of the total force engaged, and the surrender must then have been made rather readily. It has been frequently asserted that the quality of the German soldiers has rapidly deteriorated, that although they fight well under attack, when on defense they are unable to stand the pounding of the allied artillery and infantry as did the soldiers of a year ago. This view seems to be confirmed by recent events at Verdun. Nothing but a serious fall in morale can explain the readiness to surrender which marked this fighting.

As to the military result obtained, it may be summed up in few words. This success restores to the French all the important positions on the east bank of the river, precluding any future attempt by

the Germans to storm the Verdun positions. Immune from attack, the line here may now be the scene of a French offense in the Spring.

The Situation in Rumania

The close of last month's review saw the Germans and the Russians fighting on the north bank of the Buzeu River. The Germans had just forced the crossing and driven the Rumanians back from their defensive positions on the northern bank. The Germans kept up this pressure relentlessly, extending their movement into Dobrudja so that their line extended from the Transylvanian frontier to the Black Sea. During the month the entire line has moved forward. Dobrudja has been cleared as the first step. A stiff resistance was made, first at Tulcea and later at Macin; but both points eventually fell, and all of Dobrudja passed into German hands. On the western side of the Danube the Russians fell back slowly.

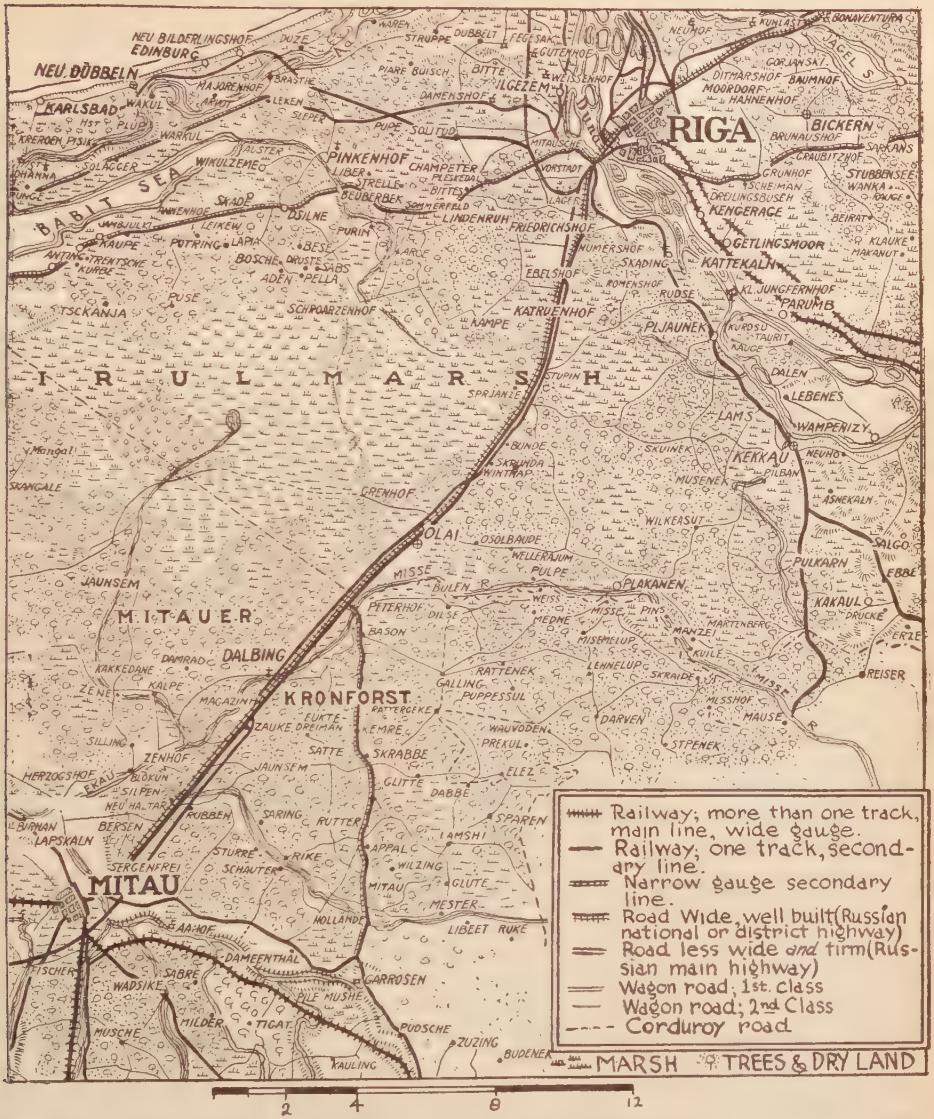
Once the line of the Buzeu was made untenable, the next defensive position that appeared was the line of the Sereth, from its mouth northward as far as the Trotus, and from there to the Transylvanian border. But the Germans were not to reach the Sereth without heavy fighting and great resistance.

The first line the Russians elected to defend was that of the Rimnicu River. This is a small stream, generally paralleling the course of the Buzeu. It possesses no strength from a defensive standpoint. At the same time, it took the Germans a longer time to force this position than it had the Buzeu. After a week's heavy fighting, however, the river was crossed, and the town of Rimnicu Sarat was taken. The Russians retired further northward toward the eventual position. In their retirement they pivoted on the Danube, where their left flank rested at a point some distance south of Braila.

The complete conquest of Dobrudja, however, exposed the Russian left to a fire from three directions. From the eastern side of the Danube it was under fire from the flank and rear. From the west bank it was facing the German trenches. It became necessary then to draw back the left, as had been done with the centre and right. Accordingly Braila was abandoned and the retirement toward the north bank of the Sereth began. In the meantime the German centre was pushing northward, and finally took the important village of Foscani. But here the advance was checked. Along the Putna River fierce fighting developed. The Russians were attempting to prevent the forward movement of the German left, which was striving to throw the Russians first across this stream, after which there was in view the Oituz, and finally the Trotus River. But the Putna has proved a serious intermediate stumbling block. The Germans have crossed it twice, but each time have been thrown back to the southern bank. As far as can be judged from present reports the Russians still hold the northern bank safely.

Crucial Line on the Sereth

Returning to the situation at the mouth of the Sereth: On this part of the line the Russians have reached the position which it is absolutely necessary to defend. Vadeni, near the bend in the Danube, has fallen, and the Germans are before Galatz, but on the south side of the Sereth. The difficulties which the Germans have experienced on the smaller streams indicate that either the German attack is losing its force or the Russians have been considerably strengthened. The latter is by far the more probable. The speed of the Rumanian collapse undoubtedly took Russia unawares, just as it did the rest of the world. There was not sufficient time to throw into Rumania a large enough army, with its artillery equipment, to make a material impression on the German attack. But when it was seen that the retirement was to be on a large scale, another position was selected nearer the Russian bases, where the distances to be covered were considerably less. There has been full time to prepare this position for defense and to equip it with artillery supplies. Just what this line may be is not certain, but the probability is that it is the line of the Sereth and the Trotus. Here, then, if at all, we may expect to see the German drive come to an abrupt halt.



SCENE OF NEW RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RIGA AND THE DVINA RIVER

The third important move of the month has been the Russian attempt to advance in the Riga district. This movement is still in full swing as this review closes. Up to the present time it has been moderately successful.

Considerable ground has been gained and a number of heavy guns taken, showing that the Russians have reached some of the German main positions. The Russian object is the great German base of Mitau, the only base in this region.

The other fronts have remained inactive during the month by reason of the advent of Winter.

The Situation in Greece

TWO more ultimatums have been presented by the Entente Allies to King Constantine and the Greek Government since that of Dec. 14, (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, January, 1917, pp. 632-634.) The root of the trouble lies in the fact that King Constantine and his Government are believed by the Entente Allies to be waiting for an opportunity to attack the allied army in Macedonia. On the other hand, King Constantine's grievances against the Entente are that it is supporting the revolutionary movement which—with M. Venizelos, ex-Premier and pro-Entente leader at its head—has set up a Provisional, or National, Government at Saloniki, and that the Allies are unjustly blockading all Greece except Saloniki and the islands which are now under the control of the Venizelist Government or occupied by the Allies. The extent of the blockade is shown in the order published in the Journal Officiel, Paris, Dec. 8:

The French Republic, being in agreement with its allies in declaring a blockade of Greece, herewith announces the conditions under which it will take place. The blockade is declared to be effective from Dec. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock in the morning.

The blockade applies to the coasts of Greece, including the islands of Euboea, Zante, and Santa Maura, from a point situated 39.20 degrees north latitude and 20.20 degrees east of Greenwich, to a point situated 39.50 degrees north latitude and 22.50 degrees east of Greenwich, as well as the islands at present under the dependency or occupation of the Greek royalist authorities.

Ships of neutral powers in the blockaded ports may come out freely until Dec. 10, at 8 o'clock in the morning. Orders have been given to the Commander in Chief of the naval forces which are taking charge of the blockade to inform the local authorities of the present declaration.

After the Greek Goverment had presented a note on Dec. 18 protesting against the allied naval authorities aiding the extension of the revolutionary movement and after the Entente had insisted that the movement was justified by the fact that a majority of the populations of the Greek islands had voluntarily transferred their allegiance from the Royal to the National Government, the Allies took the most drastic step up to date by presenting their third ultimatum. Signed by the representatives of the three protecting powers, (Great Britain, France, and Russia,) and presented on Dec. 31, it reads:

The representatives of the powers guaranteeing Greece, having received with satisfaction the reply made to their communication of Dec. 1, 1916, have the honor to present to the Greek Government, by order of their Governments, the following demands for guarantee and reparation:

1. Guarantees: The Greek forces in Continental Greece, in Euboea, and generally in all the territories situated outside the Peloponnesus, shall be reduced to the number of men absolutely necessary to retain order and for the police. All armaments and munitions exceeding those corresponding to this force shall be transported to the Peloponnesus, as well as all machine guns and artillery of the Greek Army with their ammunition, so that, once the transportation has been effected, there shall not remain any artillery, machine guns, or mobilization material outside the Peloponnesus.

The period for the execution of these directions shall be settled in common accord as soon as the Greek Government has accepted in principle the removal of the troops and war material. The military situation thus established shall be maintained as long as the allied Governments deem it necessary, under the supervision of delegates specially accredited by them for this purpose to the Greek authorities.

2. Prohibition of all meetings and all assemblages of reservists in Greece north of the Isthmus of Corinth, and the rigorous enforcement of the measure prohibiting all civilians from carrying arms.

3. Restoration of the various allied controls in the form which shall be determined in agreement with the Hellenic Government in order to render them as little embarrassing as possible.

4. Reparation: All persons at present detained, whether for political reasons or on charges of high treason, plotting sedition, or similar offenses, shall be immediately released. Those who may have unjustly suffered in consequence of the events of Dec. 1 and 2 and the following days shall be indemnified after inquiries have been made by agreement between the Hellenic Government and the Governments of the Allies.

5. The command of the First Army Corps shall be removed unless the Royal Government establishes to the satisfaction of the allied Governments that such measure should be applied to some other General on whom

RE-EDUCATING A MAIMED SOLDIER

A Crippled Belgian Soldier Learning to Make Lace Under the Patient Guidance of an Elderly Belgian Woman

(Central News Photo Service.)

FRENCH WAR CRIPPLES AT WORK

One-Armed and One-Legged, Yet an Expert Die Maker

Wielding a Shovel with Artificial Hands

Efficient Despite the Loss of His Right Arm

He Can Wield the Pick with Skill and Force

responsibility should fall for the order given on Dec. 1.

6. The Greek Government shall present formal apologies to the Ministers of the Allies, and the British, French, Italian, and Russian flags shall be formally saluted in a public square in Athens in the presence of the Minister of War and the assembled garrison.

At the same time the undersigned Ministers are charged by their Governments to remind the Greek Government that military necessities may lead them shortly to land troops at Itea and take them to Saloniki by the Larissa Railway.

The guaranteeing powers inform the Greek Government that they reserve to themselves full liberty of action in the event of the attitude of the Government of his Majesty the King subsequently giving them further subjects of complaint.

On their part they formally pledge themselves to the Hellenic Government not to permit armed forces of the Government of National Defense to profit by the retirement of the royal troops from Thessaly and Epirus to cross the neutral zone established in agreement with the Greek Government.

In bringing the foregoing to the cognizance of the Royal Government the undersigned have the honor to inform it by order of their Governments that the blockade of the Greek coasts will be maintained until satisfaction has been accorded on all the points indicated above.

King Constantine's Government refused to concede all these demands, but expressed its willingness to discuss those it could not accept. The general decision of the Government, after the King had on Jan. 4 consulted various advisers, including former Premiers, was not to declare war on the Entente, but to submit passively to all coercion, relying upon the Allies eventually recognizing that they were inflicting an unmerited punishment by maintaining the blockade.

The partial rejection of the ultimatum of Dec. 31 was regarded by the Allies as a fresh move to gain time, as the real key to the situation is the military position in Macedonia. The Allies' view is that until the Germans are able to advance to a point where King Constantine's army can link up with them, the royalists are trying to play a waiting game, since they are not strong enough to carry on the struggle alone. Hence the importance attached by the Allies to the evacuation of Thessaly by King Constantine's troops.

The fourth ultimatum came as the result of the Allies' continued dissatisfaction with the tactics of the Greek Government. This ultimatum was drafted by the Allied War Council, then sitting in Rome, and was due to the decision of Premiers Lloyd George and Briand to impart fresh vigor to the handling of the Greek situation. An important development at this point was that Italy now came into full agreement with Great Britain, France, and Russia in regard to the whole course of action in the Balkan Peninsula. The ultimatum, which was handed to the Athens Government on Jan. 9, gave King Constantine forty-eight hours to comply fully with the demands made in the previous ultimatum of Dec. 31. At the same time the Allies guaranteeed that in the event of compliance there should be no extension of the revolutionary movement. On Jan. 10 the Greek reply was delivered, but once more there were reservations, the principal ones being that the control of the Entente Allies should be re-established only for the security of their armies and that they should not participate in the administration of the country or interfere with local communications, and that the release of the imprisoned Venizelists should be subject to discussion.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the agreement of Dec. 1, King Constantine began delivering to the Allies six batteries of mountain artillery and withdrawing his troops from Thessaly. But again the Allies were not satisfied, and through the Italian Minister in Athens the Greek Government was informed that the acceptance of all demands must be immediate and unqualified. Finally, it was announced in Athens on Jan. 15 that the Greek Government would yield completely and without reservation. The same day the occupation by the Allies of Cerigo, the southernmost of the Ionian Islands, was reported. The formal decision of the Greek Government to yield was taken at a meeting of the Crown Council on Jan. 16, and was immediately communicated to the Entente Ministers. The Venizelists imprisoned on Dec. 1 were released a day or two later. On Jan. 16 an Italian military mission arrived at Athens to participate in the Entente control of Greece.

Greece Betrayed by Her Rulers

A Documented Indictment

The "secret" documents printed below were published in an incomplete form by the Venizelist press, but were unearthed in their entirety by the Petit Parisien. They show the attitude taken by the Skouloudis Cabinet regarding the Bulgarian invaders, on the one hand, and regarding the Allies on the other. The army chiefs were ordered to act in a friendly manner toward the Bulgarians, who were invading Greece, and even to surrender territory to them everywhere. These documents are of added interest because the Entente partially based its demands on the fact that Greece had handed over the forts of Rupel and Krousovitiko to the Bulgarians. The article here translated appeared in the Nouvelles de France, which is edited by Paul Albert Helmer.

AFTER the surrender of Rupel Prime Minister Skouloudis pretended that the appearance of the Bulgarians had been entirely unexpected, and that neutral Greece could do nothing but give up the fort. Nevertheless, two months and more before that time the following order had been given:

MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 663 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, March 9, 1916.

(*Absolutely confidential to the commanders of the Third and Fourth Army Corps, stationed at Saloniki and Kavala, in the Province of Macedonia.*)

In case of invasion by hostile armies we order the troops in garrison to evacuate the forts and fall back on the position of their regiments, taking their war materials with them. The sectors in which the invasion probably will take place are the district of Doiran-Guevgueli, the valley of Strymon between Bolech and Tongelion (?) and the region of Karajova. As regards the Strymon Valley, we suppose it is a matter of the southern defiles. [The Bulgarian invasion came exactly that way.] The troops will concentrate at Demir-Hissar and Poroia.

As to the attitude to be observed if the Bulgarians are not accompanied by Germans, I reply that the thing is impossible. But, if such a situation should occur, avoid all engagements and ask for orders.

The present order concerns all the forts. For the moment it applies only to Dovatope, Rupel and Krousovitike. In each of these a section of infantry and a few artillerymen will remain in order to symbolize Greek sovereignty. Likewise at least two officers knowing German or French ought to remain. Among the men it will be necessary that some should know Bulgarian. These detachments will communicate with the Greek divisions by reports. They ought to make every effort to avoid arousing suspicions or attracting espionage upon themselves.

The gendarmeri of the evacuated district will remain in its place, falling back, in case of necessity, upon the forts. It must be well understood that, painful as the execution of this order may be, all must obey the will of the Government in order to safeguard the highest national interests.

IANNAKITSAS.

A little later, when it was known that the French troops, intercepting the Bulgarians, were going to occupy Rupel, the following order was given:

MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1228 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, April 27, 1916.

To All the Garrison Troops:

Order 663 has not had time to be put into practice. The forts, with the exception of Dovatope, will resist by force every foreign attempt to take control of them. If the Germans or Bulgarians insist on penetrating for reasons of self-defense into our territory, you must retire. Act in a friendly manner toward the Bulgarians, in order to avoid all conflict. Avoid provocations. If by chance a long engagement occurs, the army corps have orders not to undertake any general measures, but should ask for further orders.

IANNAKITSAS.

At the time of the Bulgarian invasion, May 13, 1916, the following order was issued:

[Telegram.]
MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1484 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 13, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

In reply to your report No. 1451 and to report No. 3403 of the Third Army Corps, apply my order No. 663, deferring the execution of Order 1,228. Send a protest to the German troops.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

(It should be noted, however, that the fort, in execution of the preceding order, had already fired twenty-four shells at the Bulgars. Upon receipt of the later order the resistance ceased.)

After the surrender of Rupel the following order was given:

[Telegram.]
MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1511 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 14, 1916.

To All Garrison Troops:

In cases where communications are cut off and the receipt or orders becomes impossible, Order No. 663 must be acted upon along the whole frontier.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

For the surrender of Fort Krousovitiko, which did not take place until August, the following order was given on May 15:

[Telegram.]
MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1522 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 15, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

Quietly evacuate Fort Krousovitiko, even though there may be no question of its immediate occupation.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

After receiving a report from the division at Seres, announcing that the Bulgarians demanded the railway station at Siderokastron, the following order was given:

No. 1631 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 15, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

Tell the Germano-Bulgarians that the railway station at Siderokastron is not included in the agreement with the German and Bulgarian Governments. They should, therefore, await the result of negotiations.

Meanwhile, limit yourself to allowing a small detachment to guard the station, a battle being imminent between the Germano-Bulgarians and the Anglo-French. Inquire the meaning of this measure in order to keep up the morale of the men.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

It should be noted that the Sixth Division did not execute this order faithfully. Having strongly guarded the station, it threatened the Bulgarians, and they renounced their demands regarding it.

Regarding the surrender of Rupel the following official report (translated from the German) was prepared:

Fort Rupel, May 14-27, 1916.

The commandant of the fort, Ioannis Mavroudis, Colonel of infantry, has surrendered the fort to the German cavalry (Captain Thiel) with the following war materials:

Two 15-centimeter guns.
Two 7.5 guns with 800 shells.
1,200,000 rifle cartridges.
6,500 "phountia" (cubic decimeters) of powder.
350 "phountia" of sugar.
150 "phountia" of butter and other provisions.

Delivered by Io. Mavroudis. Taken in charge by Thiel, Rittmeister.

The Sixth Division, in its reports Nos. 1676, 1695, and 1993, announced that "the Bulgarians were maltreating the villagers, beating and driving away the local police, trampling under foot the Greek flag." In reply the Chief of Staff, Dousmanis, transmitted to it the following order:

[Telegram.]
Office of the General Staff.
Athens, May 16, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

The facts in question concern the Governments, which have taken measures and are not disturbed, and not the armies. Avoid all friction. [Signed] DOUSMANIS.

On Aug. 17, when the Sixth Division wished to hinder the occupation of Seres by the Bulgarians and to co-operate with the French army, the Fourth Army Corps sent the following order:

[Telegram.]
No. 2995 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]

Sixth Division, Seres:

The Government absolutely forbids all resistance to the Bulgarians. I absolutely forbid all action in common with the French. Evacuate Seres and march to Eleutheras.

Commandant of the Corps,
I. HATZOPOULOS,
Lieutenant Colonel.

On Aug. 25, after defensive measures had been taken at Kavala, Lieut. Col. Hatzopoulos gave the following order:

No. 3274 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]

To All the Corps in the District:

On receipt of this order, call in your outposts, leaving to the Bulgarians the circular region of the forts. I order likewise that all suspicious measures of foreigners should be reported. The Bulgarians should be left free to dig all defensive works.

Commandant of the Corps,
I. HATZOPOULOS.

Kavala, Aug. 25, 1916..

Things were at this stage when the Bulgarians, on Aug. 28, demanded the occupation of Kavala and the withdrawal of the Greek garrison to the interior.

How the Trap Was Laid

On Nov. 14 General Roques, French Minister of War, was received by King

Constantine and asked him to give proofs of his friendship for the Allies, notably by transferring artillery to them. The King referred General Roques to the Ministry presided over by Professor Lambros.

On Nov. 16 Admiral Dartige du Fournet sent to the Athens Government a note in which he demanded the transfer to the Allies of a certain quantity of war material which the Greek Army was not using. It was a matter of eighteen field batteries and sixteen mountain batteries, with a thousand shells for each, besides 40,000 Männlicher rifles with 200 cartridges for each, 140 machine guns with their munitions, and fifty automobile trucks.

On the 21st, before the Greek Government had replied, Admiral du Fournet, obtaining proofs of espionage and other acts of war on the part of the enemy legations, demanded that they depart the next day. On the 22d the German, Austrian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Ministers, accompanied by their personnel, left Athens without incident on the steamer Mykali, proceeding to Kavala, where they were to meet the Bulgarian troops.

The same day the Athens Government responded with a refusal to the note of Admiral du Fournet, which had demanded a surrender of war materials. It declared that such action would constitute a violation of neutrality, and that public opinion would not permit the national defense to be thus weakened.

At the same time M. Venizelos called attention to the fact that the persecution of his followers continued in Thessaly. Those who had been imprisoned at Grevena, having appealed to the court at Larissa, had seen their sentences confirmed at the demand of the Public Ministry, which proclaimed that joining the Venizelist troops to fight the Bulgars was an act of high treason toward the Government of King Constantine.

On Nov. 23 the correspondent of The London Times at Athens telegraphed:

> The rumor runs that the officers have signed a declaration by which they bind themselves, on their word of honor, to oppose the delivery of arms; but the diplomatic circles are optimistic, and are convinced that the King will avoid complications.

The Admiral's Ultimatum

Admiral du Fournet addressed an ultimatum on Nov. 24 to the Athens Government, summoning it to deliver to the Allies ten mountain batteries on Dec. 1 and the rest of the material demanded by Dec. 15. If these conditions were not complied with appropriate measures would be taken on Dec. 1. To make the Entente's intentions perfectly clear, the correspondent of The Times telegraphed the following passage from the Admiral's note:

> The location of the war material which I demand is not in the military storehouse but on the front at Monastir, in Macedonia, where the destinies of the Balkan States are going to be decided. This is what it is necessary to repeat to the patriots who have Hellenism for their sole ideal, an ideal which the protective powers have more closely at heart than any other.

Immediately after receiving this note the President of the Council, M. Lambros, gave the information to the King, who convoked the Council of Ministers and then conferred with Generals Callaris, Sotilis, and Iannakitsas. The same day the Gounaris newspaper Neon Asty declared that whatever the decision of the Government might be, the officers of the army had bound themselves to resist the surrender of arms at any cost, declaring that they would not hesitate at any act.

Still on the same day, Nov. 24, the Nea Hellas declared that on the 19th certain officers gathered at the Military Club had decided to revive the Military League under the command of a General. The object was to prevent any delivery of arms. Several officers had volunteered to go into the mountains of Thessaly with regular troops and reservists in order to harass the Allies from that point of vantage and thus force them to abandon Venizelos and withdraw from the Balkans. The Patris announced that the soldiers in the barracks were being incited, that the reservists were being armed, and that in Athens and the provinces the elements

always ready for disorder were being enrolled for an organized resistance.

The same day it was learned at Athens that the Venizelos Government had declared war on Bulgaria and Germany.

On Nov. 26 a detachment of about 200 French marines disembarked and joined the detachment already quartered in the barracks of the Zappeion, (a public garden belonging to the City of Athens.) It replaced marines who had recently gone on board again.

Greece Defies the Ultimatum

The Ministers, after deliberating in council, declared that the Government would again refuse the surrender of arms. Professor Lambros, President of the Council, when asked regarding the rumors of his resignation, declared that he continued to possess the confidence of the King and would remain in power.

The Nea Hellas announced that the Directing Committee of the Reservist League, recently revived, had conferred in the preceding week at the Military Club with the Presidents of the professional associations, in order to obtain their support in the resistance that was to be offered to the allied demands. The committee distributed arms to the members of the league. A partisan of M. Venizelos had been seriously maltreated the evening before.

The Ministers of France and England demanded of M. Lambros the immediate dissolution of the Military League and the suppression of the agitation organized by the reservists. They likewise demanded the liberation of the Venezelist officers, who were still held in prison by the Athens Government.

On the 27th Admiral du Fournet was received by King Constantine and directed the King's attention to the gravity of the situation. The Admiral also asked for an explanation regarding the works that were being constructed on the neighboring hills, overlooking the barracks of the Zappeion, where the French marines were quartered. He received the reply that these works were not fortifications.

Preparing the Ambush

A telegram from Larissa recounted grave events that had taken place when an attempt had been made to remove the guns placed in the railway station in that city. Reservists seized the two pieces, dismounted them, and removed them to a public garden, where a demonstration was held against the Allies with an accompaniment of rifle shots. The crowd then took the cannon to the commandant of the Third Army Corps, who had sworn not to surrender them to the Allies.

Likewise on the 27th the correspondent of The Times telegraphed:

> The situation remains critical. This morning Admiral du Fournet visited several stores in Hermes Street belonging to Venizelists. He noted that during the night these stores, in common with numerous houses inhabited by Venizelists, had been marked with red circles. If the threats of attack and massacre uttered against the Venizelists are realized even in part, and if no help intervenes in time, the result will be the weakening, if not the immediate crushing, of the Venizelist Party, whose members have cause to fear for their lives.

On Nov. 28 the Crown Council was convened by the King to draw up the definitive terms of the reply to Admiral du Fournet's ultimatum. The Reuter Agency telegraphed on this subject:

> The Crown Council, presided over by the King, deliberated for an hour and a half this afternoon. The council decided that it could not oppose the decision which the Government had already taken regarding the delivery of arms demanded by Admiral du Fournet. This decision has been communicated to Admiral du Fournet and to the Ministers of the Entente.

On Nov. 30 the Royal Government caused to be published in the newspapers of Athens a memorandum announcing its determination not to keep the promise made to the Allies by King Constantine. At the same time the threats against the Venizelists became more definite, and there arose an urgent need to stop the organization of a massacre, even before thinking of taking away the guns from the royal troops. That is why, on the morning of Dec. 1, 1,200 French marines disembarked at Piraeus, where the people welcomed them with the usual sympathy, and marched to the Zappeion, which is situated on the avenue leading up from

Piraeus and in the immediate proximity of the most crowded section of Athens. There Admiral Dartige du Fournet also was stationed.

The aggression began in the afternoon. The artillery of the royal troops fired on the Zappeion several times, while the fire of the infantry and machine guns harassed the French marines until late in the evening. An intense panic was created in the streets of Athens, where all the stores were closed and where the Venizelists feared, not without reason, for their lives. Not until later was the exact number of victims of the royal troops known.

The casualties were estimated at 200. The story of the events immediately succeeding was told in the January CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Turkey's Declaration of Independence

Text of the Document

TURKEY declared her independence of the collective suzerainty of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary in a long official document received in Washington on Jan. 1, 1917, and addressed to the Governments of Turkey's present allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary. In this form the Turkish Government serves notice to the world that it regards the treaties of 1856 and 1878 as henceforth null and void, and that it has abolished the special status of the Liva of Lebanon, which had been created by the Turkish laws of 1861 and 1864 as a semi-autonomous province under a Christian Governor. The Consuls General of the various Christian powers stationed at Beirut have exercised under those laws a species of supervision over the Liva of Lebanon, a region inhabited principally by Maronite Christians who formerly were an independent denomination, but who now are affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church.

Text of the Communication

The text of the Turkish communication to the Berlin and Vienna Governments follows:

The Imperial Ottoman Government had occasion in the course of the second half of the last century to sign, under various circumstances, two important treaties, of Paris of March 10, 1856, and the one of Berlin of Aug. 3, 1878.

The first established a state of affairs, an equilibrium, which the second treaty destroyed to a great extent, but both were disregarded by the signatory powers themselves, who violated their promises, either openly or secretly, so that after having obtained the application of the clauses which were to the disadvantage of the Otoman Empire, they did not trouble themselves about those which were in its favor, and they even opposed them constantly.

The Treaty of Paris contained a stipulation "to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Otoman Empire," and to guarantee jointly "the strict observation of this agreement." It further excluded all interference in the relations of the Imperial Government "with its subjects and with the internal administration of the empire."

This did not prevent the French Government from exercising in the Ottoman Empire an intervention supported by armed force, and to exact the establishment of a new administration. The other signatory powers were then obliged to associate themselves diplomatically with this act so as not to leave France free in her designs, which were contrary to the above-mentioned stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, and gave rise to fears of aims of annexation.

On the other hand, the Russian Government embarked upon a similar line of conduct by preventing the Sublime Porte in an ultimatum from taking action against the principalities of Serbia and Montenegro which Russia had aroused, and to whom it did not fail to furnish arms, subsidies, officers, and even soldiers, and finally to declare war on the Ottoman Empire, after having demanded that a new internal administration be established in certain Ottoman provinces, and that foreign interference enter into the conduct of their public affairs.

Moreover, the above-mentioned clauses of the Treaty of Paris did not hinder the French Government from occupying Tunis and establishing a protectorate over this dependence of the empire; nor did it prevent the British Government from occupying Egypt and establishing effective domination, nor from making a series of encroachments of Ottoman sovereignty south of Yemen at Nedjid, at Koweit, at El Katr, as well as in the Per-

sian Gulf; nor did these provisions inconvenience the four Governments who are now at war with Turkey in modifying by force the status of the Island of Crete and in creating there a new situation in flagrant contradiction with the integrity which they had undertaken to respect.

Finally Italy had no scruples in declaring war on the Ottoman Empire without any serious reason, simply with the object of conquest and to obtain compensations as a result of the new political situation in North Africa, and it did not even trouble to comply with its promise that it would " before using force enable the contracting parties to prevent such extreme measures by mediation."

The above makes it unnecessary to enumerate still more circumstances when intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire took place.

The Treaty of Berlin, which was signed as a result of the events of 1877-1878, modified considerably the Treaty of Paris by creating new situations in European Turkey; these situations were afterward changed by further conventions, which annulled the stipulations of the international convention referred to.

But not long after the conclusion of this treaty the Russian Government showed the degree of its respect for its own promises. Not having conquered Batoum, it had only been able to annex this fortress by declaring in a solemn international clause its intention to transform it into an essentially commercial free port. The British Government had on this basis consented to renew certain arrangements.

However, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, after having realized its intentions, simply repudiated this article of the treaty, and made of said city a fortified place. The British Government did not take a single one of the measures which it had promised, thus showing how little importance it attached to the system established by the Treaty of Berlin.

The Imperial Ottoman Government carried out very scrupulously the onerous clauses of the treaty, but the few provisions inserted therein in its favor have remained a dead letter, in spite of its insistence and that of its creditors, owing to the interest which a certain power had in preventing all improvement in the fate of the Ottoman Empire.

The developments set forth show that the Treaties of Paris and Berlin were constantly being violated in their essential and general clauses by certain States which had signed them. But it cannot be conceived that the same international convention should be violated as regards the duties of one of the contracting parties when all provisions in favor of the latter are invariably disregarded. This fact alone renders it already null and void for said party.

Moreover, the situation in which the two above-mentioned treaties were signed has completely changed. The Imperial Ottoman Government is at war with four of the signatory powers, the powers on whose initiative and assistance, and in whose interest said conventions were concluded, a fact which annuls them absolutely as regards the relations between Turkey and those powers.

Furthermore, the Imperial Government has allied itself with two of these powers on a footing of entire equality.

Hence the Ottoman Empire has definitely abandoned its somewhat subordinate position under the collective guardianship of the great powers which some of the latter were interested in maintaining. It therefore enters the group of European powers with all the rights and prerogatives of an entirely independent Government. This new situation also removes all raison d'être for the above-mentioned treaties.

All these different considerations render the said conventions null and without any contractual value. Nevertheless, in order not to allow any doubts on this point in the minds of those contracting States who have changed their relation of friendship into an alliance, the Imperial Government has the honor to inform the Imperial Government of Germany and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary that it denounces said treaties of 1856 and 1878.

It deems it useful, however, to declare that it will not fail to appeal to the principles of international law in order to have these rights respected which had been stipulated in its favor by the above-mentioned treaties and which until now have been disregarded.

On the other hand, the Imperial Government, under pressure of the French, had to grant to the Liva of the Lebanon an autonomous organization of a purely administrative and limited nature, which admitted a certain participation of the great powers.

Although this state of affairs was created by the internal statutes of 1861 and 1864, and not by a formal treaty, yet, in order to avoid all misunderstanding on this subject, it believes it necessary to declare that for the reasons set forth above it has abolished this situation by establishing in the said Liva the same administrative mechanism which exists in the other parts of the empire.

Whether Turkey's declaration of her " entire equality " with the other States of Europe ever goes into actual effect or not will depend, of course, upon the outcome of the war. The attempted abrogation of her dependence upon the Entente Powers simply represents a part of what Turkey hopes to win from the war if the Central Powers are successful. The action is interpreted as meaning that Germany and Austria-Hungary have agreed, as part of the price for Turkey's assist-

ance to remove the old restrictions from their present ally, so far as they are themselves concerned; it follows that if they can dictate the terms of peace at the end of the war Turkey will have a full voice at the council table. If the Entente Allies dictate the terms, however, they will pay little attention to the Turkish proclamation.

The peace conference also will determine the status of the "capitulation treaties" which Turkey abrogated on Aug. 11, 1914, three months or more before she entered the war. These treaties allowed foreign delinquents on Turkish soil to be tried by Judges, diplomatic agents, or Consuls of their own nations. A month later, Sept. 10, the Porte added to the abrogated list the remaining series of conventions, treaties, and privileges, some originating as early as the eleventh century, whereby foreigners in the Ottoman Empire had been exempt from local jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases.

Several new treaties between Germany and Turkey were signed on Jan. 15, 1917, by representatives of the two nations at Berlin. "The treaties," according to the semi-official announcement, "are based on the idea of reciprocity and mutual acknowledgment of equal rights, and take the place of the capitulations."

War Relief Activities of France

Address by Ernest Lavisse at the Annual Meeting of the French Academy, Dec. 15, 1916

M. Lavisse, Director of the Académie Française, summarized the war charity work of France at the annual meeting of the Academy, when "Prizes for Acts of Virtue" were conferred on thirty-seven persons and societies. The main portions of his address are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

OUR soldiers, writing home from the war front, express astonishment at hearing the birds still singing amid the turmoil of battle; at seeing the grass bend to the breath of the wind, and nature keeping her beauties and graces amid the horror of human actions. In like manner there continue to flourish in our tormented land, glorious with sanguinary glories, the exquisite virtues which we salute each year with our tributes. Women—almost always poor—teachers from public or private schools, workingwomen, domestics, are performing miracles of filial piety, of devotion, and of charity.

Servants, faithful to their masters in spite of misfortune, continue to serve them without pay, and even aid them by the sacrifice of savings slowly amassed, for the payment of the employers' debts: one of them is raising seven children left by her dead masters. An octogenarian servant of an octogenarian curate is bringing up five orphans. A widow, the mother of three children, has taken the care of six minor orphans, her nephews and nieces. A mother of thirteen children has extended her maternal protection over fifteen orphans. These brave people are doing good without effort, as naturally as they breathe. Everything is simple for them, because they have simple hearts. One feels that they are tranquil and satisfied. Blessed, indeed, are the simple of heart, for to them belongs happiness on earth!

Our secretary will announce the thirty-seven laureates of our individual prizes for virtue. I am sorry not to be able here either to proclaim their names or to praise them as justice would require, and as my emotion would have dictated when I read the story of their deeds. My task is long, and I must hasten on to the extensive labors which the Academy has rewarded, seeking to make you realize at least the principal characteristic of each.

The Geneva Committee

The International Committee of the Red Cross, an agency for prisoners of

war, has its base at Geneva, and is presided over by a good man, a friend of France, M. Ador. He began his work in August, 1914, in a little place lent by an atheneum; today he occupies a palace placed at his disposal by the city, and fills it to overflowing. Twelve hundred men and women of Geneva work there, for the most part voluntarily and without pay. From all the belligerent countries the committee receives requests for information: a family seeks some one who has disappeared: "Where is he?" Geneva starts an inquiry and replies: "He is in such and such a place." The family insists, wants details; one mother asks, "Does he look well?" Alas, it is too often necessary to convey fatal news; the relatives wish to know toward what place to address their looks and their prayers; they ask, "Where is he buried?"

Through Geneva passes the correspondence between the families and the prisoners; also the parcels. The committee visits the prison camps and reports what it has seen. It interns in Switzerland the severely wounded. It sends home the civilians whom the Germans, after having torn them from their native soil by one of the most odious crimes of barbarism, consents to release. Geneva has seen the arrival of thousands of these unfortunates, worn out with fatigue and suffering; haggard eyes betrayed the folly of a few. Geneva has given them food, and then flowers, and the tears of its fraternal compassion.

The committee has organized its enormous work with a wonderful system; everything goes with the accuracy of a Swiss watch. On Dec. 31, 1915, 1,500,000 Anglo-French letters relating to cases had been filed and classified, besides 1,000,000 German cases; it was estimated that the committee had received from 1,500 to 2,000 letters a day and that it had sent out daily from 3,000 to 4,000. It had transmitted 1,530,000 orders; 15,850,000 parcels had passed through its hands; 337,181 had been sent from Geneva. These figures were compiled a year ago. Imagine what a sum of good deeds these totals represent. In awarding to the Geneva Committee one of its largest prizes this year, the Académie Française has sought to express the gratitude of France.

Aid for Ill and Wounded

A mutual aid society, despite the gifts it receives, has great difficulty in performing its whole task of assistance. It is called the Saint-Cyrienne, and 4,000 of its members have fallen on the field of honor. I have no need to say more.

We come now to a group of societies that have placed themselves at the service of the ill and wounded.

There is the work of Mr. and Mrs. Tuck, Americans, for whom France is a second fatherland, greatly beloved. Before the war they had overwhelmed the City of Rueil with their beneficences, among which was a very beautiful hospital, to which they have this year given an endowment of 70,000 francs in annuity bonds. They have transformed into an ambulance a school of household instruction created by them. They have multiplied their gifts to various ambulances. These are good examples of the sympathy of the United States, a sympathy which is manifesting itself in magnificent charities and in many enlistments in our just cause. I think of these solemn, deliberate declarations as judgments, in which eminent men who know our French spirit and the German spirit, our civilization and German Kultur, have notified Germany that she has forever fallen from her high place and pretensions of intellectual leadership. The Committee to Assist the Hospitals for the Lame, presided over by Mme. Jules Ferry, and the Committee to Aid Lame or Sick Soldiers, presided over by our confrère Frederic Masson, devote their attention to the slightly wounded, the ill, and the "worn-outs," whom the health service gathers into these hospitals. The two committees have co-operated so as to avoid duplication; the second is now giving all its services to the ill and wounded at Saloniki. They distribute bedding, clothing, shoes, pipes, tobacco, wine, games, books, even plants, to brighten a little the gloomy halls of the hospitals. I have read thanks written by officers, telling of the joy of the

soldiers at the arrival of so many "good things." True, the men have plenty of the chief necessities, but they are very grateful for these little luxuries. They say: "We have not been forgotten back there; we are loved." The committees write to the soldiers; they talk with them at meetings; they send them artists, actors, musicians to entertain and inspire them. They combat the soldier's insidious enemy, despondency.

Many X-Ray Stations

The National Patronage of the Wounded is an auxiliary of the health service for utilizing the X-ray. Under the very competent scientific direction of Mme. Pierre Curie, professor in the University of Paris, it has placed at the disposal of the army 152 stations—fixed or movable—where surgeons make internal examinations of the wounded in order to locate projectiles. More than 300,000 wounded have passed through these stations. The organization has the consciousness of having contributed to the saving of a great number of precious lives.

All the world knows that at the appeal of our confrère Maurice Barrès, which called forth nearly 2,000,000 francs, the National Federation of the Mutilated came into being. It extends, through its twenty-one committees, all over France. It serves as an auxiliary of the State for the furnishing of artificial limbs; but especially it works at the re-education and employment of those who have lost limbs. In its workshops it teaches them by what means, by what movements they can, mutilated as they are, take up their former trades; or else it teaches them a new trade appropriate to the condition in which war has left them. These alternatives are not left to chance. In Paris and the provinces the members of the committees, good men and women, devoted to their tasks, observe the mutilated and discover their aptitudes. The assignment of positions is made with the greatest care. In June of this year 1,951 re-educated men—really and completely re-educated—had been placed, and well placed. Thus a double service is rendered: to the nation, which recovers useful workmen, and to the men, who are again assured a safe livelihood.

Help for the Blinded

Everybody knows, too, that the Society of Friends of the Blind, inspired and directed by M. Valléry-Radot, has become an auxiliary of the Ministry of the Interior and of the National Hospice of the Quinze-Vingts ("Fifteen-Twenties") for the re-education of blinded soldiers. At the beginning of the war Quinze-Vingts, acting on the experiences of previous wars, had reserved twenty places for the blinded; they little realized the power of science when applied to war. They had to enlarge their sanatorium. An enormous house near by — 99 bis, Rue de Reuilly—formerly a boarding house, was evacuated for its new destiny. By a tender deceit it is called the House of Convalescence; is it not necessary to guard against the despair of the first moments of entry into perpetual darkness?

These unfortunates, as M. Valléry-Radot has said, "first learn to be blind"; with the left arm leaning on the arm of a friend, the other on a staff, they walk with rigid necks, as if to raise the head higher toward heaven, of which their darkened orbits seem to ask, "Where, then, is the light?" But soon they refuse the aid of the friendly arm; they walk rapidly, very rapidly, they almost run along the corridors, the stairways, and the long alleys of the garden. In the shop they work with an application that I have marveled at; alas! nothing distracts them from their task; for them the outdoors no longer exists.

They quickly learn the trade that is taught them. A few hours suffice to teach a brushmaker. I have watched one of these workmen at the moment when he was finishing a brush; he gave it a turn in his hand, caressed it, then raised it in the air as if to look at it. There are twenty of these workshops, and 200 blind are distributed among them. I was present at the four hours' rest period. The bugle call that announces luncheon, or, as they say, "the four hours' glass of wine," is greeted with a joyous hubbub. This gayety in a sanatorium whose sadness I had feared to look upon surprised me.

The Society of the Friends of Blinded

Soldiers contributes largely to the support of the establishment by the devotion of the nurses and workshop chiefs whom it furnishes, by little attentions and luxuries, and especially by undertaking to find positions for the blind, to follow them up afterward, and assure them each a home. Already it has helped ten pensioners to marry and establish households of their own, returning to the House of Convalescence as half pensioners. Thanks to their "friends," these victims of the war are not only resigned to their lot; they are reconciled with life, though they will always retain the longing for light. * * *

Godfathers of Reuilly

The work of the Godfathers of Reuilly is a benefaction for permissionaires from our occupied provinces. The soldier from those countries is a mournful exile. Between him and his home rises a formidable barrier of breasts, of iron, of fire, and of horror. What has become of his loved ones, his wife, his children, his old parents? And the dear house, with its roof of thatch or of slate, is it still standing, or is it a gaping ruin, blackened by fire? These men on furlough from the trenches do not know where to pass their six days. Many come to Paris; in Paris one always knows some one. The War Office tendered them 200 beds in the barracks at Reuilly, but a shelter for the night was not enough. What should they do with the long, empty days?

At the barracks there lodges a part of the Twenty-second Section, that of the workmen and clerks of administration, or, as they say in that abbreviated language for which a dictionary ought to be compiled—for it is a collection of puzzling enigmas—the C. O. A. Doubtless the first permissionaires, arriving exhausted, their eyes still full of terrible visions, asked themselves, "What are these idlers doing here?" The C. O. A. showed what they could do. Today the Reuilly barrack is a family home in which the permissionaires are the spoiled children. They get up when they please, after having breakfasted in bed upon a large cup of coffee, accompanied by a piece of bread and a tablet of chocolate. They don't even have to make their beds; the C. O. A. takes care of that. At 10:30 the very copious déjeuner is served by the C. O. A. In the afternoon guides take them over Paris and explain the monuments. On their return they have a dinner as good as the luncheon; in the evening, the theatre or cinema.

Thus these brave men taste the sweets of rest from torment. But how could the Godfathers of Reuilly create such an enterprise? I forgot to say that they know that one of the duties of godfathers is to "give the coin" to their godsons. Each godson receives a 2.50-franc piece. Are they very rich, then, these gentlemen of the C. O. A.? Let us see how their council is composed: President, Administration Officer Aubin; Administrator, Adjutant Angot, founder of the association; eight Sergeants, a Corporal, a soldier of the second class. Evidently these are not millionaires. All that they could do was to sacrifice all or part of their savings; then these men of large hearts appealed to other men with hearts, who responded freely. On the 31st of last October they had entertained, fed, and recreated 38,807 permissionaires for at least six days and distributed 190,000 francs in pocket money and little gifts.

When the godsons are gone the godfathers do not consider themselves done with them; on the date just given they had sent 6,700 parcels to the front. Besides, they write; a soldier likes to get letters; at the hour of mail distribution it is a joy to hear the officer call his name. On the same date 90,000 letters had been exchanged between the front and Reuilly. One of the godsons certainly expressed the feeling of all when he wrote: "Such godfathers as these—well, the Germans don't have them!" Such work of military fraternity is indeed altogether French.

The French Victories of Douaumont and Hardaumont

[A narrative by military eyewitnesses, translated from Le Bulletin des Armées and L'Illustration for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

FROM the slopes of Souville I watched Victory scaling and crowning Douaumont. * * * [Oct. 24, 1916.]

Our modern battles are not showy. They are generally cruel and mysterious. Wide empty spaces pitted with shell holes and cut by long furrows which mark the ground as the veins line the hand; columns of smoke rising from bursting shells; a line of shadows that scud over the earth and then disappear; the ruins of a village bursting into a blaze; a barrier fire which flares up like the footlights on the stage and leaves one guessing as to the drama which is being played out behind this suddenly drawn curtain—and that is all. Those who take part in the battle never know more than one episode of it. It is followed in the posts of the commanders, carried to their dugouts by telephone wires, transmitted by optical signals, sent flying on pigeons' wings, borne by runners. But the victory of Oct. 24 I beheld rising suddenly before me like a living being.

The hill of Souville, alone among the heights which surround Verdun, reaches the altitude of Douaumont. Between the two rivals emerges the ridge of Fleury, which, like the arm of a cross, joins the ridge of Froideterre, whose slopes ascend to Douaumont. Ravines are hollowed out in the frame of that long cross. The formidable fort of Douaumont occupies its crest in the form of a double battlement.

This landscape of ravines and hills which the fort dominates I have watched so long that it was printed on my eyes, on the morning of Oct. 24, when I took my post at Souville. And my eyes sought it in vain before me. A thick fog made it impossible to see beyond the nearer slopes, which are all pierced and mutilated, with a stricken tree trying to stand here and there.

However, this fog was not lifeless. It was stirred, furrowed by the incessant and invisible passage of shells. Their whistling was so continuous that, in spite of one's self, one looked for them in the air, as if they must form a vault of steel. Our artillery was smashing the enemy positions. And I recalled those anxious days at the end of February when the flight of shells alighted upon us. This time it was the opposite impression, our superiority clearly affirmed. The thousand voices of the guns formed a prodigious concert in that fog, and I sought to resolve their skillful orchestration into its elements, from the strident and dry plaint of the 75 to the deep basses of the heavy mortars.

Attacking in the Fog

Would we attack in spite of the mist? Was it not a disastrous condition for the fire which was to accompany the advance? Or, on the contrary, would the fog add to the surprise? I looked at my watch, knowing the hour of the attack, and, while I waited, a kind of unrest little by little took possession of me, the feeling of the deferred undertaking, of the hope adjourned. I knew the operation had been minutely ordered, the troops marvelously prepared. But I knew also the disproportion of the forces, the audacity of the undertaking—three divisions (60,000 men) ordered to dislodge seven (140,000 men) from their formidably organized positions. A daring enterprise, but proportioned like a masterpiece, and destined to work out so exactly that, once it was executed, it looked quite simple. * * *

On this ground that I knew so well, I marked out the divisions ready for the attack: From the quarries of Haudromont on my left to Douaumont before me, the division of General Guyot de Salins with

the zouaves, sharpshooters, and the famous Colonial Regiment of Morocco which retook Fleury on Aug. 17; to the right, General Passaga's division; still further to the right, on the side of Vaux and Hardaumont, General Lardemelle's infantry. I pictured them all, though I could not see fifty yards before me. And I pictured also, not without secret anxiety, the German battle array, the number of battalions in the first and second line, the lines of trenches, the accessory defenses, the redoubts, Thiaumont earthwork, the Haudromont quarries, lastly and most of all Douaumont fort. How could our men overcome such material and human barriers?

At each instant I looked at my watch: 11 o'clock, 11:20, at last 11:40. It was the hour fixed for the attack. I should have been able to watch the attack set out and unfurl itself in the ravine, then mount its slopes; was it taking place even now? Had the artillery lengthened its fire? Impossible to know. It is 11:50. But what do I hear on the right? The tac-tac of the machine guns. If the machine guns are firing, the attack has been launched. If the machine guns are firing, our men have been detected and are meeting resistance.

I no longer hear them. The noise of the guns fills the air. And, anew, it is uncertainty, long-drawn disquiet. At the commander's post, where I go from time to time, news is beginning to flow in; the start has been splendid; the first objective already gained, they are reorganizing, getting ready to start, starting.

An airman's motor snores above my head. He is flying so low that he almost grazes me. I make him out, immense and grayish in the fog. He comes lower. They told me that night that an airman had come near enough to shout "Forward!" to our men, that a dialogue had taken place between air and earth.

"*Douaumont Is Ours!*"

At 2 the wind, growing stronger, begins to pull the clouds to pieces. * * * I recognize the crest of Fleury, the Chambitoux ravine, the slopes of Douaumont, Douaumont and its double battlement. The clouds are flying so swiftly now that their flock is scattered in a twinkling, and the landscape breaks through with the extraordinary clearness that precedes or follows rain.

With my strong field glasses I scan the horizon. I could count the shellholes. They are full of water! What difficulties our soldiers must have met if they went that way! But the landscape is full of life. There, on the slope of Douaumont, earth-colored men are moving. They advance in single column, to right and left, in good order. They go forward, upward, they draw near. There is one silhouetted on the crest, and then another and another. On each battlement they appear, others descend into the gorge. But they will be seen, the machine guns will find them! Don't expose yourselves like that: it is madness!

They stir, they turn, as if describing a vast circle above Douaumont reconquered, a sort of dance of victory. I want to shout. I must have shouted, but I did not hear the sound of my voice in the din of the machine guns, for the German reply came quickly, and the shells are bursting close to me. I must have shouted, for I am chewing a piece of earth, which the bursting of a shell has splashed into my open mouth. Douaumont is ours! The formidable Douaumont, whose massive height dominates from its observatories both banks of the Meuse, is French once more.

I remember that sad evening of Feb. 25 last, when, in the mud and snow, we learned that Douaumont was lost. We did not want to believe it. We could not believe it. And now, in less than four hours, this same Douaumont, with a whole region, stretching from the Haudromont quarries to the Fausse-Côte Ravine, is in our hands again. In less than four hours we have annihilated the German accomplishment of eight months. In his turn, the German does not wish to believe that Douaumont has been wrested from him. He does not shell it; he will wait another hour before daring to shell it; and the extraordinary dance of our poilus continues to unfold itself from one battlement to the other, in tranquillity and joy, while the setting sun, finally clear, gives colors of glory to the sky,

and in that evening light the fleet of our triumphant airmen fills the air. * * *

Story of the Attack

[*Another Military Eyewitness tells the story of the attack from a more inclusive viewpoint:*]

The general preparation lasted three days. * * * On Oct. 24, until 11:35, our bombardment redoubled in violence: heavy batteries and trench mortars pounded the enemy line with a final smashing fire. But our troops, slightly withdrawn to avoid "short" fire, left in advance only posts of lookouts and machine guns to guard against surprise. At the time fixed the "heavies" quickly lengthened their fire; during the next five minutes gales of 75, firing high explosive, ball, percussion shells, rapidly finished smashing and stamping out the enemy's resistance. At 11:40 the 76 lengthened fire; it was the signal for the assault.

Then you saw our infantry pouring out of their trenches; from one end to the other of the battlefield, from the heights of Haudromont to the crest of Fleury, to the ridges of Vaux Chapitre and Damloup, it leaped forward with a single magnificent dash, throwing itself upon the narrow band, 100 to 150 yards wide, that separated it from the enemy. The German position was carried in an instant, without a single shot, without a machine gun firing; it was all "bomb and bayonet," it was over in a trice. Soon our divisions dashed forward, passing beyond the first enemy trenches. The first prisoners, who escaped our fire in their demolished shelters, looking as if they had been dug out of the earth, were flowing toward our rear.

Our progress continued with imperturbable rhythm. Its movements had been fixed beforehand, like those of a watch. Artillery fire, forward leap of the infantry, co-ordination between guns and men, system of information, observations, signals, all worked like a charm, like clockwork. The enemy has not the monopoly of method. Our troops were already on his supporting line before he dreamed that the first line was carried.

In less than an hour the line was reached from the Haudromont quarry, through the Thiaumont ridge, to the north edge of the Bazil ravine. Only on the right, isolated centres showed a vigorous defensive, which slightly delayed our progress on that side. Everywhere else the enemy failed to react. Our losses were extremely light.

We start again; it is a question of gaining the essential objective: the road from Bras to Douaumont and the legendary fort. This new phase of the assault is carried out like the first, with the same impeccable method, and with an ease almost magical. The assault is like a triumphal march. It was in this rush of two kilometers that one of our regiments lost only one man wounded; a neighboring division had to regret only the death of a single officer. Thanks to the mastery of our artillery, our troops advanced freely, across open ground, as coolly as at manoeuvres, with no obstacles but the mud, the puddles, and the shell holes. Gayety overflowed: our airmen who were escorting the assault swooped low above the undulating lines in the mist, and saw our men go forward joyously, with slung rifles, signaling with their hands, waving their handkerchiefs. The attack against the formidable hill had the gay movement of a festival.

Then a strange thing happened. The sky which, since morning, had looked rainy, and which, since the attack began, had grown darker, was suddenly lit up. The fact was so remarkable that it struck our enemies. The three previous days had been exceptionally bright. The morning of Oct. 24 opened so gloomy, with weak, pale light, that a German officer taken prisoner by us, as he confessed to us, believed that we possessed the secret of a cloud-generating shell, able to produce artifiicial night, so strong is the human tendency to magnify one's enemy, and to credit him with chimerical powers which he does not possess. * * *

Results of the Battle

The battle of Oct. 24 is one of the finest successes of the war. It has echoed through the world. Germany has vainly tried to palliate her loss and lessen its

importance. * * * The moral result in itself would justify the undertaking. But, for our command, it was only secondary. The goal was more substantial. It is not only a question of the ground won back, nor of matériel captured, even though fifteen cannons, fifty bomb-throwers, and 144 machine guns form a respectable booty, without counting the rest. It would be more if we had the time to dig in the shell holes; more than 200 machine guns remained buried there, pellmell with their crews, in what was once the German trench.

But the taking of Douaumont transforms the situation before Verdun. He who holds Douaumont holds the country; he commands all the views, sweeping the horizon for immense distances.

But there is more. However important is the occupation of the fort, however great the radiance it adds to our victory, that victory would be almost equally great without it. On the eve of the battle a General said, pointing out on the map the emplacements of the enemy: "Shall we take Douaumont? Perhaps. But we shall surely take twenty-two German battalions." And the General was as good as his word. Twenty-two battalions annihilated—either killed or taken prisoner. (The prisoners exceed 6,000, including 138 officers.) This is the real victory. * * * The German artillery suffered not less than the infantry. Of 130 batteries which we had before us, 99 were effectively hammered, and half of them smashed, put out of action. * * * Germany will not bring to life again the army corps which she has lost. She will not obliterate the effect of our victory. She will not efface, in the hearts of her men, the fear of our ascendency, or the memory of the day when seven German divisions were knocked about and broken by three French divisions. * * *

Victory of Hardaumont

[*The same writer in Le Bulletin des Armées tells the story of the later victory that completed this chapter in French history.*]

From the Meuse to Bezonvaux, the victory of Dec. 15 completes that of Oct. 24, which so brilliantly won back for us the fort of Douaumont. It tears from the Germans, on a front of six and a quarter miles and to a depth of two miles, the village of Vacherauville, the part of Pepper Hill which they still held, the village of Louvemont, 378-Meter Hill, Les Chambrettes, the Caurières Wood, the heights of Hardaumont, the earthwork and village of Bezonvaux.

A glance at the map will suffice to show the importance of this result. The Germans lose the last observatories that could facilitate operations against Verdun. Besides the ground gained, the victory has brought us more than 8,000 prisoners. More than forty-five cannons have already been sent to the rear; the number of those taken or destroyed is probably twice as great. The enemy has left in our hands the greater part of his machine guns and bomb throwers.

Like the victory of Oct. 24, that of Dec. 15 was most carefully prepared. General Nivelle, commanding the army at Verdun, had confided its execution to General Mangin. The nature of the ground made it particularly difficult. The Germans, in withdrawing, left the ground broken up, without roads, while it was comparatively easy for them to reorganize further back by using their numerous railroads. It was, therefore, necessary to transform the ground gained on Oct. 24 into a veritable work yard, to build twenty-five or thirty kilometers of roads, including a corduroy road for the passage of the artillery, and more than ten kilometers of sixty and forty centimeter gauge railroads for the carriage of munitions and food supplies. Thanks to these constructions the artillery was pushed forward close to the lines and was thus able to support the infantry attack. It was the part of the artillery to direct the fight; the infantry followed it.

The enemy order of battle included, from the Meuse to Bezonvaux, five divisions: the Fourteenth Reserve Division, the Thirty-ninth Division, which forms a part of the Fifteenth Corps, and which had just relieved the Thirteenth Reserve Division; the Tenth Division, the Fourteenth Division, and the Thirty-ninth Bavarian Reserve Division. New trenches had been dug, with flanking works, in imitation of our methods. On Pepper Hill

a work of considerable age, at which the enemy had been working since March, was fitted with barbed-wire entanglements, concrete galleries, redoubts, shelters, munition depots, which made the place a sort of fortress.

The troops of General Mangin, charged with the attacking sector, included four divisions, two of which had already gained glory in the last battles before Verdun. They were, from left to right, General Muteau's division, General Guyot de Salins's division, General Garnier du Plessis's division, and General Passaga's division. The work of the different staffs which directed the preparation had demanded a long effort. As on Oct. 24, the outcome proved the excellence of the method. The execution had to be delayed because of the weather. Although the weather remained bad, the commander decided to go ahead, and the artillery preparation began, in spite of the rain and snow, which made control difficult and impeded the work of the airmen. But the energy of all triumphed over these obstacles and succeeded in making possible an attack which appeared chimerical at such a season.

The front of attack, from Pepper Hill to Hardaumont, measured six and a quarter miles. The artillery preparation carried out by numerous batteries of all calibres had destroyed the villages of Vacherauville and Louvemont, as well as the works of Hardaumont and Bezonvaux, which were found nearly empty. On the eve of the attack seven German deserters from the Ratisbon trench reached our lines; they were all that remained of a whole company.

On Dec. 15, after a night of rain and snow, the weather cleared and visibility became excellent. The enemy artillery, paralyzed by ours, was reduced to silence an hour before the attack.

Exactly at 10 A. M., our assaulting troops left their trenches. The attack was led, as if by a stop-watch, with a rapidity, a dash, and an enthusiasm that passed belief. All objectives were attained at the stated times. In one hour we were masters of the whole line from Vacherauville to Louvemont, 378-Meter Hill. Considerable obstacles, such as the Le Helly Ravine, were crossed by General Guyot de Salins's division with such rapidity that the accounts do not even mention that there was any obstruction.

The airmen accompanied the assaulting troops and carried disorder to the enemy's rear. Adjutant Violette, during the afternoon, bombarded and dispersed groups of three or four hundred men in the neighborhood of Saint-Andre and the Jolicoeur Farm, who were coming as reinforcements. A German "sausage," which had ascended, was set on fire in the air by one of our airmen.

In the villages of Vacherauville and Louvemont the resistance of the enemy was immediately stifled.

At 11:30 A. M. all the crests of Louvemont were in our hands, as well as the Hardaumont and Lorient works. Our troops met with greater difficulties in the Vauche Woods. But their progress was not stopped, and toward 3 P. M. General Passaga's division reached the Bezonvaux work. At the same time we were seizing the Chambrettes Farm. Prisoners were pouring in; their number exceeds 8,000.

Up to the last moment the Germans had remained uncertain as to the point of attack. They undoubtedly expected an attack on the west bank of the Meuse, where our artillery preparation was extended pretty far toward the west. It was there that they directed their principal barrier fire, while we made our attack on the east bank.

Great Britain's New War Plans

Address by Earl Curzon

Lord President of the War Council and Leader of the House of Lords

[Delivered Dec. 19, 1916]

After paying graceful tributes to Lord Lansdowne and Lord Crewe—also to Mr. Asquith and the late Coalition Cabinet—Lord Curzon said:

THE record of the Coalition Government is not one of which we need be ashamed. They retrieved the fortunes of the war in the first year of the fighting and converted them into the notable and glorious victory of the Somme, and they have paved the way, as we hope, for the victory which will ultimately be obtained. In these circumstances, it may be asked of what spirit or feeling is the change in the personnel of the Government the outcome. I hope I shall not be wrong if I state my belief that the friendly welcome which has been accorded to the present Government, not least by your Lordships, has been due to the conviction that a greater and more concentrated effort, more effective and universal organization, a more adequate and rapid use of the resources, not only of ourselves alone but of our allies, are required if we are to carry the war to the successful termination we all desire.

LORD CURZON

This country is not merely willing to be led, but is almost calling to be driven. They desire the vigorous prosecution of the war, a sufficient and ample return for all the sacrifices they have made, reparation by the enemy for his countless and inconceivable crimes, security that those crimes shall not be repeated and that those sacrifices shall not have been made in vain. They desire that the peace of Europe shall be re-established on the basis of a free and independent existence of nations, great and small. They desire as regards ourselves that our own country shall be free from the menace which the triumph of German arms, and still more the triumph of the German spirit, would entail. It is to carry out these intentions that the present Government has come into existence, and by its success or failure in doing so will it be judged.

It will not be denied that the reconstruction of the Government has been attempted on novel lines. Only twice during the last 150 years of our history have there been Cabinets of numbers as low as ten, and only four times in the same period have the numbers of the Cabinet been as low as twelve. The whole of the rest of the Ministries of the last 150 years have varied in numbers from thirteen upward, culminating in the figure, not always spoken of with reverence, of twenty-three in the recent Coalition Cabinet. Now we have a Cabinet of five, or, as it often finds, itself in session, of four.

The principles upon which the Prime Minister has formed his Cabinet are three: First, the concentration of executive authority in the hands of a small number of persons, the majority of them not holding portfolios, the object being to secure promptitude in decision and vigilance in action. The second principle is the prominent part assigned to labor. Without labor the war could not be won—without the organization of labor it could

not be effectively pursued. Labor is entitled therefore to a powerful voice in its direction. The third principle has been the employment of expert ability in high official posts and in important departments, whether or not it has been previously connected with Parliamentary associations. At this moment there are sitting on the bench beside me Lord Devonport and Lord Rhondda, who have had long Parliamentary experience, but who owe their posts to their special qualifications for the posts conferred upon them. Mr. Prothero has both a practical and a scientific acquaintance with agriculture, and he enjoys the confidence of the agricultural world. Dr. Fisher, who has gone to the Board of Education, is a historian, a writer, and an administrator, and is himself an exponent of the highest educational ideas.

The War Cabinet

The supreme executive authority in the conduct of the war is vested in the small committee or body of men whose names are familiar to all. That committee sits every day, and sometimes two or three times a day. It is in truth, as it is called, a war Cabinet. There is no other Cabinet constituted as a body and meeting regularly under the Presidency of the Prime Minister with collective responsibility for all the acts of the Government. That, of course, does not mean that the members of the War Cabinet are divorced from close association with their colleagues, or that departments of Government not directly represented in the War Cabinet are run on independent lines. An effective liaison between the two must be maintained by means of conferences and meetings intended to bring about common action. Similarly as to the conduct of the war, no one would imagine that the War Cabinet can act independently or without constant and almost hourly consultation with its technical advisers. In all matters affecting the conduct of the war by land and by sea the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the First Sea Lord are invariably in attendance, and when the affairs of other departments are concerned, the heads of these departments are also consulted.

The plan adopted is closely analogous to the Committee of Imperial Defense. But the essence of the arrangement as applied to the Cabinet is that high officials come when they are required and go when their work is completed, and the one body that is in permanent session and is finally responsible is the War Cabinet, under the Presidency of the Prime Minister. I do not say that in practice it will always be an easy arrangement to work. It is, like the Government itself, somewhat in the nature of an experiment, but we may count upon the public spirit and patriotism and individual self-abnegation which have characterized the inception of this venture to give it a fair chance of continuing success.

Now I come to the problems with which the Government have to deal. We have to keep up our armies in the field and to give to our commanders in all the theatres of war the men whom they require to maintain their forces at full strength for the greater work that lies before them. Secondly, we have to keep or to obtain the men, and also the women, who will give us increased supplies of food, munitions, and shipping, and who will maintain the essential industries of the nation. Thirdly, we have to organize our resources of manhood, material, and money so as to devote them, along with our allies, with whom there must be even closer cooperation and co-ordination in the future than there has been in the past, to the successful prosecution of the war.

Extending Government Control

I do not conceal from your Lordships that far greater sacrifices will be called for from our people than any to which they have hitherto been subjected, that far greater restraints on individual conduct and personal liberty will be entailed. We shall have in the next few months to revise many of our ideas and much of our practice.

I wonder if the country at all fully realizes the extent to which the British people, the most liberty loving, the most individualistic, and in some respects the most independent in the world, have already parted with their traditional rights and privileges and handed them over to the State. Early in the war we took over the railways. We have now done the

same with the railways in Ireland. The merchant shipping of the country has now for more than a year been almost entirely under Government control. Compulsory acquisition of property has become a matter of almost daily occurrence. We are all familiar with the control of the press. Under the Munitions act we have introduced compulsory limitation of profits, compulsory arbitration, prohibition of strikes and lockouts, and compulsory fixing of wages. Recently we have begun to control the raw materials of industry and articles of common consumption. Sugar and imported wheat are under Government control. The same is true of steel and wool and leather. We began to ration with petrol, and I shall be very much surprised if Lord Devonport does not before long take us a good deal further. Last night those of us who dined at clubs found no difficulty in accommodating ourselves to the modest exigencies of a three-course repast, and I have no doubt that we shall be all the better in a short time for the one meatless day a week. Prices have already been fixed for many articles of food. Finally, we took the step of applying compulsory military service.

All this began with a Liberal Government; it went on with the Coalition Government, and it will find new developments and proceed with accelerated speed under the administration now in office. Does any one complain? I think not. Many years ago I remember Sir William Harcourt saying: "We are all Socialists now." What he would say now I can scarcely conceive. I think he would gasp at some of the restraints on personal liberty, but the fact is that there is no sacrifice of convenience, personal liberty, or comfort to which the people are not prepared to submit provided they can be sure that they will not be in vain.

New Developments

The new Government propose new developments. They have appointed an experienced and eminent shipowner as Controller of Shipping. He is already in consultation with his colleagues, but it would be premature to discuss the actual form his recommendations will take. The two great problems are the utilization of all available shipping to the best advantage, and ship manufacture so far as labor and material can be obtained. It is in contemplation by the Government to nationalize the shipping of the United Kingdom, and if this be successfully carried out one result, I hope, will be a reduction of the extravagant freights that have contributed to high prices.

One of the latest acts of the last Administration was to take over the South Wales coal fields. The late Government intended to extend that, and we propose to take over the whole of the coal mines of the country. Regarding the question of food, the real danger is the failure of our crops, and drastic action is required to meet the deficiency. That action must be twofold—first, as affecting distribution, and, secondly, as affecting production. Both are likely to involve compulsory methods of a somewhat far-reaching character.

It is essential that the excess consumption of the affluent should not be allowed to create a shortage for the less well-to-do. As regards production, it means the utilization of every available acre of land and all available labor. One of the difficulties is the dearth of skilled men—drawn away, some times taken away, by the action of the Government. But by proper distribution it would seem that one skilled man working with unskilled labor may be able to do the work not of one farm, but, by a system of co-operation, of several.

In the organization of production your Lordships may play a very prominent part. There is a good deal of ornamental land that might be used. Still more there is a good deal of ornamental labor that might be converted, concerned with the familiar amenities of country life, men who are keeping up gardens, hothouses, lawns, and so on, and very likely engaged in some cases in the preservation of game. I am well aware of the very great sacrifices already made by many in the positions of your Lordships, but in the months that lie before us, when every man will be wanted, I feel sure we can rely on your Lordships' House. But we must proceed much further than this.

The German Challenge

At the very moment when she is talking of peace Germany is making the most stupendous efforts for the prosecution of the war, and to find new men. She is squeezing possibly the last drop out of the manhood of her nation. She is compelling every man, woman, and boy between 16 and 60 to enter the service of the State. At the same time, with a callous ferocity and disregard of international law, she is driving the population of the territory she has occupied into compulsory service. She is even trying to get an army out of Poland by offering it the illusory boon of "independence."

That is the nature of the challenge we have to meet. It has been our object to establish such a system of recruiting as will insure that no man is taken for the army who is capable of rendering more useful service in industry. We ought to have power to see that every man who is not taken into the army is employed on national work. At present it is only on men fit for military service the nation has the right to call. Unfit men, exempted men, are surely under the same moral obligation. We need to make a swift and effective answer to Germany's latest move, and in my opinion it is not too much to ask the people of this country to take upon themselves in a few months and as free men the obligations which Germany is imposing on herself.

As our army grows our need of munitions grows. A large part of our labor for munition purposes is at present immobile, and we have no power to transfer men from where they are wasting their strength to places where they can be of great service. We have not the organization for transferring them as volunteers. These are the powers we must take, and this is the organization we must complete. The matter is not new. It was considered by the War Committee of the late Government and others, and it was decided that the time had come for the adoption of universal national service. It was one of the first matters taken up by the present Government.

It was proposed to appoint a Director of National Services. The military and civil sides will be entirely separate, and each will have a director. It is proposed that the Director of National Service shall proceed with the scheduling of industries and of services according to their essential character during the war. Certain industries will be regarded as indispensable, and the departments concerned will look to the Director of National Service for the labor they require. We are taking immediate steps to get the men we want, and we shall begin as soon as we can to classify industries and enroll volunteers. If we fail to get the numbers we require we shall not hesitate to ask Parliament to give us the necessary powers to make our plans effective.

The Military Situation

Having dealt so far with the domestic program of the Government, I will now refer to the military and political situations. While I do not believe in painting too rosy a picture of affairs, I think we ought not to take a gloomy view. It is true that Germany has captured the capital of Rumania, but your Lordships must not imagine that she has gained all the success even in Rumania that the words of the Imperial Chancellor would appear to suggest. It may be a consolation to your Lordships to know that the oil refineries and stocks in that part of Rumania which is now in the occupation of the Germans were destroyed before the arrival of the Germans.

It would be invidious if I were to discuss the cause of Rumania's failure. It is one of the tragic incidents of the war. The only military power which could come to the assistance of Rumania was Russia. Russia has done all in her power. The utmost we could do was to send supplies, as we did, and to engage the common enemy by an active offensive from our military base at Saloniki.

What changes have taken place in the external aspect of the war during the present year? I distrust the statistics, at any rate in casualties in war, nor do I attach too much importance to the fact that since July 1 the combined armies of France and England have taken 105,000 German prisoners, 150 heavy guns, 200 field guns, and 15,000 machine guns. There have been much more important consequences than this. The Allies have

established an incontestable superiority not merely in the fighting strength and stamina of their men, but in artillery and the air. It is clear that the morale of the Germans is greatly shaken and that their forces are sick of it. Evidence is accumulating of the bad interior condition of Germany, in some cases the admitted hunger and in some cases almost starvation and the progressive physical deterioration of her people.

Germany's Peace Talk

It is at this moment that Germany has come forward with offers of peace, or rather, let me say, vague adumbrations and indications of peace. What has been the course of events? First, there has been the speech of the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag. Next there is the note to the powers. The note proclaims the indestructible strength of the Central Powers, and proclaims that Germany is not only undefeated but undefeatable. It advances the plea that Germany was constrained to take up arms for the defense of her existence. It avows German respect for the rights of other nations, and expresses a desire to stem the flood of blood, and, finally, after this remarkable preamble, it declares that they propose even now, in the hour of their triumph, as an act of condescension, to enter into peace negotiations.

As regards peace, is there a single one of the allied powers who would not welcome peace if it is to be a genuine peace, a lasting peace, a peace that could be secured on honorable terms, a peace that would give guarantees for the future? Is there a single Government, statesman, or individual who does not wish to put an end to this conflict, which is turning half the world into a hell and wrecking the brightest prospects of mankind? In what spirit is it proposed and from whom does it come?

Lord Curzon read passages from the German Chancellor's speech and continued:

Is this the spirit in which your Lordships think that peace proposals should be made? Does it hold out a reasonable prospect of inducing the Allies to lay down their arms? Is there any indication of German desire to make reparation and to give guarantees for the future? So far as we can judge from that speech, and it is all we have to judge by, the spirit which breathes in every word is the spirit of German militarism. While that speech is being made Belgian deportation is going on. It is said that the "peace of God passeth understanding." Surely, the same thing can be said in a different sense of the peace which Germany proposes. We know nothing of that. We have only the menacing tone of the note and the speech which accompanied it.

Let me put one more reflection before you. Let no one think for a moment that it is merely by territorial restitution or by reversion to the status quo ante that the objects for which the Allies are fighting will be obtained. We are fighting, it is true, to recover for Belgium, France, Russia, Serbia, and Rumania the territories which they have lost, and to secure reparation for the cruel wrongs they have experienced. But you may restore to them all, and more than all, they have lost, you may pile on indemnities which no Treasury in Europe could produce, and yet the war would have been in vain if we had no guarantees and no securities against a repetition of Germany's offense. We are not fighting to destroy Germany. Such an idea has never entered into the mind of any thinking human being in this country. But we are fighting to secure that the German spirit shall not crush the free progress of nations, and that the armed strength of Germany, augmented and fortified, shall not dominate the future. We are fighting that our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren shall not have, in days when we have pased away, to go again through the experience of the years 1914 to 1917. This generation has suffered in order that the next may live.

We are ready enough for peace when these guarantees have been secured and these objects attained. Till then we owe it to the hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen and our allies who have shed their blood for us to be true to the trust of their splendid and uncomplaining sacrifice and to endure to the end.

Recruiting Britain's Great Armies

History of the First Phase

Great Britain now has about 5,000,000 men under arms. The full story of how the first brave little expeditionary force of 100,000 in Belgium and France grew under Lord Kitchener's hand to such vast dimensions has only lately been given to the world through British official channels. A condensed account of the first phase of the recruiting campaign, written by one of the editors of The London Telegraph, is here offered as by no means the least wonderful chapter in the history of the war.

MANY an immortal page in the history of the world will be consecrated to the effort of England in this greatest of wars. There can be none more amazing than that which tells of the levying and enlistment of millions of fighting men from the least military of European nations. The student of war, enemy or friend, would have made oath two years ago that to think of the United Kingdom creating in the shock and strain of war such armies as those which now threaten the power of Germany was mere mad delusion. Even yet the enemy can hardly persuade himself to believe that the overwhelming miracle has been wrought. But the armies are there in his trenches, and the hour of his conviction draws nearer.

How great is the achievement which, within two years, has magnified the military power of Britain tenfold, which has given us armies of millions instead of armies to be counted by the hundred thousand, we who have watched the work done day by day, who see only that little fraction affecting ourselves, can hardly yet realize. There is no doubt that in the future it will be recognized by the military historian as an example of national vigor and determination in war without precedent or parallel.

We have now come to a stage in the struggle and in the progress of recruiting whence it is possible to take a survey of the growth of our armies, showing the various phases in something like their true proportion. Such a survey, guided by the authoritative information which has been placed at our disposal, will be found of the deepest interest, and, what is more to the purpose, rich in material for national confidence and pride.

Before we knew what a modern conflict of nations must be, it was supposed that if Armageddon ever were fought England's main task in support of her allies of the Entente would be to enforce and maintain the command of the seven seas, and to supply the material of war from her deep purse and her highly organized industry. That she had an army second to none Englishmen profoundly believed, but no one in England or abroad expected her to produce an army upon the Continental scale.

In August, 1914, the whole military forces of England, with the colors and in the reserve, fully trained and partially trained, liable for foreign service, and only available for home defense, amounted to no more than 700,000 men. The regular army, counting in every class, reserves and special reserves, produced on mobilization about 450,000 men. The territorial force, which could not, except by men or battalions volunteering, be employed overseas, could muster some 250,000. These men, however eager to do their part, could not be reckoned as fully trained. It was in the scheme of things that the territorials would require six months under arms before they ranked as first-line troops. Thus the paper total of 700,000 does not represent the number available to meet the shock of the German advance.

Moreover, of this nominal 700,000, 100,000 and more were serving in India or on other foreign stations. When Lord Kitchener took up the seals of the War Office he found that for the defense of the United Kingdom and for giving aid to our hard-pressed allies he had at his disposal less than 600,000 men, more than half of whom were not fully trained. We may or may not be proud of it, but if ever a country gave pledges of its de-

sire for peace that country was twentieth-century England.

From the first Kitchener believed that the war must be a war of years, and not of months, and with grim vigor he acted on his belief. When we remember the excited optimism which in those days swayed not only the masses, but many who had been trained to war and high politics, we may be inclined to reckon it a signal example of the historic good fortune of England that she had in her service the rare foresight, the courageous judgment, and the invincible energy of Kitchener. His first action on going to the War Office was to announce that the addition of 100,000 men to the army was "immediately necessary." They were to be between the ages of 19 and 30, and they must enlist for "three years or the duration of the war." The length and elasticity of the term caused a good many smiles. The theory that the struggle would be short and sharp was in favor with the expert as well as the layman. But those smiles are a queer memory in 1916.

Kitchener decided that his recruits should not be brought into any of the old organizations of the regular army, the special reserve, or the territorial force, but enrolled in new formations called service battalions. A second expeditionary force was to come into being behind the old. But the value of what the old could teach was not forgotten. By attaching these service battalions to the territorial regiments, to which the regular and territorial force battalions also belong, and numbering them consecutively after the old formations, the feeling of unity, the traditions, and spirit of the old army were from the beginning implanted in the service battalions. That they can fight and die not unworthily of that "contemptible little army" which broke the first onset of the barbarian at Mons and Le Cateau they have shown all the world in the rush at Loos and the steady advance on the Somme.

The First Hundred Thousand

Kitchener wanted 100,000 men to start with. Within a fortnight he found them. It was swiftly clear that the trouble would be not to obtain recruits, but to deal with them as they came. The rush to the colors had begun, indeed, before Kitchener issued his appeal, before he entered the War Office. The officer in charge of Great Scotland Yard, the principal recruiting office in London, has an odd story to tell of those early days. During the whole of Saturday, Aug. 1, he recalls, he had attested only eight men. On Aug. 2 and 3, Sunday and Bank Holiday, his office was closed. When he came back early on the 4th he found it besieged by a seething mass of men eager to storm their way into the army. It took him twenty minutes and the desperate efforts of twenty policemen to force his way into his own office, and he was attesting men as hard as he could all that day and for very many other days. But the experience of Scotland Yard was the experience of every recruiting office in the kingdom. "Duke's son, cook's son," men of all classes, married and single, childless and with families, rich and poor, artists and artisans, barristers and plowmen, parsons and loafers, crowded to the doors where once Sergeants with persuasive tongues had cajoled to little purpose.

This wave of men overwhelmed all organization and machinery. Nobody in the War Office or out of it had dreamed of such a flood. Before the war our army expected to enlist no more than 30,000 men in a whole year, and it is to be confessed that the staff and establishment of the recruiting department were hardly adequate to manage the affairs of even this unpretentious host. It is an odd example of the irony of circumstance that less than a month before war broke out there were anxious assemblies in Whitehall debating whether they could not find some less arduous way of mustering and handling those 30,000 per annum. Four weeks passed, and the men and the system, which had struggled inadequately with their 30,000 a year, had to cope with more than 30,000 a day. There was for a while chaos. But the enthusiasm of the recruits refused to be baffled by a broken-down organization, and before

long the organization was re-established upon an adequate scale.

The civilian came to the aid of the soldier. Zealous members of Parliament commissioned themselves with a scrap of paper in Lord Kitchener's hand, fled forth to their constituencies, and began to break all the most holy regulations. In one Midland city, it is related, the local member of his own autocratic motion removed the recruiting office from a room in a poky back street to the Town Hall, engaged eight civilian doctors to help the one struggling medical officer in his work of examination, printed locally the sacred army forms for recruits, with all their apparatus of seventeen elaborate questions, and, climax of daring, ordained that the bath, which in the old days of leisure every recruit had to enter, would be cut clean out of the ritual. But this heroic reformer was only one of many. From John o' Groats to Land's End Provosts and Mayors commandeered the largest halls which their towns contained, and mustered volunteers to help the professional recruiting clerks, who were struggling for breath in the sudden avalanche of forms, pay sheets, and other complicated documents. And volunteers were sorely needed. When war broke out some 500 men were employed on recruiting. At the present moment the department commands a staff of nearly 7,000. But the local authorities did not limit their help to filling up forms. They improvised quarters for the attested recruits and organized the supply of food necessary during the hours or days which passed before the army could find a depot for each new cohort.

250,000 In One Week

Many an ardent recruit had his cause to grumble in those strenuous weeks, some may have lost for a while their eagerness to serve, and it is probable that a few men who tried hard to be among the first in the New Armies were allowed to slip through the too crowded hands of the recruiters. But there is no doubt that they were but a few. The general enthusiasm was more than enough to triumph over many rebuffs and a host of difficulties. The recruiting officers with their staffs, old and new, paid and voluntary, kept at their work day in and day out, and night in and night out, too, so long as there were men at their doors. The time for mystery about their numbers has passed. In one week, the fifth of the war, the week which saw the first German onset hurled back, 175,000 men were enlisted for the regular army alone. Many more went into the Territorial Force. If we include those rejected by the doctors, the total number of men offering themselves to the army must have been in that one week little short of 250,000.

Within a month an army of some 250,000 had become an army of 1,000,000 and many more. That statement, precisely true in itself, quite fails to express the truth about the situation. For the 500,000 of peace were not all in England, and of those who were in England not all were with the colors. So the War Office, called on at a month's notice to feed, equip, and train these new armies of far more than double the demands of peace time, was enmeshed in difficulties. We should be cautious of exaggerating our unreadiness. Due preparations had been made in peace for the military establishments in prospect. Adequate reserves of material had been accumulated. But the wave of recruits swept these reserves away as the tide blots out a child's sand castle. Shelter, food, clothing, equipment, arms, training grounds, instructors, officers—what there was of all these necessities was as nothing for the gathering battalions. Food, indeed, existed, but none of the other things were in the world at all. Even food could not be had in the right place and at the right time, in the lack of any organization for collection and distribution.

If the provision of clothing and equipment was difficult, the provision of arms seemed to be a task demanding miracles. Yet the supply of arms was a simple matter compared with the supply of Drill Sergeants and instructors. Machinery can make rifles. But we have no machinery for making noncommissioned officers. The raw recruit, how-

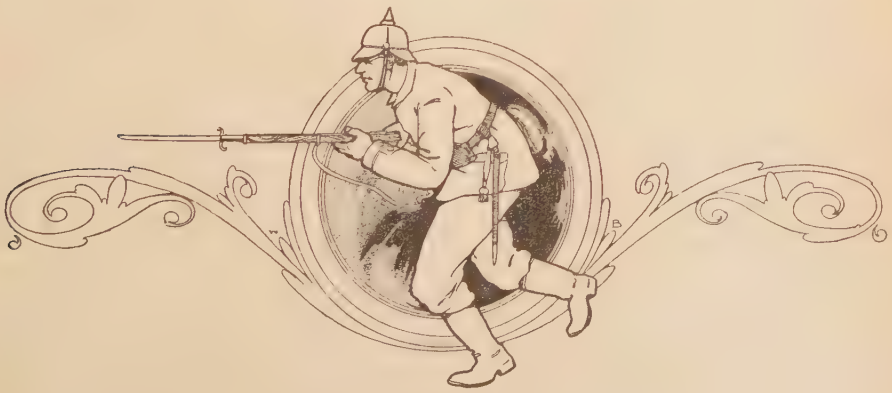
ever intelligent, however zealous, needed months of training. Most of the officers and noncommissioned officers to whom the task of instruction should have fallen were at the front. If every one of them had been available they would have been all too few for the new armies. So before the work of making the recruit into a soldier could be begun the War Office had to discover instructors and Drill Sergeants and put them to the test.

End of the First Phase

A month after Kitchener's first call for men he had more than he knew what to do with. Swarms of recruits for whom no proper provision could be made were obviously mere waste of the national substance. And still more men came in. Everybody now can see what ought to have been done. If some organizer with the gift of prophecy had, in the September of 1914, conceived and brought into use Lord Derby's group system, attested every man who came, and sent him back home to wait his turn, the ardent enthusiasm of those first days of war might have given us every man who can usefully be taken for the army. The controversies and the anxieties of later months might all have been spared. But since nobody thought of a group system in 1914, we can hardly blame the War Office for not adopting it.

Something had to be done. Like a fairy tale heroine buried in the gold for which she had prayed, the War Office was in danger of being overwhelmed by its hordes of recruits. The rush could not be allowed to go on. On Sept. 11 it was decided to raise the standard of physique. The hint was quickly taken. The expedient was only too successful. Men naturally supposed that the War Office had got all and more than all the men it wanted. At the end of a week of the new standard the recruits obtained for the regular army were less than a third of those of the previous week, and the weekly number went on falling till it became less than one-ninth of the rate of those early days.

So we pass from the first phase of recruiting. We may, perhaps, regret the rather prosaic end. We may fancy that something more of ingenuity, of foresight, of imagination in high places might have served the nation well. But we shall not easily be persuaded that the fall in recruiting was evidence of any failure of the national resolution, any weakening in the spirit of her manhood. "The crucial period in the history of recruiting," as Mr. Lloyd George reminded us the other day, was not that of the group system nor of the controversy upon compulsion, but those first weeks of enthusiasm. What was done then decided the part which our country is to play in the contest, the issue, if not the course of the war.



Two Years of British Achievement

Address by ex-Premier Herbert H. Asquith

[Delivered Dec. 19, 1916.]

Mr. Asquith's first speech in the House of Commons after his resignation of the Premiership was delivered at the same session as that of Premier Lloyd George, (which appeared in full in the January CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.) It presented a valuable survey of what Great Britain had achieved in the direction of victory during his term of office, and was punctuated with an amount of friendly applause such as has seldom been accorded to the leader of a retiring Ministry.

MY first duty, and it is a very agreeable one, is to congratulate my right honorable friend [Lloyd George] with all my heart upon his accession to the highest and most responsible place in the service of the Crown. No one knows better, no one knows as well as I do, the extent and the degree of the care, labors, anxieties which at a time like this incumbency of that office brings with it. I earnestly hope for him, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of the country and the empire, that he will sustain a full measure of physical strength and energy, and I can assure him he will have in the prosecution of a task of unexampled magnitude and difficulty the whole-hearted sympathy of persons of all classes and all parties in this House. * * *

HERBERT H. ASQUITH
British Premier, Resigned

It is eleven years now since I spoke from this side of the House, and if I speak from it today it is not because I claim in any sense to be the leader of what is called an Opposition. Opposition I believe there is none. It is not even because I have had in the course of the last few weeks most gratifying testimony that I retain the confidence of my old political associates, at whose side, and in later years at whose head, I have fought in all the great domestic controversies of the last thirty years. I do not stand here and speak here as the head of the Liberal Party. I have been for the last two and a half years the person mainly responsible for the conduct of this war. I do not care for the moment by whom the Government is conducted, although I am very glad to see a man of such ability as my right honorable friend in the place which he so worthily occupies—whatever experience I have gained, for whatever it is worth, is at the disposal of the Government.

I would not, indeed, devote a sentence to my own personal position were it not that I have had the honor of being leader of this House for the best part of nine years, and, with that record behind me, I am proud to think that, to whatever quarter of the House I turn, I see the faces not only of fellow-members, but of friends. They will understand me when I say, on the one hand, it is to me a relief, and in some ways an unspeakable relief, to be released from a daily burden which has lately been carried under almost insupportable conditions, and, on the other hand, a matter for natural and deep regret that I should be compelled to leave unfinished a task at which I have so long and so strenuously worked. Let that suffice on the personal question.

But, apart from and beyond any per-

sonal consideration, I wish to deal with the suggestion, not, indeed, I agree, put forward in the least by my right honorable friend—he would be the last to do it—but industriously circulated outside, that in some vaguely defined way the late Government had failed or were failing in the resolute and effective prosecution of this war. I am not going for a moment to assume the attitude or to adopt the language of apology. Errors of judgment, defects of method, there may have been, and there undoubtedly have been. Not only our gallant allies, but the enemy himself, if he were for once in a candid mood, would make the same confession. But that there has been slackness or lethargy, infirmity of purpose, above all, want of thoroughness and want of wholeheartedness in our concentration upon our common task, not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of my late colleagues, as well those who sit upon that bench as those who sit upon this, I emphatically deny.

Slingers of Mud

The full story cannot, of course, be yet told. The critics in time of war—I refer not merely to irresponsible slingers of mud, but to honest and patriotic lookers-on—have the enormous dialectical advantage that, while they are free to speak and write—some people think a little too freely—the men whom they are attacking are of necessity, by the responsibilities of their position, by their duty to our naval and military officers, and by their obligation to our allies, to a large extent tonguetied. That is not a new phenomenon. It is one that has been observed ever since public opinion found daily or weekly articulate expression. It was so in the days of Lord Chatham, in the days of Pitt, in the time of the Napoleonic struggle, and never more conspicuously than in days most critical, when Castlereagh and Wellington were the favorite targets for the darts of the omniscient amateur.

I would only say this: that I am quite content, when all the facts come to be disclosed, to leave my administration and the part which I myself played in it to the judgment of history. Meantime I ask the House to accompany me in a brief general survey. When this war was forced upon us and our allies, after every conceivable effort had been made by my noble friend, Viscount Grey—who had justly earned in the preceding years the title of "the peacemaker of Europe"—we had not an army on a continental scale. It was never any part of our policy to create or maintain such an army. What has been done by this country since the outbreak of war is no inconsiderable achievement. But there were two factors from the first which we have been able to contribute to the common cause which are peculiarly and essentially our own—naval supremacy and financial resource. I do not intend at this moment to appraise the relevant importance of these three factors—military, naval, and financial—but I am certain the last two, taken together, have not been less potent or less weighty than the first.

It very soon became apparent that in all three domains not only we, but all the allied powers, had to confront entirely novel conditions. On land we have seen a combination of the last refinements of modern science in the arts and mechanism of destruction, and a revival of methods and practices of mediaeval, or even earlier, times.

Work of the Navy

On the sea—and I want to call particular attention to this—it took a comparatively short time for our navy to clear the ocean of the cruisers and the armed merchantmen that were preying on our commerce, and the enemy has very rarely indulged our sailors in the luxury of a stand-up fight on the open sea. But the novel feature of the war in that respect, of course, has been the development of the mine and the submarine. Even that development would have been far less formidable if it had not been accompanied, as it has been, by the systematic violation of all the established conventions and practices of international law.

You cannot protect the oceans of the world against the possible torpedoing of trading ships. It is an impossible task. This practice is carried on, I am certain

—let us say so much for the quality of our foe—by men who are acting against their own will and under instructions of a superior power which compels them to defy all the rules in regard to capture and prizes which have hitherto been held sacred in maritime warfare. Much has been done in the course of the last eighteen months by a vigilant and ceaseless observation and by devices I need not describe to minimize the danger. For months past we have been anxiously engaged in providing armament for our merchant ships, which is the best, and in the long run the most efficient, safeguard.

But important as that is, it does not compare with the vital urgency of what has become the primary duty of our fleet —the maintenance of the blockade. To enable it to perform that duty with ever-increasing efficiency the number of auxiliary vessels has during the last two years been multiplied to enormous dimensions. There are complaints, I know, that out of tenderness for neutrals the blockade is not as stringent as it should be. There is no department of the war in which the problems to be confronted are more delicate and difficult. For my part I rejoice to think this department is still in the skilled and most capable hands of my noble friend, (Lord R. Cecil.) But great as the difficulties are, the evidence which comes from many different quarters is irresistible and overwhelming that it is the steady, ever-tightening pressure exerted by our navy which is sapping the springs of German vitality and turning the thoughts and hopes of the mass of their people in the direction of peace.

The Question of Finance

As to finance, here again we have to deal with unexampled conditions. We have as our enemy in this war—and it lies at the root of almost all our difficulties—in the two Central Powers we have two countries which are geographically contiguous, which are on the economic side to a large extent mutually self-supporting, and which were fully equipped at the outset of the war with a practically unlimited supply of munitions. In this respect, as in the sphere both of diplomacy and strategy, he started with, and he has maintained, the initial advantage of waging war on interior lines.

Exactly the reverse has been the case of the Allies. It is sufficient to say that, while their power of exporting goods, particularly in the case of France, to some extent, of Italy, and, of course, the whole of Belgium, has been largely curtailed, gigantic imports of food, munitions, and a hundred other necessities of war have had to be taken from neutral countries, and for the financing of these transactions, as well as for the transport of the commodities themselves, Great Britain has made herself primarily and mainly responsible.

Serious as the prospect is in many respects, that there has been no breakdown in the performance of a task so unprecedented reflects the greatest credit on the departments and on the members of the various committees who have assisted in their work—committees wholly composed of volunteers, who have given unstintedly their time and energy to the public without notoriety and without reward.

I trust and believe that in the reorganization of some of the departments and in the creation of the new offices—with the general purpose of which I am in complete sympathy—full use will continue to be made of this invaluable reservoir of organized voluntary effort. You cannot get on without it; you cannot dispense with what has been to us one of the most valuable auxiliaries in the discharge of the great responsibility of carrying on the war. The prospect in regard to finance and transport is, in my judgment, a very serious one. It is not so serious as to justify misgiving, and still less alarm. It will not be solved, any more than will any other of the problems of the war—as some of our outside critics, who are apt to mistake bustle for business and vehemence for strength, are inclined to think—it will not be solved by short cuts or by a series of coups-de-main.

The Military Situation

Before I speak of the future, let me add one word as to the military situation. I agree with what my right honorable friend said about Rumania. It has been

a bad business. It is not possible at this moment, even if it were desirable, to apportion the different degrees of responsibility for it, yet I agree that it is a very good illustration of the desirability, nay, the urgent necessity, of more intimate co-operation between the General Staffs and the politicians of the allied Governments. It is very easy to say: Why have you not brought that about? An alliance of this kind, working under these conditions, is without any example in history, and during the last twelve months at any rate the constant interchange of communication and confidence between ourselves and the French has grown into a practice which may now be regarded as one of the normal incidents of our allied conduct. If the Prime Minister and his colleagues can bring about more intimate communication he will have rendered one of the greatest services it is possible to render to the Allies, and I wish him all success in that effort.

But the outstanding military feature of the last few months is undoubtedly the operations on the Somme. So far as our own army is concerned, I believe there is universal agreement that they have been carried out with the utmost skill, tenacity, and courage by Sir Douglas Haig and his officers. Their primary and immediate object was the relief of Verdun. Verdun had been for months the principal objective of German strategy. The Crown Prince had hurled against it the finest troops in his army. It sustained, I suppose, the most terrific and prolonged bombardment of any fortress in history. The loss of Verdun would have been the greatest blow to the allied cause since the beginning of the war. How do we stand today? Not only is Verdun not lost, but the work which took the enemy months of costly effort has been wholly undone, and today we congratulate the gallant General Nivelle and his heroic army on the glorious success of their new offensive. But the operations on the Somme have done much more than to relieve Verdun. They have prevented the withdrawal of large bodies of troops from the west to the east, inflicted enormous casualties on the enemy—far greater, I believe, than he has inflicted on us and the French combined—and last, and perhaps most significant of all, there is overwhelming evidence that while the morale of our troops, always magnificent, has steadily enhanced, the morale of the enemy has steadily declined.

The German Peace Proposals

I think what I have said is sufficient to show that the use we have made of the methods open to us—naval, military, and economic—has not been ineffectual, and if further proof were required it is to be found in the so-called peace proposals which have been somewhat clumsily projected into space from Berlin. It is true that these proposals are wrapped up in the familiar dialect of Prussian arrogance, but how comes it that a nation which after two years of war professes itself conscious of military superiority and confident of ultimate victory, should begin to whisper, nay, not to whisper, but to shout so that all the world can hear it, the word "peace"? Is it a sudden access of chivalry? Why and when has the German Chancellor become so acutely sensitive to what he calls the dictates of humanity? No; without being uncharitable we may well look elsewhere for the origin of this pronouncement. It is born of military and economic necessity.

When I moved the last vote of credit I said there was no one among us who did not yearn for peace, but that it must be an honorable and not a shamefaced peace; it must be a peace that promised to be durable and not a patched-up and precarious compromise; it must be a peace which achieved the purpose for which we entered on the war. Such a peace we would gladly accept. Anything short of it we were bound to repudiate by every obligation of honor, and, above all, by the debt we owe to those, and especially to the young, who have given their lives for what they and we believed to be a worthy cause.

Since I spoke two months ago their ranks have been sadly and steadily reinforced. I should like to refer in passing for a moment to one of them, a friend and colleague of mine, Lord Lucas. Apart from the advantages of birth and fortune, he was a man of singularly winning personality, fine intelligence, and with the

strongest sense of public duty. He worked inconspicuously but hard in the early days of the territorial army. He served for some years at the War Office, and afterward became a member of the Cabinet. At the time of the coalition he stood aside without a murmur and volunteered straightaway for the Royal Flying Corps. Now he has met his death in a gallant reconnoitring raid over the German lines. He was not, I think, more than 40. He had a full and fruitful life. Nor can we nor ought we forget the countless victims, both among our own people and among our allies, of the ruthless and organized violation of the humane restrictions by which both on land and sea the necessary horrors of war have been hitherto mitigated. For my own part, I say plainly and emphatically that I see nothing in the note of the German Government which gives me the least reason to believe that they are in a mood to give to the Allies what the last time I spoke I declared to be essential—reparation and security.

The Only Way of Peace

If they are in the right mood—if they are prepared to give us reparation for the past and security for the future, let them say so. While I was at the head of the Government, on several occasions I indicated, I believe, in quite unambiguous language, the minimum of the Allies' demands before they put up their swords, as well as the general character of the ultimate international status upon which our hopes and desires are set. I have no longer authority to speak for the Government or the nation, but I do not suppose the House or the country is going back from what I said in their name and on their behalf. It is not we that stand in the way of peace when we decline, as I hope we shall, to enter blindfold into parleys which start from nothing, and therefore can lead to nothing. Peace we all desire, but peace can only come—peace, I mean, that is worthy the name and that satisfies the definition of the word—peace will only come on the terms that atonement is made for past wrongs, that the weak and the downtrodden are restored, and that the faith of treaties and the sovereignty of public law are securely enthroned over the nations of the world.

[French Cartoon]

Germany's Olive Branch

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

FRENCH SOLDIER: "It is true, then—you are as badly off as that!"

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill
United States Navy

Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *a series of articles covering all the chief naval events of the present war, with a view especially to the lessons they convey. In this article, the second of the series, he tells the story of the outstanding naval engagements of the first year. In his battle descriptions he aims less at completeness of detail than at the selection of those features which supply data useful for the deducing of lessons in naval warfare.*

II.—Coronel, Falkland, and Dardanelles Engagements

IN following the naval developments of the present war it is of interest to note that nothing startling has happened to upset expert predictions, either as to the part sea power would take, or as to which of the belligerent navies would dominate. In the course of the fighting there have not been any great surprises. Generally speaking, results have squared with the degree and kind of naval preparations made by the respective warring nations during the previous years of peace. This war seems to have pretty well exposed the fetich that an untrained citizenry, armed with wonderful inventions supplied on the spur of the moment by native ingenuity, can be depended upon to overcome skilled armies and navies.

Neither an army nor a navy can be improvised, but it is an important difference between them that an army can be prepared more quickly and easily than can a navy. At the outbreak of this war Great Britain's army was small and relatively insignificant, but her powerful fleet was ready. Under the protection of this first line of defense a great army has in two and a half years been recruited from British possessions all over the world, and equipped and trained. Navies cannot be so readily built up, and, unless there are marked discrepancies between the losses sustained by the belligerents, their relative naval strength will remain about the same. There is always the chance, of course, that one side or the other will hit upon some revolutionizing invention. It does not necessarily follow, because none has appeared in the first two and a half years of the conflict, that none will appear, or even that, had we been a party to the fighting, Yankee ingenuity would not have produced one; but there is, nevertheless, evidence that in shaping a policy of defense it is safer to heed the lessons of experience than to rely upon a mere theory of inventive abilities adequate to meet any situation. The large defense appropriation voted by the recent Congress indicates the attitude of the American people on this point.

The next step is to determine as accurately as possible just what these lessons of the war are.

Careful analysis of the battles fought in previous wars has contributed much to naval science. There is, however, by reason of improvements in ships and guns, a continual changing of conditions, which affects the application of strategic and tactical principles. If useful conclusions are to be arrived at, it is advisable, therefore, to examine naval activities of the present war as closely as is possible in the light of all available information. In attempting this, the handicap of insufficient and unreliable data is admitted, but even if some of the premises are slightly in error, still, the inferences drawn will have value so long as they are logical and agree with accepted naval opinion.

Sea Events of Early Months

In the first month of the war there were no big naval battles. Liveliness, however, was shown in numerous ways. On Aug. 6, 1914, the British light cruiser Amphion was sunk by striking a mine in the North Sea. On Sept. 22, 1914, the British armored cruisers Aboukir, Hogue,

and Cressy, while patrolling in home waters, were sunk by a single German submarine. When the Aboukir was torpedoed, the two sister ships went to her assistance, thereby presenting easy targets to the waiting submarine. By this disaster the obvious lesson was learned that areas near torpedoed ships are dangerous, and should be avoided by large vessels, or at least approached with caution.

In the early months of the war, besides using mines and submarines, both sides were busy mobilizing their fighting strength and making various strategical dispositions of ships and fleets. Incident to this and to commerce destroying carried on in all parts of the world, there were some brisk encounters between single ships and a few minor engagements between cruiser detachments. A noteworthy piece of fighting occurred off Heligoland Bight on Aug. 28, 1914, when the Germans lost three light cruisers and one destroyer, while the British suffered minor damages, without losing any ships.

The chief point of interest in this spirited action is that Admiral Beatty, in supporting his light cruisers and destroyers, dared mines and torpedoes, took six battle cruisers almost under the guns of the German fortress, struck his blow, evaded submarine attacks by manoeuvring, and escaped without losing a ship.

These activities are interesting, and sometimes important in result; but the scope of this paper is limited to a consideration of the more important operations. The first to be taken up is the battle off Coronel, in which a German cruiser squadron defeated a British cruiser squadron.

The Battle Off Coronel

At the beginning of the war the British armored cruisers Good Hope and Monmouth, together with the light cruiser Glasgow and transport Otranto, were in Atlantic waters off the coast of the Americas. These ships rendezvoused off Brazil and proceeded south around Cape Horn, evidently with the mission to find and destroy German vessels. The old battleship Canopus was also in these waters, but apparently did not cruise in company with the other ships because of her inferior speed.

At this time German ships in the Pacific included the armored cruisers Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, the light cruiser Nürnberg, and the light cruiser Leipzig. These ships in the Pacific, together with the light cruiser Dresden, then in South Atlantic waters, proceeded at the outbreak of the war, apparently in accordance with a prearranged plan, to rendezvous off the coast of Western South America.

Comparing the strategic dispositions of the belligerents in this rather remote theatre of war, it is seen that in the latter part of October, 1914, the British Admiral, Sir Christopher Cradock, had under his command two armored cruisers, one light cruiser, and one battleship, while the German Admiral, Count von Spee, had two armored cruisers and three light cruisers, thus giving the British a superiority of about 8,000 tons in displacement and about 2,200 pounds in weight of broadside. These figures, however, are misleading, because they do not truly measure the fighting values of the two groups. The German ships were newer and their squadron more homogeneous in both guns and speed. The British ships were a heterogeneous collection of less modern vessels, with the principal fighting strength in an old battleship of only sixteen knots speed, which did not get into the engagement at all. With the Canopus out of the battle line, the Germans had considerable advantage in tonnage and in weight of broadside.

The information now available seems to afford evidence of superior strategy on the part of Germany. All the more credit is due on account of Germany's marked inferiority in total of sea power, with consequently greater difficulties confronting Admiral Spee, beset as he was by Japanese squadrons as well as by British squadrons, and without any naval bases in which to seek refuge and comfort.

The movements of these squadrons up to the day of the battle have been considered as strategical because they were in preparation for fighting. We now turn

A FRENCH ARTILLERY BATTERY IN ACTION ON THE SOMME

These Heavy Guns Are Keeping Up a Steady Fire Against the German Positions, Miles Away, Depending Solely Upon Telephonic Directions for Their Aim

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

A SECTION OF THE GERMAN TRENCH LINES IN FRANCE

This Unique Photograph Was Taken from a French Aeroplane Which Flew So Low That the Germans Can Be Seen in the Trenches. Note the Holes Made by French Shells. The Place Is Soyecourt

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

to the tactical phases which have to do with the execution of the fighting.

Positions of Opposing Squadrons

On the afternoon of Nov. 1, 1914, the British squadron was spread out in scouting formation, steaming along the coast of Chile, looking for enemy ships. The light cruiser Glasgow had been dispatched to Coronel to send cables. She left there at 9 A. M., Nov. 1, and while steaming to the northward sighted the German squadron at about 4 P. M. At about 5 P. M. the British ships formed in line ahead, the Good Hope leading, followed by the Monmouth, Glasgow, and Otranto. The battleship Canopus was about 250 miles to the southward. Admiral von Spee formed his ships in line ahead, the Scharnhörst leading, followed by the Gneisenau, with the Dresden about one mile in the rear and the Nürnberg far behind. At 6:07 P. M. the two squadrons were on nearly parallel southerly courses, about 15,000 yards apart, with the German line inshore.

There was a heavy sea and strong wind from one to two points to the eastward of south, and the German ships were able to make their course a little to the westward of south, bringing this heavy sea on their unengaged bow. On the other hand, the British carried wind and sea a little on the engaged bow, a marked disadvantage, making their six-inch guns, especially the lower tier, practically useless. It is to be noted that the German 8.2-inch guns were mounted higher and were better for fighting in a seaway. Practically all that the British had to oppose the twelve 8.2-inch guns of the Germans were two old 9.2-inch turret guns on board the Good Hope. An additional disadvantage was that the British ships were silhouetted against the twilight sky, supplying an excellent point of aim for the Germans.

At this time Admiral Cradock was no doubt doing some hard thinking. Should he engage with such big odds against him? There was the Canopus, his main fighting strength, 250 miles to the southward. By bearing off sharply to the westward, even at this late hour, the speeds of the two squadrons were so nearly equal that he could have avoided engaging that night and by morning he could have most likely joined up with the Canopus and fought the battle on a more equal footing. It would be interesting to know what thoughts flashed through the Admiral's mind and what counsels prevailed upon him to make the courageous but fateful decision embodied in his signal to the Canopus at 6:18 P. M., "I am going to attack the enemy now."

Admiral Spee's Report

The two squadrons gradually neared each other on converging courses, and Vice Admiral von Spee describes the battle as follows:

Wind and swell were head on and the vessels had heavy going, especially the small cruisers on both sides. Observation and distance estimation were under a severe handicap because of the seas which washed over the bridges. The swell was so great that it obscured the aim of the gunners at the six-inch guns on the middle deck, who could not see the sterns of the enemy ships at all and the bows but seldom. At 6:20 P. M., at a distance of 13,400 yards, I turned one point toward the enemy, and at 6:34 opened fire at a distance of 11,260 yards. The guns of both our armored cruisers were effective, and by 6:39 already we could note the first hit on the Good Hope. I at once resumed a parallel course instead of bearing slightly toward the enemy.

The English opened their fire at this time. I assume that the heavy sea made more trouble for them than it did for us. Their two armored cruisers remained covered by our fire, while they, so far as could be determined, hit the Scharnhörst but twice and the Gneisenau only four times.

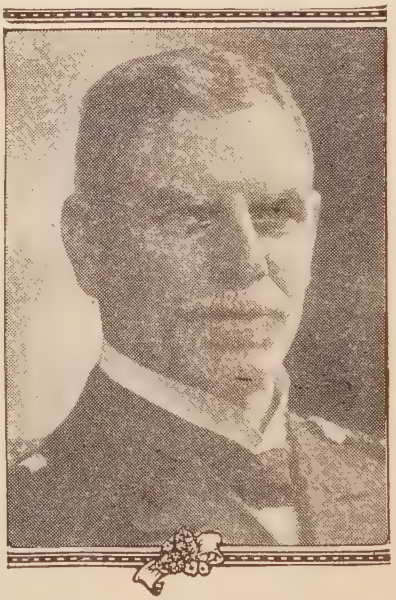
At 6:53, when 6,500 yards apart, I ordered a course one point away from the enemy. They were firing more slowly at this time, while we were able to count numerous hits. We could see, among other things, that the top of the Monmouth's forward turret had been shot away and that a violent fire was burning in the turret. The Scharnhörst, it is thought, hit the Good Hope about thirty-five times.

In spite of our altered course the English changed theirs sufficiently so that the distance between us shrunk to 5,300 yards. There was reason to suspect that the enemy despaired of using his artillery effectively and was manoeuvring for a torpedo attack. The position of the moon, which had risen at 6 o'clock, was favorable to this move. Accordingly I gradually opened up further distances between the squadrons by another deflection of the leading ship at 7:45. In the meantime it had grown dark. The range

finders on the Scharnhörst used the fire on the Monmouth as a guide for a time, though eventually all range finding, aiming, and observations became so inexact that firing was stopped at 7:26.

At 7:23 a column of fire from an explosion was noticed between the stacks of the Good Hope. The Monmouth apparently stopped firing at 7:20. The small cruisers, including the Nürnberg, received by wireless at 7:30 the order to follow the enemy and to attack his ships with torpedoes. Vision was somewhat obscured at this time by a rain squall. The light cruisers were not able to find the Good Hope, but the Nürnberg encountered the Monmouth, and at 8:58 was able by shots at closest range to capsize her without a single shot being fired in return. Rescue work in the heavy sea was not to be thought of, especially as the Nürnberg immediately afterward believed she had sighted the smoke of another ship and had to prepare for a new attack.

The small cruisers had neither losses nor damage in the battle. On the Gneisenau there were two men slightly wounded. The crews of the ships went into the fight with enthusiasm, every one did his duty and played his part in the victory.



VICE ADMIRAL VON SPEE
(*Photo © Brown Bros.*)

In concluding the account of this battle it may be said that little criticism can be advanced against the tactics used by Vice Admiral Spee. He appears to have manoeuvred so as to secure the advantage of light, wind, and sea. He also seems to have suited himself as regards the range. The Good Hope and Monmouth were destroyed, the Glasgow had a narrow and lucky escape, while the German losses were two slightly wounded.

Falkland Island Engagement

After the battle off Coronel, while the German squadron coaled at Valparaiso and made its way in no great hurry around Cape Horn, the British were not idle. Within ten days of the receipt of the news of the British disaster in the South Pacific the dreadnought battle cruisers Invincible and Inflexible, under command of Vice Admiral Sturdee, were on their way to the Falkland Islands, a wireless and coaling station off the southeast coast of South America. It would appear that Admiral Spee contemplated an attack on the Falklands, and it would also appear that he did not anticipate the vigorous and alert strategy of his enemy. Had he done so he surely would have either tried to time his visit earlier or else have abandoned it entirely.

As a matter of ordinary precaution it seems strange that he did not send a scout ship ahead to reconnoitre, or at least he might have planned to arrive in the late afternoon, which would have given his ships a good chance to escape from a superior force under cover of darkness. On the other hand, little criticism can be made of England's strategy, which provided, on the morning of Dec. 8, when the German squadron hove in sight of the lookout ship off the Falkland harbor entrance, an opposing fighting force at anchor within, consisting of two battle cruisers, the Invincible and Inflexible; three armored cruisers, the Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Kent; the light cruisers Bristol and Glasgow, and the predreadnought battleship Canopus.

The German squadron was the same as off Coronel—two armored cruisers, the Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, and three light cruisers, the Leipzig, Nürnberg, and Dresden.

The total tonnage of the British ships was 87,000—nearly three times that of the German total, which was 35,500, while the total weight of the British broadside was 9,566 kilograms, nearly five times that of the German total, which was 2,032 kilograms.

In addition to the above-mentioned

fighting ships, the converted cruiser Macedonia was acting as a lookout ship for the British, and the steamships Baden and Santa Isabel were in the train of the German squadron. The British ships had arrived at 10:30 A. M. the day before and had begun coaling at once. At the time of the engagement the battle cruisers, though not filled up, had plenty of fuel on board, and the fact that they were a little light in draft favored their speed.

At 8 A. M. the German ships were sighted, and orders were given to raise steam for full speed. The high land hid the main British force, and at 9:20 the Gneisenau and the Nürnberg, with guns trained on the wireless station, had closed to within 11,000 yards of the Canopus, which opened fire at them across the low land with her twelve-inch guns. The Germans hoisted their colors and turned away from their hidden foe, but a few minutes later turned to port, as though to close on the Kent, at the entrance of the harbor. Then the British battle cruisers were sighted, and the two German ships altered course and increased their speed to join their consorts.

At 9:45 A. M. the British squadron, less the Bristol, got under way and headed for the German ships, which were clearly in sight hull down. The sea was calm, with a light breeze from the northwest. The visibility was at a maximum, under a bright sun in a clear sky. At 10:20 signal for a general chase was made, but the battle cruisers eased speed to twenty knots, to allow the other cruisers to get in station.

Tactics of the Battle

Three enemy ships, probably transports or colliers, were sighted off Port Pleasant, and the Bristol was ordered to take the Macedonia in company and destroy the transports. It is to be noted that the Bristol, a sister ship to the Glasgow, was faster and better armed than any of the German light cruisers, and was also three and one-half knots faster than the British armored cruisers Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Kent. The reasons for sending a twenty-six-and-one-half-knot ship instead of a twenty-three-knot ship after the transports are not very clear, especially as the Bristol and the Glasgow were the only two ships besides the battle cruisers fast enough to catch the Nürnberg and the Dresden.

The British squadron, as a unit, was not able to close on the German squadron, and at 11:20 Vice Admiral Sturdee decided to atack with his faster ships, the Invincible, Inflexible, and Glasgow. These three all had a speed of twenty-six and one-half knots, and were able to close quickly on the Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, which had a speed of only twenty-three and one-half knots. At 12:55 the battle cruisers opened fire on the German light cruiser Leipzig at a range of 16,500 to 15,000 yards. A half hour later the German light cruisers turned to the southwest and spread, in an effort to escape. The armored cruisers Cornwall and Kent and the light cruiser Glasgow gave chase, while the battle cruisers and the Carnarvon kept on after the Scharnhörst and Gneisenau. Admiral Sturdee kept, for the most part, at a range of between 16,000 and 12,000 yards, destroying the enemy with his twelve-inch guns in rather leisurely fashion, without getting within the effective range of the German 8.2-inch guns. At 4:17 P. M. the Scharnhörst sank, with her flag flying. The Gneisenau kept up the unequal fight, but at 6 P. M. she also sank with her flag flying.

In the chase after the light cruisers the Glasgow was the only ship with superior speed, but she was able to engage the Nürnberg and Leipzig, delaying them enough to give the Cornwall and Kent a chance to get into action. The Leipzig sank at 9 P. M. and the Nürnberg was sunk by the Kent at 7:27 P. M.

The Dresden escaped. Hindsight is always better than foresight, and we should be slow to criticise without knowing full particulars, but one cannot help wondering at the tactical disposition of the Bristol and questioning if the Dresden would have escaped had the Bristol been on hand to help the Glasgow. The Bristol, to be sure, accomplished her assigned mission in destroying the German steamships. But could not the three-knot slower armored cruiser Carnarvon

have done this equally well? As it was, the Carnarvon served no useful purpose, and no avail was made of the valuable speed asset of the Bristol.

The British lost nine killed and about the same number wounded. All the German ships except the Dresden were sunk, and only about 200 men were saved from the total complements. This decisive naval action gave the Allies practically undisputed control of the high seas.

The Dardanelles Operations

Turning now from the South Atlantic to South European waters, the next event to be taken up is the attack on the Dardanelles, an attempt on the part of the Allies to cut off Asia Minor from Turkey, capture Constantinople, and open up ship communication with Russia's Black Sea ports.

If this enterprise had succeeded it would have completely changed the Balkan situation to the advantage of the allied cause; but it failed, and, measured by the losses in ships, in soldiers, and in prestige, it was a costly failure. In view of the confusing tangle of rumors, half-truths and truths, we had better not try to look too closely at the details, but rather limit our present discussion to the broader and more general aspects of the operations.

The allied fleet at the Dardanelles included the British ships, one superdreadnought, one battle cruiser, sixteen predreadnoughts, and nine cruisers; seven French predreadnoughts, three French cruisers, and one Russian cruiser. Altogether, a powerful fleet of twenty-four battleships and fourteen cruisers, with attending destroyers, submarines, and auxiliaries. It is reported that later this fleet was reinforced by monitors and cruisers especially fitted to resist mines and torpedoes.

Just what the plan of attack was is not very clear. In fact, there seems to have been a lack of definite plan, or, if there was one, it may be that unity of action was lacking. There is a report that miscarriage in the arrangements for collecting and transporting troops caused much delay. Finally, it appears to have been decided to make an attempt to dominate the forts with the gunfire of the fleet.

On March 18, 1915, a violent attack was begun, in which three battleships were lost and other vessels damaged. The Commander in Chief, Vice Admiral Carden, had been incapacitated by illness two days before the attack. His successor, Vice Admiral de Robeck, made this significant report on the day following the attack: "The power of the fleet to dominate the fortresses by superiority of fire seems to be established. Various other dangers and difficulties will have to be encountered, but nothing has happened which justifies the belief that the cost of the undertaking will exceed what has always been expected and provided for."

It appears, however, that due to improperly loaded transports and general mismanagement the army was not ready and orders were received to discontinue this naval attack and wait. About six weeks later (April 25 to 26) took place the famous combined land and sea attack, in which the allied troops attained at a great cost a slight footing on the peninsula. The guns of the fleet afforded a covering fire for the troops, but do not appear to have made a very heavy bombardment at the time of this landing. The Turks evidently had made the most of the six weeks' delay and were well prepared. On June 4 attempts to advance were made without great success.

On Aug. 6 to 8, having been strengthened by reinforcements, the Allies made another great effort, in which the navy took an important part. This battle also was unsuccessful. There was not much hard fighting after the month of August. Sir Ian Hamilton, the British Commander in Chief, asked for numerous reinforcements, but they were denied, and he was recalled to England. In the early part of the following January the allied armies evacuated the ground they had fought so hard to gain and re-embarked. The Allies lost five British predreadnoughts, one French predreadnought, and about 120,000 men. The cost of the expedition, ship losses not included, was about $1,000,000,000.

The decision to attempt forcing the

Dardanelles has been much criticised, and it appears indeed to have been a formidable undertaking. But whether or not it was unwise to attempt it is a debatable question. A successful attack upon the Dardanelles might well have become of the very first importance and produced results which would have quickly been felt in the main eastern and western theatres of the war. Consider for a moment the position of Russia at that time: A vast empire, with millions of men mobilized, crammed with surplus stores of wheat, yet for all practical purposes more cut off from the rest of the world than Germany. The White Sea was ice-bound, and Archangel, which is indifferently served by its railway, would not be open until some time in May. The Baltic was practically sealed. The way to the Black Sea was closed by the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. Vladivostok was too far away to be of much use. Russia was in bonds, and it was the duty of her allies to burst them if they could. Immeasurable advantages would follow from the opening of a clear way to Odessa. Ships laden with wheat would stream outward and ships laden with the stores and equipment, which Russia so greatly needs, would stream inward. Moreover, the resources of fighting men, food supplies, and raw materials from Turkey in Asia would be cut off from the Central Powers and any possible menace to India, the Suez, and Egypt removed.

The political results would have been equally great. The effect upon the hesitancy of the Balkan kingdoms and other neutrals would have been instant, and would have counteracted the impression created by the successful German operations against the Russians. The fall of Constantinople would probably further have meant the collapse of the Turkish offensive. The Turks would never survive a blow at their heart. The bombardment of the Dardanelles, therefore, if the Allies had been able to carry it to its logical conclusion, would have had far-reaching effects on the conduct of the war.

It is interesting here to note the analogy between the circumstances influencing the Allies to attempt to force the Dardanelles and the circumstances during our civil war which influenced the North to open up the Mississippi. In the civil war it was desired to cut the Confederacy in two, so as to shut off the resources of Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana from the Confederate armies and at the same time to open up communications between the Gulf and the Northern States via the Mississippi and its tributaries. Moreover, just as forcing the Dardanelles would have been a deterrent to Bulgaria's entering the war on the side of the Central Powers and would perhaps have influenced Greece and Rumania to declare for the Allies, so Farragut's capture of New Orleans deterred France from action hostile to the Union and caused Louis Napoleon to abandon his scheme to dispatch a formidable fleet to the mouth of the Mississippi and join an equal force from England with the object of repudiating the blockade as ineffectual and demanding free egress and ingress for merchantmen.

There is also some analogy between the conditions confronting Admiral Farragut, requiring him to force his way by the Confederate forts in the lower Mississippi on his way to attack New Orleans, and the conditions facing Admiral de Robeck, supposing that his mission was to force the Dardanelles in order to attack Constantinople. Admiral Farragut was brilliantly successful in running the forts and capturing New Orleans, while the Dardanelles operations ended in bitter disappointment to the Allies. It would not be wise to push the analogy too closely, because such a method of argument is full of pitfalls, and erroneous inferences might be drawn; but one cannot help reflecting upon and comparing the circumstances, methods, and results attending these two great enterprises.

Instead of condemning offhand this attempt to capture Constantinople as foolhardy in conception, it might be better to bear in mind the confident tone of Admiral de Robeck's report after the naval attack of March 18, and to ponder other possible causes of failure. Failure certainly was never due to lack of fighting qualities in the allied sailors

and soldiers, for there is probably no more heroic page in history than that recording the brave deeds done in this struggle for the Dardanelles.

Principles Vindicated

It is thus seen that in the first year of the war the allied navies converted potential control of the high seas into active control. The German cruisers in American and Far Eastern waters were skillfully drawn away from enemy-infested areas and concentrated under the command of Vice Admiral Spee off the west coast of South America. Here they gained a brief respite by defeating an inferior British squadron. But they were doomed ships, and it was only a question of time before the more powerful enemy navies would find and destroy them. This happened in the Falkland Islands engagement, which took place a month after the German victory off Coronel. Disregarding a few scattered commerce destroyers, the destruction of Admiral Spee's squadron gave the Allies practically undisputed control over all waters not closely adjacent to enemy home ports.

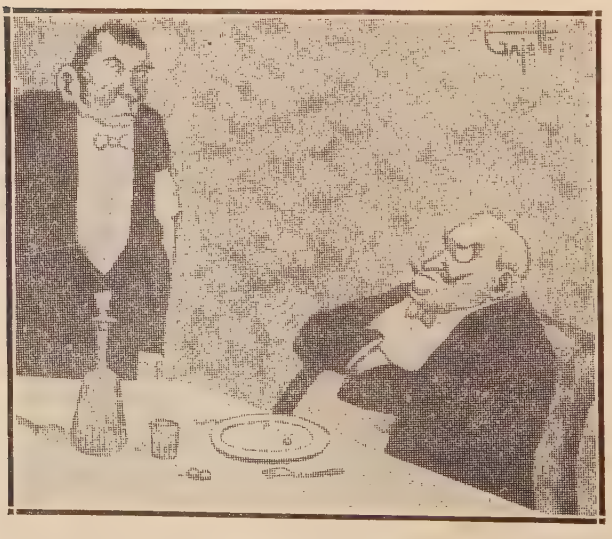
The undertaking at the Dardanelles was a different kind of strategic problem in that it was an attempt to wrest from Turkey waterways over which she had exercised authority practically since the beginning of history. This enterprise failed; and the potential defensive power proved adequate when put to the test of active resistance.

So far these naval events supply corroborative evidence to inductions grounded in the experience of past wars, thus clarifying rather than confusing the principles already more or less firmly established.

[*The next article of this series will appear in the March issue of* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

[Italian Cartoon]

A Feast in Berlin



—From Il Numero, Turin.

"Waiter, I ordered a beefsteak with peas, but I don't see the beefsteak."
"It is under the second pea on the left."

The New "Old Guard" of France

By John Joseph Casey
Of the French Foreign Legion

The author of this article is one of the many Americans fighting in the French Foreign Legion. Before enlisting under the tricolor in August, 1914, Mr. Casey had served for years as a newspaper artist in New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia; had been graduated by the Boston Conservatory of Art, and had opened a studio in Paris and exhibited portrait paintings in the annual salons of the Société Des Artistes Français in the years 1910 and 1914. He was injured in the Champagne offensive in September, 1915, and for several days was reported missing. From January to June of the present year the badly shattered Foreign Legion underwent a stage of reorganization, in the course of which Soldier Casey found opportunity to make many sketches like the one published with this article. In July, while on leave in Paris, he married a young Frenchwoman, Mlle. Berthe Marie Arnaud. Since September he has held the dangerous post of runner, carrying military dispatches from one commander to another when the telephone lines are cut by the enemy's shell fire.

JUST by stepping into their ranks distances and distinctions are erased and the whole world becomes an exceedingly small place. Hobnobbing together are a shoe-black negro from French Dahomey, a Dane from our new island of St. Thomas, a college professor from Columbia, a former banker of Geneva, a Japanese veteran of the Russo-Japanese war, an Annamite from Tonkin, an upstanding fellow with the clear eye and chiseled face of an American Southern gentleman, a Turkish interpreter from Constantinople, and a snub-nosed Russian, an Archduke perhaps. They are all one in their blue frocks, red, baggy trousers, red képis adorned with the regimental seven-flamed grenade in brass, heavy shoes, black leather gaiters, and blue capotes with the skirts buttoned back to give the legs free play. They are the Foreign Legion of France, the Legion of Strangers from every cubbyhole of the globe.

JOHN JOSEPH CASEY

They compose that body of 8,000 foreigners which, though organized by a decree of the French Chambers in 1831 with the stipulation that it was not to be employed on the soil of France, has won back for the republic, in the last two years, many yards of trench-gutted Gallic ground. They constitute that corps which, though admittedly the finest fighting unit in the world, had languished for nigh a hundred years without first-class standing until, on a day in August of last year, the Second Regiment of the Legion was presented with a standard by President Poincaré and thereby entered to an equal footing with regiments of the line. A twelvemonth of fighting in the greatest of all wars had won, at last, tardy recognition for La Légion Etrangère.

General de Negrier, whose memory is still beloved by the Legion, once said, "With a French regiment I could not go two hours' journey from the town, but, voila! with a single company of the Legion I could make the tour of Tonkin." Again, when on the night of Sept. 23, 1915, the Second Regiment of the Foreign Legion trudged into the first-line trench to lead the offensive in the Champagne dash, the line regiments asked:

"And who are you, that you take precedence over us in the attack?"

"La Légion."

"O-oh, La Légion Etrangère! Trés bien, trés bien!"

The answer was significant. Then was the manoeuvre understandable. In the French Army of today the Legion fills much the same position as the famous Old Guard once occupied in the army of Napoleon. To the ordinary French private the Légionnaires are the hearts of oak, atlantean, and adamantine.

And yet these men, who never have been known to turn their backs to the enemy, are some of them the best and more of them the worst in the world. They are foregathered from everywhere. It is an astounding, appalling admixture, the Legion, of all manner of breeds and men and rakehells, of professions honorable and proscribed, of virtues and fatuities.

On a time the men of the Legion were distributed into battalions according to their respective nationalities. Then the Legion, with its First Battalion of Swiss, its Third of Germans, its Sixth of Belgians, and its Seventh of Poles, was much similar to the old-time Knights of St. John, with their companies of Provence, Auvergne, Castille, and Aragon. But today they are all jumbled together in a terrific hodge-podge, singing in the one tongue the "Marseillaise," sharing one another's dugouts, eating the same biscuits and singe [monkey] or beef stew, and going through the engagements shoulder to shoulder, with gas masks, mouth pads, and bayonets set, with racial honors even.

SERGEANT BOULIGNY
A Typical Legionary

It used to be said: "If you are thinking of committing suicide, join the Legion first. The Legion will cure you of all ennui; it will make a man of you." That was in the day when the two regiments were engaged in fighting outlandish tribes in Algiers, Dahomey, the Sahara, and Indo-China, and when the Legion proved the haven of all men who sought anonymity, refuge, and forgetfulness. That was the day when the corps earned its romantic nickname of "The Legion of Lost Ones."

Today, of course, some of this Delphic type are still recruited to the Legion. There is Voronoff, who recently deserted to Switzerland for five months. He certainly is a Russian, he is supposed to be a Prince in his ain countree, and, of a surety, were only his nativity taken into account, he should be fighting in a green uniform somewhere on the eastern front. There is N. Neamorin, an Oxford graduate from Calcutta, who, for some reason or other, chooses the Legion in preference to the East Indian forces in Picardy. And there are Charpin, from perfumed Grasse, and Doumorgue, a Parisian, both of whom might be serving with regular regiments of the line had not the latter absconded, upon a time, with his employer's funds and the former done something in the past which no man knows, though many have attempted to discover.

Nowadays, however, a new type of man has joined out with the "Lost Ones." They are men from varied walks in life who love France, true, but who love fighting, adventure, and liberty more. Ji Zannis hails from Constantinople and

was formerly an interpreter in an importing house in New York City; Barry is a rufous Irish type from Cork; Bur Bek-kar was a Bedouin of North Africa ere he was transformed into a Legion bugler, and two Danes there are, Hoffman and Sorensen by name, who come respectively from Copenhagen and St. Thomas.

Many American Recruits

And there are Americans, too; Americans galore. An odd, unparalleled democracy pervades Les Etrangères—between the men, between the officers and the privates. Perhaps that accounts for the fact that so many Americans are enlisted in the Legion.

Still another fact remains. Before the war, when the Foreign Legion was skirmishing on the fringe of things, the War Office used to run, in its list of nationalities numbered in the Legion, a standing note to the effect that in that corps there were to be found no Americans at all. Yet James Jury of San Francisco had put in seven years with the First Etranger around Sidi-bel-Abbes ere he was killed shortly after the arrival of his regiment in the Champagne country.

Now the War Office has changed, reversed itself, completely about-faced. France has come to realize her debt to America.

In the beginning of the war, when volunteers for the Foreign Legion were asked of the American contingent, some thirty Americans stepped forth. Among those Americans were Kenneth Weeks, who was a story writer and playwright until he signed on from New Bedford, Mass.; Paul Ayres Rockwell and his brother, the late Kiffin Rockwell, who formerly were newspaper men in Atlanta; Professor Ohlinger of Columbia; Paul Pavelka of Madison, Wis.; Lawrence Scanlon of Cedarhurst, L. I.; Bob Scanlon, the negro pugilist, and Lieutenant Charles W. Sweeny, the son of a Seattle magnate and a former West Pointer. Also, William Thaw of Pittsburgh and the late Victor Chapman, both of whom later won into the Flying Corps.

Sergeant Bouligny's Experiences

Still another American volunteer was Edgar John Bouligny of New Orleans, who wears nowadays the single gold chevron of a Sergeant. Bouligny stands six feet tall. He has the true soldier face, the square jaw and the falcon eye. He is the sprig of one of the old Creole military families of Louisiana.

He went to France at the beginning of the war to offer his services to a country he had never seen but often had read and dreamed of. He has the reputation of being one of the first volunteers accepted. He enlisted Aug. 4, 1914. He has been thrice wounded. His first wound, a bullet in the leg, was received at Croanelle in November, 1914, after he had fetched back, under German infantry fire, one of his wounded comrades who had been caught on the enemy's barb wire and was too weak to move. In September of the following year, during the French offensive at the Ferme de Navarin in Champagne, three days before I myself was shot through the ankle, Bouligny was again wounded by a flying bit of shrapnel.

Bouligny has had one of the narrowest escapes from a horrible death that I know of. Here are the circumstances:

In was in the early hours of a Summer's morning near Rheims, when some German sappeurs blew up a mine under our trenches. Bouligny was asleep, in a canya, some fifteen meters further off. With the blowing up of the mine, the canya caved in and Bouligny was buried under it. For twenty hours thereafter the Germans kept up a bombardment so terrific no one possibly could live through it. Twenty-seven hours later, in rebuilding our trenches, we dug out Bouligny quite by accident. For over a day and a night he had been entombed alive!

He was the only one left living of his entire section. Those who had not been killed instantly by the explosion of the mine had been killed by the shells in that awful bombardment which had followed. After several days' rest Bouligny was himself again, nary a bit the worse for his premature burial. He's an old hand at rubbing cheek to jowl with death.

Sergeant John is about to take exami-

nations for the rank of Sous-Lieutenant. You know, he not only is a relation of General Beauregard, but he holds that old Southern warhorse as his ideal of a great soldier, and he hopes to keep up the reputation of the family. All we Americans in the Legion are hoping each day to hear that he has achieved a commission. He's a man that all his comrades and officers respect and like, a fine example of an American and a soldier. Light a candle for Bouligny!

Men Who Can Die Gallantly

The Foreign Legion of France has always and invariably given a good account of itself. In this war, to give a good account of one's self means to die willingly and to die in hordes for the sake of a gain of a mere hundred yards. The Légionnaires have died, high-handedly, in droves, with songs and sarcasms on their blood-flecked lips. The Legion has gained the yards.

Take an instance. Following the engagements around Neuville St. Vaast and La Pargete in May of last year, the First Etranger was retired to the rear to recuperate. Then it was found that, of the 4,000 men of the regiment who had gone into action, a bare 700 remained!

Up from the depôt at Lyons came thereupon a wholly new battalion of Greek volunteers to help fill out the reduced ranks. A month later, in taking the first and second line trenches of the Germans to the left of the Cabaret Rouge, the regiment was once again blown to little bits. Man after man, company upon battalion went down under the mowing avalanche of gunfire. Russell Kelly of New York, Lawrence Scanlon, Kenneth Weeks the playwright, and John C. Smith of Los Angeles were reported captured by the Germans. Edwin Hall of Chicago was killed. Paul Pavelka of Madison, Wis., with one leg hideously gouged by a bayonet, dragged himself on hands and knees back to the first-aid ambulance. Broken and utterly disrupted, a mere handful of men, the First Regiment was retired to a camp in the south of France.

And then, forthwith, the Second Regiment began to be heard from. It was in the fighting between the Ferme de Navarin and Souain, which is known as the Champagne dash, and which occupied five horrible days of September, 1915. Here, in capturing the first and second line trenches of the Germans, "Shorty" Trinkard of New York and Fred Zinn of Battle Creek, Mich., were instantly killed by being shot through the chest; Dennis Doud, an American lawyer, had his arm almost severed from his shoulder; Lieutenant Charles Sweeny was shot through the lungs in two places, and Sergeant Bouligny received a piece of shrapnel in his stomach.

In this offensive a fellow-Legionary, Bob Soubiron, and myself were shot in the legs. I lost my kit, containing a number of sketches, on the battlefield of Champagne, and was reported missing and probably dead. Later I was located in Red Cross Hospital No. 68, at Grenoble.

Of the 8,000 men who had composed the Foreign Legion, there remained, after these three engagements, only enough to form three battalions. And there formerly had been, in La Légion, as many as ten battalions!

Some of the survivors were transferred to line regiments; for instance, Bob Scanlon, the negro pugilist, is now in the 171st Regiment of the Line. Others like poor Kiffin Rockwell, won to the flying quadrille. Rockwell, by the bye, was decorated with the Military Cross and the Cross of War ere he met his death when a German machine brought him down. Still others were invalided to the States, among them Professor Ohlinger of Columbia, who is now back in New York. But most of the veterans remained with the Legion.

Now, in September, 1916, the reorganized and only remaining regiment of the Foreign Legion has been for two months on the Somme. It has been giving its usual good account of itself, the best work done this time, as every time! You do not know this; the censor is very sharp; but it was the Legion; La Légion Etrangère, who took Beloy en Sauterre on the Somme!

Reviving the Tradition of Marshal of France

[The subjoined historical review of the title of Marshal of France appeared as an editorial in The London Telegraph, Dec. 28, 1916]

BY the decision of the French Government to confer the title of Marshal of France upon General Joffre an ancient and splendid tradition is revived after more than forty years of abeyance, and the honor that used to be the supreme ambition of every French soldier gains new glory. For, although the roll of the Marshals of France includes the names of nearly all her greatest soldiers, it is the unchallengeable distinction of Joffre that his personal decision and action changed the course of the greatest war in history, and saved Europe in saving his country. So, at least, it appears to his contemporaries; and we are fully persuaded that history will raise, rather than reduce, the importance given in our day to the battle of the Marne, and record it as one of the decisive combats which have directly influenced the fate of mankind.

Not since the Saracen host met Charles the Hammer at Tours has the indwelling spirit of European civilization been threatened as it was in those desperate days. None of us will forget while we live what feelings were ours when it was known that the French Government had abandoned the capital, and victory seemed within the grasp of the power which had trampled exultingly upon every moral restraint that distinguishes warfare from a mere riot of assassination, destruction, and plunder. And none of us will forget the hour, so soon after, when the news came that the peril had been averted, and that the invaders had been driven back from the Marne by a defending force far weaker in numbers, armament, and everything but valor and generalship.

The master-spirit of that memorable victory was Joffre, and all the world has since been at one with his countrymen in paying him the tribute of a gratitude that cannot be measured. He put upon the campaign in the west the stamp of German defeat, and the train of consequences set in motion by his hand more than two years ago is still going steadily and inexorably on toward the one end. The intention to reward him with the supreme military honor was formed by the French Government soon after the victory of the Marne. A decree, which did not pass unnoticed in this country, was published on Sept. 21, 1914, dealing with the scale of officers' pay; and in it the remuneration of a Marshal of France was fixed at the mysteriously exact figure of 30,315f 79c per annum. As no officer had borne that designation since Canrobert died in 1895, the purpose of the regulation was clear, and was approved with the whole heart of the Republic.

The title, which has been handed down in almost unbroken succession for 700 years, is one of the oldest in French history. It was first bestowed by Philip Augustus upon Alberic Clement, one of those mediaeval soldiers who laid in that reign the foundations in Europe of French military prestige, and who numbered among their triumphs the breaking of our own Henry Plantagenet, the baffling of Coeur-de-Lion, and the ruin of John. For centuries the dignity was second only to that of the Constable in military eminence, and was a great office of State conferred upon a single trusted General. Under Francis I. the title began to be more freely awarded, and it was attached to most of the great names in the two periods of subsequent history in which the glory of the French arms was most brilliant. Louis XIV. created twenty Marshals, and Napoleon, in the ten years of his empire, created twenty-six.

The First Republic would naturally have none of a distinction so closely bound up with the system of the monarchy it had displaced. It was borne by none of the self-made leaders of men who freed French soil from the invader and carried the music of the "Marseillaise" across the Rhine and the Alps. But it was not forgotten by the greatest

of them, and when Napoleon established himself in autocratic power, many of them received Marshal's rank. The Marshals of the Empire formed an order ranking immediately after the imperial family and the six grand dignitaries of State. These Generals, "made out of mud," as their creator once remarked, held themselves to be the equal of any King or Emperor but their own, and did not conceal that opinion. Vandamme, taken a prisoner before the Czar Alexander, was abused by him as a brigand. "I may be that," replied the Marshal coolly, "but at least I never assassinated my father"—a home thrust which ended the interview.

Napoleon, who was persuaded that the creation of a nobility, to which any man might aspire, was necessary to the support of his throne, employed the Marshalate as a convenient cloak for designs hardly in keeping with the republican system upon which his régime was professedly founded. He began by conferring duchies and principalities located outside French territory. All his Marshals, with only two exceptions, were created Duke or Prince of this or that place in Germany, Italy, or Austria. The practice of ennoblement so begun grew less and less restricted, and at the fall of the Empire the number of titles conferred by Napoleon was well over 2,000. It is not surprising, then, that the office of Marshal was regarded with strengthened suspicion by the succeeding generation of republicans, or that it was restored with promptitude under the Second Empire. But with the secure establishment of the Third Republic the force of these associations has passed away, and the revived Marshalate regains its old character as a purely military honor, the most distinguished in the history of arms. It has never been more worthily conferred than it is today upon the victor of the Marne.

[French Cartoon]

Expulsion of Germans from Greece

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

GERMAN DIPLOMAT, LEAVING ATHENS: "I appeal to all the neutrals."
ENTENTE SOLDIER: "Do you wish the address of King Albert I.?"

The Teutonic Attempt to Solve the Polish Question

THE tentative creation by the Central Empires of an autonomous State in the Polish districts "conquered by their armies," as announced in the proclamation issued in Warsaw and Lublin on Nov. 5, 1916, [see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1916, pp. 470-472,] has been the subject of a lively discussion in Russia and the other allied countries. Since the Austro-German proclamation also stated that there is to be a Polish national army, the establishment of autonomy is regarded by the Allies simply as a trick to strengthen the fighting forces of the Central Empires. But the most interesting phase of the situation is the attitude, as far as it can be ascertained, of the Poles themselves. A group of leading Poles coming from all parts of Poland, including Galicia, Posen, and Silesia, and at the present time residing abroad, immediately issued a statement on their own behalf as well as in the name of their compatriots "who are unable to express freely their opinions." It reads:

The Polish Nation is indivisible. It aims at the creation of a Polish State from all the three parts of Poland, and its aim cannot be realized without the unification of these separated territories. From the present war, the watchword of which reads, "The freedom and independence of nations," Poland expects, first of all, reunion. The projected creation of a Polish kingdom exclusively from one territory, which forms but one part of Poland, not only fails to correspond with the aims of the Poles, but, on the other hand, emphasizes the division of their country. Preserving the division of the Polish national forces, Germany and Austria-Hungary condemn thereby the new kingdom to powerlessness and turn it into a tool for their politics. By refraining from rendering final decision as to the rights and prerogatives of the future kingdom, the Central Powers emphasize its dependence on them. At the same time they demand that the Poles create an army for them. This army, being an auxiliary of the German and Austrian armies, will serve to promote the aims of the Central Powers and to defend a cause foreign to Poland, though the Poles will be forced to fight for it. In spite of the appearance with which the Central Powers are endeavoring to mask their measure, international law condemns it, and responsibility for it rests with the two powers only. We consider the military plans of Germany and Austria-Hungary a burdensome misfortune for Poland, and their political act a new confirmation of its division.

In Poland itself the expression of opinion is obviously subject to the influence, direct or indirect, of the Teutonic forces occupying the country. This fact should be borne in mind in reading the following statement issued by the recently formed club, or federation, of national parties in the Kingdom of Poland:

1. In the proclamation of Nov. 5, announcing the reconstruction of an autonomous Polish State, the Club of the Parties sees a political act evidencing the international necessity of solving the Polish question. In consequence, the Club of the Parties declares that the attitude adopted by Russia and her Allies, in reply to the proclamation of Nov. 5, does not respond to the infrangible and general aspirations of the Polish Nation toward the restoration of an independent Polish State.

2. Appreciating exactly the importance of this act, as well as the bearing of efforts with a view to a complete restoration of the Polish State, the Club of the Parties is ready to take an active part in the work which has for its aim the solution of the problems raised by the creation of a State, a work which can be organized apart from military considerations and aims while guaranteeing complete liberty to the decisions of the nation. The Club of the Parties expresses at the same time the conviction that it is an important condition for the accomplishment of the great work of State in question to permit henceforth the free expression of opinion with guarantees for the freedom of the press and freedom of meeting, as well as personal inviolability.

3. So as to determine the proper sphere of the aforesaid activity and assure it authority and respect with the public, it is necessary to the progressive construction of the Polish State that it rest on a basis of fundamental laws, the framing of which can only be intrusted to a Legislative Assembly elected according to democratic principles. Such a Legislative Assembly can alone call into existence a National Government to organize the life of the State in its entirety.

4. The Club of the Parties is profoundly

convinced that in its views and aspirations it has the support of the immense majority of the Polish Nation, animated by the ardent desire of liberating its Fatherland, but knowing how to apply criticism and caution in the means employed to settle, apparently, the future of the nation, and with the understanding that not a drop of Polish blood can be shed but by the considered and conscious will of the nation.

The signatories to this document are the Realist Political Party, the National Democracy, the Polish Progressive Party, the National Union, the Union of Economic Independence, and the Christian Democratic Party.

A. P. Lednitzky, President of the Moscow Polish Committee, who is regarded by his fellow-countrymen as the legitimate spokesman of the Russian Poles, both abroad and in this country, writing in the Russkia Vedomosti, Moscow, declares:

Germany has not solved the Polish problem. She has only put it forth in its full stature. She has unquestionably made it an international affair, and only an international institution will have the right to solve it finally. Germany has not won over to her side the Polish people, for whom there can be no Poland without Cracow, without Galicia and Silesia, without the cradle of Polish civilization—the Grand Duchy of Posen. Neither Polish political thought nor the Polish national conscience will acquiesce in the creation of a Poland which is to exist under the domination of German influence, German interests, and German power. The Polish people need real independence, and not an imitation of it. We are not afraid of the danger of a newly organized army in Poland coming to fight with the Teutons against Russia. It will not be so easy to efface the experiences of yesterday. * * * It is necessary that all the allied nations solemnly declare that one of the war's aims is the complete restoration of a Poland consisting of all the Polish territories. * * * In this supreme hour of history we turn to Russia and her national conscience, expecting the word that was the dream of our fathers and grandfathers.

Another Polish opinion worth noting is that of M. Harusewicz, the leader of the Polish Party in the Russian Duma. At the session of the Duma on Nov. 15, 1916, he made an important speech, in the course of which he said:

We protest decisively against this German act which endeavors to check the historical necessity of the unification of Poland, which cannot be thought of without Cracow, Posnania, Silesia, and the Polish Sea. The fundamental idea that the Polish cause cannot be solved by Germany remains unshaken. The real aim of the German act, the point of which is directed equally against Russia and her allies, as against the coming united Poland, without the slightest doubt, is based on the endeavor to create irreparable strife between Poland and Russia with her allies, and, above all, to blind the eyes of the Polish Nation and the eyes of the whole civilized world to the unlawfulness of forcible enlistment in their armies through a pretended restitution of the natural rights of the Polish Nation to become an independent State.

The attitude of the Russian Government was expressed in an official communiqué, which declared:

The intentions of Russia allow for the creation of an entire Poland, uniting all the Polish territories, which will enjoy, when the war is ended, the right of freely determining its own national, intellectual, and economic life on a basis of autonomy under the sceptre of the Russian sovereigns while preserving the principle of the unity of the State.

At the other extreme of Russian opinion we have the following comments by Vladimir Burtzeff, the well-known revolutionary leader and historian, who is now in Petrograd writing for the Retch:

In Germany they now talk of Poland and her independence because they think only of Germany and her safety. Even now the Germans do not think of Poland's free existence in the future, but of making use of it in the face of the oncoming chariot of history so as to alleviate the difficult position of Germany with the blood of a nation alien to her. To assure their own safety they calmly assume the rôle of an executioner of an entire nation. The Poles must not be deceived. They must understand the aims of their present saviors. Neither does Germany wish to part with Posen, nor Austria with Galicia. They grant independence only to that part of Poland which they cannot hope to retain. They want to throw at Russia hundreds of thousands of Polish soldiers, creating at the same time a gulf between the Poles and Russians, planting a deep-seated hatred between them. That is the hidden meaning of the Polish independence granted from Berlin and Vienna. From the beginning of the war, to our shame and sorrow it must be recognized, there have been certain persons, tendencies, and parties among the Poles who were prompted by their conscience to fight for German victory and the defeat of the Allies. But should such an error now be committed by the entire nation, and should its leaders be carried away by the German promises and become tools in German hands against the Allies, those who loved Poland heretofore would poignantly exclaim: Finis Poloniae!

Professor P. Migulin, writing in the

New Economist, (Novy Ekonomist,) deals with the Polish question from another Russian standpoint:

There can be no doubt whatever that a certain portion of the Polish public before the war gravitated, and even now gravitates, toward Austria, (in no case toward Germany.) Many Galician Poles at the beginning of the war undoubtedly dreamed about the annexation of Russian Poland to Austria as a certain ideal; even now several dream about the same thing. There were, and are, also Russian Poles (can this be seriously denied?) who hate Russia and thirst even for annexation to Austria, if it is impossible to win an independent existence. But what of this? What relation has this to the problem of a Great Poland, which has been propounded in all its magnitude?

Germany and Austria can promise the Poles everything you please—the broadest autonomy, complete independence with a separate dynasty in union, and even without union, with the Central Empires; annexation to Poland of the Lithuanian and Russian Governments; egress to the Black and Baltic Seas, ("Poland from sea to sea,") &c. But they cannot promise one thing—annexation to Poland, in any form, of Posen with Dantsic and Silesia. And without Posen there is no amalgamation of Poland; there is no "Polish Kingdom," there is no "Polish Commonwealth"! And only a Russian victory can restore Poland in her ancient boundaries and unite Poland. The Grand Duke's proclamation promised, not an independent Poland, but only a Poland under the sceptre of the Russian Czar; it promised only self-administration, (*samoupravlenie*) (even the word "autonomy" was not mentioned.) This is so.

But is, then, independence, a self-supporting dynasty, &c., the main thing for Poland? The main thing is union of the dismembered parts of a living, cultured body and at one time great State.

In our opinion Russia cannot promise Polish independence. But autonomy? This is a question on an entirely different plane. Once Russia has promised the reunion of the dismembered portions of the former Polish Kingdom into a single whole, the autonomy of Poland is guaranteed irrespective of the sentiments of Russian governing spheres.

The British Foreign Office has made public an official communiqué, which was issued simultaneously in London, Paris, and Rome, and the substance of which is as follows:

It is an established principle of modern international law that military occupation resulting from operations of war cannot, in view of its precarious and de facto character, imply a transfer of sovereignty over the territory so occupied, and cannot therefore carry with it any right whatsoever to dispose of this territory to the advantage of any other power whatsoever.

In giving a "de jure" application to their occupation of these territories the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria have not only committed an illegal act, but have also disregarded one of the fundamental principles on which the constitution and existence of the society of civilized nations are based.

Moreover, in proposing to organize, train, and dispose of an army levied in those "Polish districts" occupied by their troops, the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, have once more violated the engagements which they have undertaken to observe, and by which, in accordance with the most elementary principles of justice and morality, "a belligerent is forbidden to force the subjects of its opponents to take part in operations of war directed against their own country." (Article 23 of the Provisions annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907, as ratified by the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Nov. 29, 1909.) * * *

The Allies' attitude is supported by leading American authorities, such as Sterling E. Edmunds, lecturer on International Law, St. Louis University Law School, who says:

It will not do to say that Russia has formally promised autonomy to her Polish provinces, and that, therefore, Austria and Germany are but carrying out the Russian will. That has no more validity than the confiscation by Napoleon of American vessels, which violated the American embargo, upon the plea that he was aiding in the execution of the laws of the United States.

It is certain that no State not a partisan of the Central Allies can recognize the existence of the new kingdom, however deep may be the desire to see the nation given new birth. The Austro-German action is not only illegal, but is palpably lacking in good faith; wherefore, for a neutral State to enter into official relations with it would constitute, at the very least, an unfriendly act toward Russia, besides involving the recognizing State in the guilt of condoning and sustaining the plain violation of law.

Further Teutonic Move

On Dec. 8, 1916, the publication was announced of a joint decree by the German and Austrian Governors General at Warsaw and Lublin regarding the organization of a provisional National Council of twenty-five members. The council, which is to sit at Warsaw, is to elect one of its members as Crown Marshal and President of the Council. Business is to be transacted in the Polish language. Among the Council's functions

are to be the development of a system of Government, domestic legislation, industrial and financial reorganization, and co-operation in the creation of a Polish army.

How the invaders are really treating the inhabitants of Russian Poland has recently been described in the German Reichstag itself by the Polish Deputy, Tronpczynski, in a speech which was suppressed by the German censorship, but published in a Polish newspaper. The Polish Deputy's allegation was that Russian Poles have been subjected to a policy of forced labor and deportation similar to that in Belgium, and that the hardships and cruelties inflicted upon them were of the most heartless description. Tronpczynski said that the number of men affected was 300,000. He concluded his speech with the following statement:

> Numbers of workmen perish under the bullets of frontier sentries in trying to escape or in attempting secretly to cross the frontier by swimming. Generally the fugitives are retaken and thrown into prison. In peace times thousands of Polish workmen went to Germany in spite of the fact that they could more easily have found work in the Kingdom of Poland than now. If now they are unwilling to emigrate, it is because they do not wish to submit to modern slavery.

The German reply to all criticism resolves itself into the declaration that Poland is being freed from Russian despotism; that volunteers "who are now rushing to the colors" are doing so "to defend their national freedom," and that the work of organizing the new autonomous State is going on. The fate of Poland, however, is still in doubt, and can be settled only when all matters in dispute between the belligerents are finally disposed of in the terms of peace.

Emperor Charles with His Soldiers

By Karl F. Nowak

[This sketch of the young Austrian Emperor decorating his soldiers was written for the German press shortly after the death of his uncle, Francis Joseph, on Nov. 21, 1916.]

IT is a sunny morning at Horozanka. It is August. Here is a broad meadow. Close to the edge of a long strip of forest infantry and cavalry are in readiness. The day before yesterday, yesterday, and last night they hurled back the Russians from before their fortifications. Besides, they are the same soldiers who a week before so thoroughly smashed a charging Russian brigade composed of freshly arrived and unweakened Finnish regiments that it disappeared from the scene of battle immediately after this first clash. Only after several weeks were the Finns seen again, when they bobbed up some place before the Transylvanian passes to relieve the Rumanians. That's how long it took them to recuperate.

But the men who defeated them are to be rewarded today. They don't know why they have been marched up here on the meadow, directly from the trenches, many of them with the earth and clay still on their clothing and shoes, upon which the war has left but little of their original colors. Automobiles go rushing along the road. Back of the woods, not too far distant, the guns are roaring. Aviators are seen in the clouds. They always make the same circle, flying a little way toward the east, then returning and starting again on their rounds. They are on patrol. A couple of officers step out from the side of the road. Signals are blown by the trumpeters and the bands play. The troops on foot and the troops on horseback form a single wall. The bands play the national hymn. Archduke Charles is there—this time in the place of the Emperor. Everybody looks closely and thinks, "What is the future Emperor to be like?"

Archduke Charles is there to decorate the troops. He wastes no time on introductory speeches, but at once begins the work. There against the forest stand ten companies; next to them are drawn up three squadrons of gray horsemen.

AN IDYLLIC SCENE ON THE SOMME FRONT IN SUMMER

This Photograph, Which Has the Quality of a French Painting, Shows French Troops Resting in the Grounds of a Picardy Chateau

(Central News Photo Service.)

GLIMPSE OF A TYPICAL GERMAN AVIATION SCHOOL

A Group of Pupils of the Imperial German Flying Corps, with a Military Aeroplane, in the Aviation School at Lubeck

(Photo © Brown & Dawson.)

The commander of the first company reports; already the first man to get the medal is pointed out.

"Where didst thou distinguish thyself?"

"At Horozanka, Imperial Highness."

"And what didst thou do there?"

"I most respectfully report that I captured a machine gun, Imperial Highness."

The Archduke takes the medal from the tray that is carried along back of him, begins to adjust the strings, and fastens it upon the infantryman. "Thou hast done well, my dear boy." He slaps him a couple of times on the shoulder in a friendly way, and now he is already by the next one.

This next one is a Pole. The Archduke lets his hand rest on the soldier's shoulder, smiles at him affably, and talks with him in Polish. The third man is a Hungarian. Now the dialogue is in Hungarian, then it turns to Polish again. To be sure, there are "intermezzi" in fluent Czech, and two minutes later in fluent Italian. "In this camp Austria is personified," my companion remarks.

Now curious sounds are heard from the third file of the company. Are they Ruthenian, Rumanian, or Croatian? In any case, the Archduke talks fluently. The conversations gradually become intermingled. It seems to be always the same, but still it is always something different. The Archduke looks the men squarely in the eyes. Naturally, he wishes the men to remember his glance.

Now he is talking to a Lieutenant. The latter has the small silver, the large silver, and the gold medals for bravery. He has been everywhere already. Heavens, the war is long! Now he also gets the service cross. "I am very glad to be able to give you this decoration. You have done very well. And you will continue to be just as good, isn't it so, Mr. Lieutenant?" He gives the young officer a more than hearty handshake. The Lieutenant's face is wreathed in smiles.

From the first file of the second company we hear these words: "But that was certainly well done. Thou art a fine soldier. Let's hope that thou remainest so!" I have this translated for me, for the language used was again some kind of Slavic.

The Archduke's German is also quite remarkable. It is far removed from North German. The Saxon peculiarities which have been attributed to him because he might have got them from his mother are also not to be found. The old Emperor spoke a fine, smooth, modified Vienna German. The Archduke also likes to drop a couple of vowels occasionally, and he likes to contract the consonants in the Vienna style. But it is not the Viennese as spoken in Vienna. Many of the officers of the Imperial and Royal Army speak this kind of German. The Croatian speaks this way, and so do the Pole and the Hungarian. The language is common; like the army, it is the binding element. The Archduke's speech also has something of the intonation of this element. He was in the army in his early years, now he is with the army, and he is to be its Supreme War Lord.

He halts before the fourth company. He began at 8:30 o'clock, now it is 10 o'clock. There is no visible end to the line before us. The Archduke turns sharply on his heel. "Why, then, do the men remain at attention? Battalion commander! Please, at rest! And let those with whom we have finished sit down!" Now he is talking Hungarian again, for he is occupied with a sub-Lieutenant from Debreczin. Talking with the next man he is at a loss for a word. He is provoked. To the Adjutant: "What is the Hungarian for candidate for a cadetship? Candidate for a cadetship, quick, please!" The aspirant for the cadetship is very proud of such attention. The Archduke passes on.

At 12 o'clock he is with the cavalrymen. Thus far he has spoken in all kinds of languages with some 300 men. He is particularly interested by a solid, gigantic master of the guard who sits his horse as if graven in stone and whose breast is covered with decorations. A trooper from the days of Wallenstein. He must relate every detail. He is a Hungarian. He speaks shortly and sharply, with his eyes trained directly to the front and neither himself nor his horse making the slightest move. The

eyes of the heir to the throne sparkle. He gives the horse a slap and reaches up and grips the hand of the master of the guard long and heartily. "Just write home how glad I was to see thee! Hast thou understood me?" The soldier never moves. But from his lips comes a trumpet-like shout of "Igen!" My Hungarian colleague is deeply touched. "Just look, for four weeks he was back of the Russian front. And did you hear how he shouted the 'Igen'?" The Hungarian master of the guard is from Alsöld; from the most genuine Hungarian, the best Magyar soil. The Hungarian newspaper man has tears in his eyes. And so has the master of the guard from Alsöld.

And so it goes until 2 o'clock. And nobody is forgotten. Such a carrying out of the task delegated to him is really a terribly hard piece of work. It means talking to several hundred men, to each one differently, and to each one in the manner calculated to impress him. And every one of them is to be able some time to tell the children at home and the people of the village: "The young Emperor pinned this on me himself. That time at Horozanka, you know. And I had to tell him the whole story about the machine gun! Once! Twice! Thrice! He never seemed to be able to hear enough about it." Then the soldier will begin to indulge a little in reveries. He will show ten times over how and with what degree of warmth the amiable young Archduke shook his hand. But every one of the men he has slapped on the shoulder will go through fire for the Archduke, for the young Emperor.

The psychological display lasted for hours. Only after he was quite sure that he had not overlooked anybody, not even the two men in civilian clothing, whom, as newspaper men, he had presented to him and with whom he had chatted about experiences at the front in Tyrol, did the Archduke leave, satisfied, fresh and pleased. On the way it was learned that his cook wagon had been damaged and had been left behind. So on they went without breakfast, to a second division in an entirely different region, some seventy kilometers to the north. There some reservists were waiting in a meadow. They were about to be rewarded. There was talk in German, Hungarian, and Slavic. One thing is certain: The Archduke already was aware of the value of the popular psychology, and he did not spare himself in cultivating it.

At that time, now here, now there, he decorated thousands and tens of thousands of soldiers. Now Archduke Charles has become the young Emperor, the supreme war lord of hundreds of thousands and millions of soldiers. And already, on the first day of his ascension to the throne, he aspires to be something still greater and higher. In his manifesto he declares to the tens of millions of his peoples in all lands "I shall do everything to banish the horrors and sacrifices of war in the shortest time and to win back for my peoples the sorely missed blessings of peace."

Germany's Effort to Avert the War

First Full and Accurate Text of von Bethmann Hollweg's Reply to Viscount Grey

CHANCELLOR von Bethmann Hollweg's reply to Viscount Grey, delivered before the Chief Committee of the Reichstag on Nov. 9, 1916, was summarized in the December issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, but the reports then obtainable were meagre. The version here presented—the only full and authentic translation that has thus far appeared in the United States—shows it to have been one of the most important German utterances of the war. Among other things it contains the assertion that Russia and Austria-Hungary had reached an agreement which would have averted the war, and that this agreement had been brought about through the earnest solicitation of Germany at Vienna. The full text follows:

The exhaustive debates which have taken place in the Chief Committee during the course of the last few weeks have in the end always turned on questions regarding the prosecution and the termination of the war. On the enemy's side they usually speak about the prosecution of the war. Lord Grey also spoke of it in his speech at the banquet to the Foreign Press Association. The British Minister then said that there was one thing which deserved to be kept in mind, namely, that one could not revert too often to the consideration of the origin of the war, because that origin would have its influence on the conditions of peace.

In view of the fundamental importance which Lord Grey has again recently attached to this question of peace conditions, and which we, too, have attached to it, I am obliged to state the facts in order to disperse the clouds with which our enemies endeavor to disguise the real situation.

In reply, I can only repeat what is known. The act which made war inevitable was the Russian general mobilization, which was ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914. Russia, England, France, and the entire world knew that this step must make further waiting impossible for us. Even in England people are beginning to understand the fateful significance of the Russian mobilization. The truth is coming to light. An English professor of world fame wrote some time ago that many people would think differently about the end of the war if they were better informed about its beginning, especially about the fact of the Russian mobilization.

No wonder, then, that Lord Grey, in his recent speech, could not pass the Russian mobilization unnoticed, but felt himself obliged to speak of it. He could no longer deny that the Russian mobilization preceded the German and the Austrian mobilization, but as he desires to remove all blame for the war from the Entente, he makes a daring endeavor, by means of quite a new version of the case, to represent the Russian mobilization as Germany's work.

Lord Grey's explanation is that Russia ordered her first mobilization only after a report had appeared in Germany that Germany had ordered a mobilization, and after this report had been telegraphed to Petrograd.

A Belated Interpretation

It took about two and a quarter years for Lord Grey to discover this interpretation, which is as new as it is objectively false, of the cause of the war. The occurrence to which he alluded is well known. The document which forms the basis of his proof is an extra edition of the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger. You will remember, gentlemen, perhaps, that on Thursday, July 30, 1914, in the early afternoon, the Lokal-Anzeiger issued a false report in an extra edition that the Emperor had ordered a mobilization. You also know that the sale of this extra edition was at once stopped by the police, and the available copies were seized. I can also declare that the Foreign Secretary immediately informed the Russian Ambassador, and simultaneously all other Ambassadors, by telephone, that the news issued by the Lokal-Anzeiger was false. The Russian Embassy was also informed as soon as possible from the Lokal-Anzeiger's office that there had been a mistake.

I can further confirm that the Russian Ambassador, immediately after the issue of the extra edition, telegraphed a cipher message to Petrograd, which, according to the Russian Orange Book, reads as follows:

"I learn that an order for the mobilization of the German Army and fleet has just been published."

But this telegram, after Herr von Jagow's telephonic explanation, was followed by a second telegram "en clair," which read as follows:

"Please consider my last telegram canceled, (nichtig.) Explanation follows."

A few minutes later the Russian Ambassador sent a third cipher telegram, which, ac-

cording to the Russian Orange Book, said that the German Foreign Minister had just telephoned to him that the news of the mobilization of the army and fleet was false, and that the extra edition in question had been seized. The immediate intervention of Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in order to rectify the false news—an intervention which in the official Russian Orange Book is confirmed by the telegram of M. Sverbejeff, the Russian Ambassador—of itself contradicts the assertion of Lord Grey that we intentionally desired to deceive Russia for the purpose of bringing about a mobilization. I can, however, also confirm, according to investigations of the Imperial Postal Administration concerning the periods of the sending of the Russian Ambassador's three telegrams, that these must have arrived in Petrograd almost simultaneously.

Cites Czar's Message as Proof

The Russian Government itself, which, after all, must be best acquainted with the reasons for its mobilization, never had an idea of explaining its fateful step by appealing to the Lokal-Anzeiger's extra edition. Lord Grey, I assume, will not desire to reject the Czar as a witness. On Friday, July 31, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the mobilization order had already been issued to all the Russian forces, the Czar telegraphed in reply to the Kaiser's last appeal for peace:

"It is technically impossible to discontinue our military preparations, which have become necessary owing to Austria-Hungary's mobilization."

No mention of the Lokal-Anzeiger. No mention of the German mobilization.

As early as July 29 Russia had already answered this measure with the mobilization of thirteen army corps. After July 29, Austria-Hungary had taken no further military measures which could have furnished Russia with any grounds for a general mobilization, which was equivalent to a declaration of war. Only after the general mobilization had taken place in Russia did Austria-Hungary, on the morning of July 31, also proceed to a general mobilization. We ourselves even then exercised forbearance and patience to the utmost limits of consideration for our own existence and our duty toward our allies. As far back as July 29, when Russia mobilized against Austria-Hungary, we ourselves could have mobilized. The text of our Treaty of Alliance with Austria-Hungary was known, and nobody could have considered our mobilization aggressive. We did not do it.

But to the news of the Russian general mobilization we at first replied only with the announcement of a state of affairs threatening danger of war which did not yet signify mobilization. We informed the Russian Government, and added that mobilization must follow if Russia did not cease every war measure against us and Austria-Hungary within twelve hours, and give us a definite declaration in regard to this. We gave Russia thereby, even when war seemed already inevitable owing to her fault, another opportunity to come to her senses, and even at the last moment to save the peace. By this delay we also gave Russia's allied friends the world-historical opportunity to influence Russia in favor of peace.

It was in vain. Russia left us without a reply, and England persisted in silence toward Russia. France, through the mouth of her Premier, in the evening of July 31, simply denied to our Ambassador the fact of the Russian mobilization, and ordered her own mobilization some hours earlier than when we ourselves had proceeded to mobilize. Moreover, as regards the alleged defensive character of the Russian complete mobilization, I will here emphatically declare that on the outbreak of war in 1914 a general instruction of the Russian Government issued in 1912 for the contingency of mobilization was in force, which, word for word, contains the following passage by the All-Highest:

"It is ordered that the announcement of mobilization is at the same time an announcement of war against Germany." Against Germany! In 1912, against Germany!

It is incomprehensible how, in view of these documentary facts, Lord Grey can come before the world and his own country with the story of a manoeuvre by which we enticed the pacific Russian into mobilization against his own will by grossly deluding him about our own measures. No! The truth is, Russia would never have decided on the fateful step if she had not been encouraged to it from the Thames by acts of commission and omission.

I recall the actual situation at the time when Russia issued the order for a general mobilization. The instructions which I gave our Ambassador in Vienna on July 30 are known. Lord Grey also well knows that I retransmitted to Vienna with the most peremptory recommendation the mediation proposal which he made to our Ambassador on July 29, and which appeared to me a suitable basis for the maintenance of peace. At that time I telegraphed to Vienna:

German Efforts in Vain

"Should the Austro-Hungarian Government refuse all mediation we are confronted with a conflagration in which England would go against us, and Italy and Rumania, according to all indications, would not be with us; so that with Austria-Hungary we should confront three great powers. Germany, as the result of England's hostility, would have to bear the chief brunt of the fight. The political prestige of Austria-Hungary, the honor of her arms, and her justified claims against Serbia can be sufficiently safeguarded by the occupation of Belgrade or other places. We therefore urgently and emphatically ask the Vienna Cabinet to consider the acceptance of mediation on the proposed conditions. Responsibility for the consequences which may

otherwise arise must be extraordinarily severe for Austria-Hungary and ourselves."

The Austro-Hungarian Government acceded to our urgent representations by giving its Ambassador in Berlin the following instruction:

"I ask your Excellency most sincerely to thank Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the information given through Herr von Tschirschki, and to declare to him that despite the change in the situation which has since arisen through the Russian mobilization we are quite ready to consider the proposals of Sir Edward Grey for a settlement between us and Serbia. A condition of our acceptance is, of course, that our military action against Serbia should meanwhile proceed, and that the English Cabinet should induce the Russian Government to bring to a standstill the Russian mobilization directed against us, in which case also we, as a matter of course, will at once cancel our defensive countermeasures forced upon us in Galicia."

Against this I place the following steps of Lord Grey. On July 27, 1914, in reply to a remark of the Russian Ambassador at London that the impression in German and Austro-Hungarian circles was that England would remain quiet, he (Viscount Grey) said that that impression had been removed by the orders which "we gave to the first fleet." On July 29 Lord Grey immediately acquainted the French Ambassador with his confidential warning to our Ambassador at London, that Germany must be prepared for speedy decisions, that is, for her (England's) participation in the war against us.

Could Lord Grey suppose that such a disclosure would serve peace? Must not France thereby have been encouraged to give Russia a promise of unconditional war support, which Russia had for days urgently demanded? Must not Russia have been strengthened to the utmost in her bellicose intention by the certainty of a Franco-British alliance? The Russian reply to Lord Grey's morning conversation was, in fact, not long in coming. On the evening of the same day, July 29, M. Sazonoff instructed the Russian Ambassador in Paris to express his sincere thanks for the declaration made to him by the French Ambassador that Russia could rely fully upon the support of her ally, France.

Puts the Blame on Russia

Russia, therefore, during the night of July 30, was given the fact of Austro-Hungarian compliance, due to our influence, which gave an open road to the maintenance of peace. She was simultaneously faced with the certitude of Anglo-French support, disclosed by Lord Grey to M. Paul Cambon, which alone gave her the possibility of war.

She chose mobilization, and with it war. Who now is to blame for this fateful decision? We, who recommended with the greatest emphasis to the Vienna Cabinet utter complaisance and the acceptance of the English proposal for mediation, or the British Cabinet, which, in a critical hour, held out to France and Russia a prospect of its support? Lord Grey did not speak of these decisive things, but, on the other hand, he turned the attention of his audience to minor things.

The resort of The Hague Tribunal which the Czar proposed sounds on first sight very important, but it was proposed after the Russian troops had already been put in motion against us. His own conference proposal (I have repeatedly pointed out this in the Reichstag) Lord Grey set aside in favor of our mediation.

And Belgium! Before a single German soldier had set foot on Belgium territory Lord Grey explained to the French Ambassador, after the latter's report to his Government, that in case the German fleet should enter the Channel or pass from the North Sea with the intention of attacking the French coast, or the French fleet, or disturb (Beunruhigen) the mercantile fleet (I repeat the word "disturb," gentlemen,) the British fleet would interfere, and give its protection in such a manner that from this moment England and Germany would be in a state of war.

Can he who declared that our fleet's putting to sea would be a casus belli still seriously maintain that the violation of Belgian neutrality was the sole cause of England's entering the war against her will? And finally, with regard to the statement that, in order to keep England out of the war, we made a discreditable proposal to the British Government to shut its eyes to the violation of Belgian neutrality and allow us a free hand to take the French colonies, I challenge Lord Grey to investigate the real facts in his Blue Book and in his documents.

In an earnest endeavor to localize the war, I assured the British Ambassador in Berlin on July 29 that, on the condition of England's neutrality, we would guarantee the integrity of France. On Aug. 1 Prince Lichnowsky asked Lord Grey whether, in the event of Germany's undertaking to respect the neutrality of Belgium, England would also undertake to observe neutrality. He further held out the prospect that, in the event of English neutrality, the integrity not only of France, but also of the French colonies might be guaranteed. On my instructions he gave an assurance that we were ready to give up the idea of an attack against France if England would guarantee the neutrality of France.

At the last moment I promised further that so long as England remained neutral our fleet would not attack the French northern coast, and on the condition of reciprocity would undertake no hostile operations against French merchant ships. Lord Grey's sole reply to this was that he must finally decline all promise of neutrality. He could only say that England wished to keep her hands untied. If England had given this declaration of neutrality she would not have

been exposed to the contempt of the whole world, but would have gained the credit of having prevented the war, (das Verdienst den Ausbruch des Krieges zu verhindern.)

I ask here, too, who willed the war? We who were prepared to give England every imaginable security for France and Belgium, or England, which declined all our proposals and refused even to indicate the way for the preservation of peace between our two nations, (zwischen unsern beiden Ländern.)

Concerning a Peace League

Lord Grey finally dealt exhaustively with the period after peace and with the establishment of an international union to preserve peace. On that subject, too, I will say a few words. We have never concealed our doubts whether peace could be lastingly insured by international organizations such as arbitration courts. I will not discuss here the theoretical part of the problem, but in practice now and in peace we shall have to define our attitude toward the question.

When, after the termination of the war, the world shall fully recognize its horrible devastation of blood and treasure, then through all mankind will go the cry for peaceful agreements and understandings which will prevent, so far as is humanly possible, the return of such an immense catastrophe. This cry will be so strong and so justified that it must lead to a result. Germany will honorably co-operate in investigating every attempt to find a practical solution, and collaborate toward its possible realization, and that all the more if the war, as we confidently expect, produces political conditions which will do justice to the free development of all nations, small as well as great. In that case the principle of right and free development must be made to prevail, not only on the Continent, but also at sea.

Of that Lord Grey, of course, did not speak. The guarantee of peace which he has in mind appears to me to possess a peculiar character, devised especially for British wishes. During the war the neutrals, according to his desire, will have to remain silent and patiently endure every compulsion of British domination on the seas. After the war, when England, as she thinks, will have beaten us, when she will have made a new arrangement of the world, then neutrals are to combine as guarantors of the new English arrangement of the world. To this arrangement of the world will also belong the following:

From a trustworthy source we know that England and France already, in 1915, guaranteed to Russia territorial rule over Constantinople, the Bosporus, and the western shore of the Dardanelles, with its hinterland, while Asia Minor was to be divided among the Entente Powers. The English Government avoided replying to the questions which were asked in Parliament on this subject, but certainly these plans of the Entente are also of interest for the International Peace Union which later is to guarantee them. These are the annexation intentions of our enemies, to which also must be added Alsace-Lorraine, while I, in the discussion of our war aims, have never indicated the annexation of Belgium as our intention.

Such a policy of force (Gewaltpolitik) cannot, of course, form the basis for an effective international peace union, and it is in the strongest contrast to Lord Grey's and Mr. Asquith's ideal state of things, where right governs might and all States form a family of civilized mankind, and can freely develop themselves, whether big or small, under the same conditions and in accordance with their natural capabilities. If the Entente wishes seriously to take up this position, then it should also act consistently upon it; otherwise the most exalted words about peace union and harmonious living together in an international family are mere words, (Schall und Rauch.)

Opposes Aggressive Coalitions

The first condition for the development of international relations by means of an arbitration court and the peaceful liquidation of conflicting antagonisms would be that henceforth no aggressive coalitions should be formed. Germany is ready at all times to join the union of peoples, and even to place herself at the head of such a union, which will restrain the disturber of peace. The history of international relations before the war lies clearly before the eyes of the entire world.

What brought France to Russia's side? Alsace-Lorraine. Why did Russia desire Constantinople? Why did England join them?

Because Germany, in peaceful work, had become too great for her. What did we desire? Lord Grey says that Germany, with her first proposal concerning the integrity of France and Belgium, desired to purchase England's permission to take what she wanted of the French colonies. Even the most hare-brained German did not entertain the idea of attacking France for the purpose of seizing her colonies.

It was not this which was fateful to Europe, but that the English Government favored French and Russian predatory aims which were unattainable without a European war. As against this aggressive character of the Entente, the Triple Alliance had always found itself in a defensive position. No honorable critic can deny that. Not in the shadow of Prussian militarism did the world live before the war, but in the shadow of the policy of isolation which was to keep Germany down.

Against this policy, whether it appears diplomatically as encirclement, militarily as a war of destruction, economically as a world-boycott, we from the beginning have been on the defensive. The German people wages this war as a defensive war for the safety of its national existence and for its free development.

We have never pretended anything else; we have never intended anything different. How otherwise could this display of gigantic forces, this inexhaustible heroism, determined to fight to the last, be explained? There is no precedent for it in all human history. At the obstinacy of the enemy's will to war, at the calling up of military material and auxiliary forces from all parts of the world, our resistance hardened to still greater determination. However England may still supplement her strength—and there is a limit even to England's command of strength—it is predestined to fail before our will to live. This will is unconquerable, imperturbable. We wait for our enemies to recognize this, confident that this recognition must come.

A Reply to Bethmann Hollweg's Speech

By F. H. Howard
Of Williams College

SINCE the Washington Government has entered into the discussion of peace, it is highly important for Americans to hold just views as to the cause of the war. In the fear that the Chancellor's speech of Nov. 9, 1916, will tend to obscure the actual facts in the minds of some Americans, the following considerations are offered. Even though not new, they may be of value at this time.

Lord Grey had asserted that Russia ordered her general mobilization only after the German mobilization order had been issued. This the Chancellor flatly denies, and it is probable that his denial is technically correct. But actually there is abundant proof that very extensive military preparations were made in Germany during the week prior to the final mobilization order.

Conceding, however, the priority of the Russian general mobilization, the act had an explanation quite different from that officially given by Germany. To quote from the Chancellor's speech, "The act which made war inevitable was the Russian general mobilization ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914." But this explanation of the war is rather naïve, if not deceitful. The Chancellor's view of the cause of the war does not go back of July 30, when the Russian mobilization was ordered. He consequently holds Russia responsible. Every event has many causes. Strictly speaking, every antecedent of an event is a cause thereof. But in human affairs we regard as the cause the act morally responsible for the event. If a robber enters a house, and the householder resists and is killed, the law holds the robber responsible, although it is still true that the householder's resistance is the immediate cause of his death. The murderer cannot make in such a case a plea of self-defense. Therefore, allowing that Russian mobilization preceded that of Germany, Americans should not, with puerile simplicity, accept that fact as determining the responsibility for the war.

Historical facts and the official documents relating to the origin of the war show plainly that the responsibility should be placed in the light of words and acts prior to July 30. The reason for Russian mobilization has not been stated as frequently as is desirable, but it is of vital importance. In brief, it is that Russia was forced by the Teutonic allies to choose between these alternatives: Either she could remain a quiet spectator while Austria waged unlimited war on Serbia, with the possible result of complete extinction of Slavic independence in the Balkans, or she could intervene with the certainty that she would have to fight Germany as well as Austria. If she chose the latter course and mobilized on the night of July 30-31, and then waited, who can charge her with responsibility for the war already begun on July 28 by Austrian attack on Serbia, with German acquiescence and assurance of military support, and in spite of Russia's warning? (See German White Book, Exhibit 4.)

Having chosen to protect Serbian independence as well as her own vital interests, that she would be compelled to meet Germany as well as Austria was well known to Russia. The terms of the alliance between Germany and

Austria-Hungary were well known. They had been given vivid reality when Germany stood by Austria "in shining armor" at the time of the Bosnian coup, and compelled Russia's submission. The decision of Germany to give unlimited military support to Austria in July, 1914, was frankly stated in the German White Book, (Exhibit 2, last paragraph.) But Germany, evidently desiring that Russia should not be left in doubt, gave direct warnings at St. Petersburg that she would tolerate no interference by Russia with Austria's procedure against Serbia. On this point one should consult a telegram of the Kaiser (German White Book, Exhibit 22) and a statement of the German Ambassador to the Russian Foreign Minister, (Russian Orange Book No. 58,) as well as the German ultimatum. This warning received by Russia from the German Government is the most important point in the diplomatic conflict preceding the German declaration of war. It is frankly recorded in the German White Book, but is never referred to by later German apologists.

In spite of this certainty of what she would eventually have to face, Russia at first mobilized only against Austria, and extended her mobilization only after efforts at mediation and direct conversations with Austria seemed fruitless (Austrian No. 50, Russian No. 63, British No. 93) and German preparation for war apparent, (Russian No. 68, French No. 118).

It is not easy in the German official statement to distinguish between Prussian naïveté and insincerity. For those who wish to attempt the distinction the following will be an interesting exercise:

(a) Germany condemns Russia because the latter, foreseeing a conflict with Austria, mobilized also against the Teuton ally; but Germany herself, foreseeing a conflict with Russia, mobilized also against France, the ally of Russia.

(b) Germany mentions the recall of the French troops from manoeuvres on July 27 as signifying a hostile intention, (German Exhibit 9,) but she herself recalled her troops from manoeuvres some time prior to July 30 and denied that she had taken any hostile measures, (Russian No. 68.) The old adage that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander is evidently not of Prussian origin.

The Chancellor's speech contains, besides his main indictment of Russia, a discussion of several phases of the diplomatic and military strategy that preceded the declaration of war, viz., the abortive edition of the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger announcing prematurely the unborn German order of mobilization, the alleged priority of French mobilization, the stiffening of the war spirit in Russia by the alleged promise of British support, the Austro-Hungarian compliance in mediation proposals, (in fact, agreed to on July 31, but only on condition that Russia should stop all military preparations, and that Austria herself be allowed to continue the war on Serbia, vide Austrian No. 51,) and the question of the British motive for entering the war. The German interpretation of these matters is of doubtful validity and sometimes wholly deceptive. Candid opinion can allow them no force as arguments for the Chancellor's main contention. Two communications that passed between Berlin and Vienna are here published for the first time. They only confirm the obvious fact that German restraint on Austria was ineffectual.

If Americans will visualize the situation at the end of July, 1914, they will see on the one hand Austria-Hungary, deaf to all pacific appeals, and backed by the mighty forces of Germany, hurling her army at the Serbian frontier in defiance of Russia; on the other hand, Russia, jealous of her prestige and determined to protect her small sister State, but striving for a peaceful solution, and finally arming herself only when no alternative remained but ignominious submission to Germany's demand for non-interference.

Germany, like the Roman legate at Carthage, having formed a fold in her robe of diplomacy, said, "Here we bring you war and [ignominious] peace; take which you please." Shall Russia's answer be called the cause of the war? Common candor requires that Germany be held responsible.

Wartime Methods in Germany

Address by Herr Dittmann, Socialist Deputy, delivered in the Reichstag

A system of arbitrary imprisonments adopted as a wartime measure by the German Government has caused serious protest, especially among the irreconcilable Socialists. The full text of Herr Dittmann's speech on this subject in the Reichstag Oct. 28, 1916, has recently reached this country, and is herewith translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE as an interesting record of wartime conditions:

THE object of the projected law relating to the preventive prison (Schutzhaft) is very acceptable to us; we will co-operate with the commission to obtain an ordinary procedure in legal form, with an obligation of damage rights for persons wronged. But one thing should be understood: this projected law gives the character of a State institution to a species of prison which is absolutely illegal and which, in my opinion, is not justified by any military or political necessity. It would be preferable, therefore, to be guided by our demand and to suppress all reference to the state of siege, and with it the preventive imprisonment.

The preventive prison is today a means of combating parties and individuals who find themselves in political opposition. As far back as last May this form of imprisonment had already created a veritable terror, and since then the situation has only grown worse. The Government has revived the laws of execrable memory that preceded the revolution of 1848 and those voted against the Socialists; the system of police denunciation and the régime of spies are flourishing anew, and, as in the days of the law against the Socialists, hide themselves under the mask of the patriot and the savior of his country.

For years the authorities have kept up these imprisonments, which do not rest on any juridical basis. The safety guaranteed by the laws has been shattered; all protection of the laws has been abrogated, and, as if in derision, this whole procedure has been denominated one of "security and protection." The more benignant this phrase appears, the more does it conceal of baseness and villainy.

A military chief of police openly declared to an Alsatian victim of this system: "In fact, more than one man profits from this chance to get rid of a good friend." Infamy and debauchery at this moment are feasting in veritable orgies, [the speaker is called to order.] The victims, defenseless, have to bear everything; the denial of justice is crushing them in a way unworthy of a human being, and destroying their material resources and their family life. And this terrible fate has been imposed upon them because no crimes punishable by the laws can be proved against them—in comparison with them criminals are to be envied. For this situation, as terrible from the moral as from the material viewpoint, these gentlemen of the Government appear not to have a spark of intelligence.

The Mehring Case Typical

In the Mehring case Mr. Helfferich naïvely said to the Budget Commission: "It is, however, preferable that Mehring should be in the preventive prison rather than that he should be at liberty and be able to commit an act for which he would have to be punished." According to that logic everybody in the world ought to be arrested in order to preserve everybody from breaking the laws. Mr. Helfferich's ideal seems to be a German national house of detention.

Mehring objects in most energetic fashion to this benevolent intervention of the State, and is ready at any moment to bear the responsibility of his acts.

The Mehring case is a classic proof that we are not very far away from Mr. Helfferich's ideal. Mehring was arrested because, in an intercepted letter addressed to Deputy Herzfeld, he had declared himself in favor of a demonstration for peace in Potsdam Square, and had offered to draw up a manifesto inviting the public to it—that is all that could be charged against him. There was

no punishable act. And that is why this man of more than 70 years was arrested. How long will it be before even thoughts will no longer be free from punishment in Germany?

Mehring is one of our most distinguished historians and authors. He belongs in the first rank of German intellectual life and is known far beyond the boundaries of Germany. The moment that it is learned abroad that such a man has been imprisoned "preventively," simply to eliminate him from public life, you need not be astonished if both inside of Germany and outside of it the German Government is held in very low esteem. A Government must be in a bad plight, indeed, to lock up the brightest minds in the country for the purpose of stifling their valid impulses—that is the first reflection that will occur to every one upon hearing such news.

The Case of Mme. Luxemburg

In the same fashion Mme. Dr. Rosa Luxemburg has been in prison for long months without the law's being able to establish the slightest misdeed against her. She is in disfavor because of her political views; men fear her intellectual influence upon the laboring masses and the creation of an energetic socialistic opposition. That is why they have put her in prison. The Government does not appear to know that by this act it has aroused the deepest indignation of all the woman Socialists in Germany—that it has given a blow of the fist to the whole socialistic labor movement in Germany by such arrests.

Neither does it appear to understand the effect produced on other nations, whether neutrals or enemies. Its members ought to reflect that to fight against a Government which imprisons without reason some of the most widely known members of the international proletariat must appear a socialistic duty, so to speak, in France, England, Italy, and Russia, and that by such measures the German Government is reviving among its enemies the will to prosecute the war. That is the effect of such a policy of violence.

As for the treatment endured by the persons arrested, it is truly infamous and revolting. In spite of his great age and his uncertain health, Mehring has been kept for months in a miserable hole; it is only in recent days that his friends have suceeded in having him transferred to the infirmary of the Moabit Prison. As for Mme. Luxemburg, about four weeks ago she was suddenly sent for one evening when she was in bed at the women's prison in Barnim Street and transferred to the police station in Alexander Place. There she was locked in a small cell where only prostitutes arrested in the street are ordinarily confined until they are brought before the Judge. The cell has only half the normal space.

All visits to Mme. Luxemburg are forbidden; the newspapers which she received at Barnim Street have been taken away, and even the visits of her physician have been interdicted. The food is absolutely impossible for her to eat, so that she has had to have her meals brought in from the neighborhood and pay very dear for them. Her health is poor, and only her extraordinary energy keeps her up. One of her close friends writes to a colleague of mine in the prefecture: "The situation at the police station is a direct menace to her life." A moment before this session I was informed that Mme. Luxemburg had suddenly been transferred from that station to Wromke, a province of Posen; exile is thus added to imprisonment. Thus does the preventive prison serve the reactionaries as a weapon against the socialistic opposition in this country.

Case of Mme. Duncker

In the same fashion, the authorities are hounding the Socialist movement among the young people. The military Government in the Marches has forbidden Comrade Katy Duncker to take any action in favor of the young workingmen's classes under threat of preventive imprisonment. Comrade Duncker asked the military Government for explanations of the juridicial basis for this order, and wrote: "I add, besides, that the order must evidently rest upon inaccurate information. In the young workingmen's classes I discuss scientific subjects re-

lating usually to the political sciences and to economic history. It is incomprehensible how such work can be a menace to public safety. Through my class lectures and study courses I have earned a part of my livelihood, and I can the less easily give this up for myself and my three children because my husband has been absent on military service since August of last year."

Thus you see how, as the result of some wretched denunciation, they are taking away from the wife of a soldier the possibility of earning a living by intellectual labor for herself and her children. The example of a pupil of whom I shall speak later proves what high moral character and intellectual force is created in the young workingmen's classes through Mme. Duncker's activities. But first I am going to touch upon yet another case of a young married workingwoman.

Mme. Spahn in Prison

On the 1st of August of this year a woman, Anna Spahn, was thrown into the preventive prison at Berlin. She wished to attend a meeting called at a public place. On a street corner near the designated place she learned that the meeting had been forbidden and demanded the reason; at this moment some one put a few leaflets into her hand, and she threw them into the air. A policeman came up and arrested her. Up to the present day, after more than three months, that woman is still in prison. [Interruption: "She has just been released."] If she has been released it was done probably because it was known that the question of the "preventive prison" was going to be discussed here. She is the mother of two children of 2 and 6 years, and her husband is at the front. Until her arrest she was earning her living; at that time relatives had to take charge of the children.

Treatment of Young Girls

The authorities have acted in the same way in many other cases: Young working girls of 17 or 18 years, mere children, as the prison director said, have been held under arrest for months, though they had been living with their parents, had steady employment, and were helping to support their families. One young girl of 17 years was kept in a cell for months, and finally the injurious charges against her ended in a verdict of no grounds.

Two young girls of 18 years were arrested in Berlin on June 27 for having distributed invitations calling the workingwomen together en masse at Potsdam Place to protest against the Liebknecht trial. The wording of these invitations infringed upon no penal law. Even the words, "Down with the Government!" on that invitation are not punishable. Junius Alter has gone so far as to say that the chief end of the war is to eliminate the Chancellor, and one of his intellectual friends, as you know, has given the lethal advice to blow out the brains of the Chancellor. Then, though the invitations contained nothing punishable, these young girls were taken by the district police of Charlottenburg to the police headquarters of that borough, and, on the morrow, to the police station in Alexander Place. For two months they have been held in prison contrary to all law. The authorities have not been ashamed to put them with a prostitute part of the time. If these young girls are released from that royal Prussian prison without damage to body or soul they will owe the fact primarily to the high moral philosophy which, as they themselves testify with pride, was instilled into them by the Society for the Education of the Young, and notably by Mme. Duncker.

A Young Girl's Letter

A passage from a letter of one of these girls shows, on the one hand, the great moral and physical danger in which they find themselves, and, on the other hand, the moral elevation which they derived from their knowledge of socialistic philosophy, and which protected them from all impurity. The young woman writes:

> The fourth woman was a prostitute held under restraint; she said that she desired to lead an honorable life again. I have not been able to feel the least moral indignation against her. Her moral and intellectual inferiority are accounted for by her heredity, her education, and her previous life. Her

father and mother were half-witted; the former is dead, the latter is in an insane asylum. The woman herself was raised in an orphanage. She has been subjected by turns to forced education, several times in the House of Correction, and latterly in prison and in the institution for the control of manners. She was choleric and nervous; in order to have peace we said nothing, even when she told her past in most shameful fashion. We took our precautions when using the common wash basin; that wounded her, and there was a break which rendered quite insupportable our life together, a thing painful enough in any circumstances. After eight days she left us, and we experienced great relief.

This passage from the letter of a working girl of 18 years is a document for our civilization. It is a brilliant witness to the high value of education for the common people, but also a document of the shame and ignominy of a system of violence which thus tramples under foot the moral consciousness of young girls. The danger for such girls exists also in the preventive prison, for the arrangement of rooms compels the inmates to hear through the windows the conversations carried on by persons who are expiating crimes by imprisonment.

Those two girls and many of their unhappy companions were left for months in that kind of atmosphere. Our language is too poor to excoriate such shamelessness as it deserves. We demand protection against such a prison of protection, which in reality is a prison of filth. (Schutz for diezer Schutzhaft welche eine Schmutzhaft ist!)

Brutality of the Police

If the Berlin Prefect of Police, in his functions, is still capable of feeling shame, he ought to be ashamed in the presence of these Berlin workingwomen. Respect for the most elementary human sentiments is trampled upon in these arrests; for eight days that young girl was forbidden to announce her arrest to her mother, who was in a torture of fright to know what had happened. They told the girl that the matter would be attended to, but no actual news was given to the mother; it should be remembered, too, that this girl was helping to support her mother and little sister. In consequence of the arrest she lost her place; her father has been at the front for two years and is wounded. By way of thanking him, they brutalize his daughter behind his back. What must be the feelings of such a father?

After having been released the 11th of this month the young woman was again present at a meeting of the Society for the Education of the Young, at which she did nothing more than attend to matters of business, elections, &c. She was summoned to police headquarters, and an examining magistrate harangued her, telling her that her presence at the meeting was an unheard of impudence when she had just been released. It seems to me that the unheard of impudence was on the other side. She was threatened with imprisonment for the remainder of the war if she took part in another public political meeting. As the girl objected that the Society for the Education of the Young had no political character, and that the meeting was neither political nor public, the magistrate denounced her anew, threatening to arrest her immediately if she said another word.

There you have police brutality in all its purity.

That is how, in a country which has been promised a new official attitude and in which the way was to be opened up for all kinds of ability, they treat a workingman's daughter who, with firmness of will, seeks, despite all difficulties, to follow her path toward instruction and education. By these means the Government is trying systematically to kill all spirit of independence. This is why members of the Social Democratic Party who desire an energetic opposition are arrested. By eliminating the directing elements of the opposition the Government thinks to crush the head of the serpent: it has learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

Meyer and Regge Cases

The director of Vorwärts, Dr. Meyer, who can be reproached with nothing except political ideas that are not agreeable to the authorities, has been confined for months in preventive prison. He is suffering from an affection of the lungs, and is at the present moment in the infirmary of the Moabit Prison; all his re-

quests to be allowed to go to a sanatorium have been denied.

The Director of the organ of the Furriers' Association, Companion Regge, the father of six children, has been in preventive prison since Aug. 17 of this year. Why? Because he condemns and combats the war policy of the committee of the Social Democratic Party. There has been issued at his expense a circular which he had published a half year before his arrest, under his signature and that of two others, which treated of an internal difference in the Teltow-Beeskow faction. By energetic insistence he succeeded, on the 11th of September, in being at least told why he was under arrest. At that time the following reasons were imparted to him: On May 27 he had been Secretary of the general meeting of the electoral association, and had proposed at that meeting a resolution advocating a refusal of contributions to the Social Democratic committee, at the same time urging a more active policy in the Reichstag on the part of the Social Democratic Labor Union. Furthermore, he had signed the protest addressed to the committee of the party. In June he had taken part in the demonstration for Liebknecht, though he had not made himself prominent in any way. The charges against him, therefore, were purely political.

Case of Editor Kluers

Another signer of the manifesto, Editor Kluers, has been in preventive prison for eight months, and, despite all his efforts, cannot obtain his liberty; all sorts of charges have been invented against him. Thus he is said to have called a conference of young men on Feb. 5 at Neukölln, but he has been able to prove that he was not there at all; the spies had made a false accusation. But, even if he had been there, and had spoken, that would not have justified preventive imprisonment. If he had said anything punishable, he could have been proceeded against under the criminal code.

He was reproached, besides, with desiring to publish a manifesto against the Social Democratic Party committee; that also rests on a false affirmation. His principal crime consists in having cooperated in the publication of the manifesto regarding the split in the Teltow-Beeskow faction, but on the next day after the police seized that manifesto they had to give it back, because the Military Government could not justify the confiscation; yet in spite of this the imprisonment of Kluers was persisted in.

The treatment inflicted on Editor Kluers in prison cries to heaven for vengeance and is a mockery of all human sentiment. On Aug. 22 he received from his daughter the news that his wife, who was living at Kiel with the children, was seriously ill, had been taken to the hospital, and desired greatly to speak with him. He asked to be released, inclosing the telegram, but only after weeks of delay did he receive a negative reply. On Sept. 10 Kluers was again informed that his wife, who was dying, begged to be allowed to speak with him; again the Military Government refused the request. On Sept. 22 the attending physician certified that she was at the point of death. The next day this certificate was in the hands of the local commandant, but it was not sent to Kluers until six days later, on the 28th of September. Meanwhile, on the 25th he had received a telegram from his daughter that his wife was dead and would be buried on the 27th. Immediately, inclosing the telegram, he demanded to be allowed at least to attend the funeral. On the evening of the 26th he was still without a reply. He telegraphed to his lawyer, begging him to come immediately and confer with him; but this telegram was not allowed to be sent until the 30th, three days after the burial.

Having received no reply whatever, he had to give up taking any part in the funeral.

Finally, on Oct. 2, he received a notice, dated Sept. 30, that his request was denied, since the burial of his wife had already taken place.

Really, one wonder whether these are men of flesh and blood who are capable of giving such answers, or whether they are modern torturers, executioners who play with the moral agony of others and

who martyrize the most sacred feelings of the human heart.*

There are other facts which prove that this was a deliberate and conscious torture of a defenseless man. In order to explain his absence at the funeral Kluers telegraphed to Kiel that he had not yet received a reply; this telegram was not sent until three days after the funeral. His son, who is at the front and who had received permission to attend the funeral, was painfully impressed by his father's absence. He wrote to him on Sept. 29 that he desired to speak to him, as his furlough extended to Oct. 4. The letter reached the local authorities on Sept. 30, but was not delivered to Kluers until Oct. 4, the day when the furlough expired; that is the way they prevented an interview between father and son. Even before the death of the mother, when the son was leaving for the front on Sept. 9, he tried in vain to be admitted to see his father. In all this, therefore, there is a method and a system.

There are other rascalities besides. On Oct. 1 Kluers's lease expired, and on Sept. 22 he asked for permission to rent a new apartment and make preparations for removal. On Sept. 28 and 30, and again on Oct. 2, he renewed his demand for a decision; the result was that they sent a police agent to him, who advised him to get a friend to look for a new house and take care of the moving. The landlord cited Kluers in court to have him evicted, but the permission asked by Kluers to attend the trial was refused.

Through these and similar persecutions the authorities are making this man's life a hell; yet there is nothing against him, except political ideas which are in disfavor, and for which, without any legal justification, he has been thrown into preventive prison. We are compelled to conclude that he is being pursued systematically with the purpose of destroying him.

*In replying to these facts Mr. Helfferich contented himself with saying that Mr. and Mrs. Kluers were estranged. It was merely a matter, then, of the wife's desire to reconcile herself with her husband on her deathbed!

Public "safety" has nothing whatever to do with all this. This system, which grows worse the longer it lasts, is purely a matter of arbitrary brutality.

Tyranny in the Provinces

This system is applied to the provinces as well as to Berlin. At Düsseldorf six of our members were thrown into the so-called preventive prison at the end of July for having distributed leaflets. Among them were Schotte, an editor, and Kulich, Secretary of the syndicate. They have been in prison more than two months and a half, and up to the present moment none of them has been allowed to communicate with a lawyer.

Two of these imprisoned persons were shut up for weeks in the police station with criminals; in the cell there was no bed, and they had to sleep on wooden planks without undressing. It was impossible to bathe, the food was unfit to eat, and they were not permitted to exercise. Amid the most primitive and outrageous conditions these men had to remain without redress until, after repeated complaints, they succeeded in obtaining better quarters. One of these prisoners, having asked the reason of his arrest, received from the military authorities of Münster the reply that perhaps he would be heard as a witness before the Leipsic court, and that is why this man has been three months in prison!

The case of Editor Oerter of Brunswick is similar. On Aug. 22 he was arrested and thrown into preventive prison; he has been there more than two months, and with him Genzer, a syndicate functionary. He has not been told why he was arrested. In the beginning he was accused of having taken part in the publication of a manifesto; of that there was not the slightest proof; absolutely nothing has been proved that could incriminate him in any way. No preliminary hearing has been given him, though the prisoner has asked for one, and though he has demanded, ceaselessly but vainly, to be brought before the common court.

These men have been imprisoned on the strength of a miserable, lying denunciation; it is evidently the intention

to punish them—as it is in all the cases I have cited—because of their political convictions, which are those of the opposition.

The Prison or the Trenches

It is true that the Minister of War published, on the 22d of this month, a decree calling for a more liberal policy; but I cite in opposition a decree of the Military Government at Dantzic issued Sept. 12, which recommends the preventive prison as an effective means for getting rid of the Social Democratic orators who speak against the food monopoly. In this decree, which my colleague Wurn cited during the discussion of the potato question, there is the following characteristic phrase: "The principal chiefs and leaders will be put in preventive prison or called under arms. Good results have been obtained in two regions with this ruling, and we recommend that it be imitated in others."

I am going to show you a striking example of the fact that the authorities are working on the recipe of "preventive prison or the trenches." The case is that of a syndicate Secretary, Sauerbrey of Elberfeld-Barmen, who is represented by our colleague Ebert. On June 20 manifestos were pasted up on the public bulletin boards of that place, and on the same day three persons were accused of having helped to spread these notices. On June 27 the syndicate Secretary Sauerbrey was arrested. In the police headquarters at Elberfeld he was at once cross-examined in the most detailed fashion, but it was established beyond possible doubt that he had not taken the least part in the distribution of the manifestos; in spite of this fact, however, because he belonged to the opposition which has sprung up in the heart of the Social Democratic Party, he was thrown into "preventive" prison. They let him write letters to his family, but the letters were not mailed. After three weeks he demanded to be heard, protested against a situation contrary to right and law, and threatened to let himself die of hunger if he were not brought before the ordinary Judge.

For two whole days he refused food. This produced the first effect. He was taken to the Court House and assused of treason and incitement to revolt, but this accusation soon evaporated. Sauerbrey made an appeal which was admitted by the superior court of the empire with the approval of the Attorney General.

Great care was taken after that not to set him at liberty; on the contrary, he was again taken to the police station. The next day he had to go before a council of revision, and was assigned to the army. Before that he had been declared unfit, because he had lost several finger joints of his right hand. It is a typical example of the Dantzic recipe, "preventive prison or army service." He was called to the service immediately, with only one hour's grace, and with a soldier accompanying him during that hour; when he visited his home he had not even time to see his children again after his long imprisonment. Now he is under instruction at the barracks preparatory to being sent to the front.

This affair provoked measureless indignation in the labor world of Elberfeld-Barmen. Sauerbrey had filled the place of a syndicate Secretary for a year past, and had given free aid to innumerable persons who had come to consult him, especially of families of soldiers at the front. After his call to service it was necessary to withdraw the benefits of these consultations from all those who did not belong to a labor organization. The blow aimed at him therefore strikes most severely many poor people who need aid. Yet the military Government of Münster is astonished that in all the valley of the Wupper the people are more and more discontented, and is hatching new measures to make itself master of the unrest. One might imagine the whole thing to be a madhouse drama, but it is reality and a "state of siege."

Other Typical Instances

This is no isolated case. I could cite many more. Let me recall that of Weinberg. Weinberg was present when an orderly came to announce to the physician who was to examine him that the Recruiting Bureau was well aware that

Weinberg was unfit for service, and that, nevertheless, he ought not to be liberated.

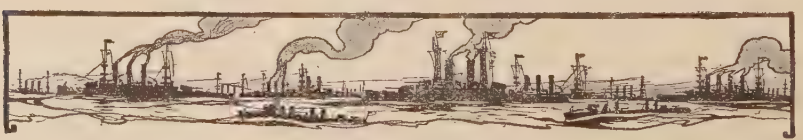
Ever since the beginning of the war there has been in preventive prison at Elberfeld a workman named Albrecht, who can be reproached for nothing unless it be for holding opinions that are frowned upon by the military. Four men arrested with him have already been sent to the army. In general, in the Seventh District, political undesirables are very frequently sent into the army. Army headquarters receive notice from the General Government of Münster that a certain man has been called and assigned to the corps, and his private record follows; this record naturally contains all sorts of secret entries from police spies. In the region of the Rhine a great number of these cases are known and have created an immense animosity.

Many interdictions were also issued more than a year ago forbidding members of our party to speak on pain of imprisonment, because they had signed an address to the committee of the Social Democratic Party demanding a change of policy during the war. At Düsseldorf a workman was forbidden to speak because, at a public meeting, he had uttered a very justifiable criticism of the food furnished by the war kitchen. Such are the rigorous measures which the authorities are using to render impossible all criticism of our internal situation. The arbitrary power of our rulers under the "state of siege" no longer recognizes any limits.

For all these persecutions of inoffensive citizens it has been necessary to create an army of police spies and functionaries of all sorts, which is daily growing larger. All these gentry would no longer need to be paid out of the public Treasury if the persecutions were stopped. A great proportion of these agents and functionaries would immediately become available for useful work in the army. Their present positions are, for the most part, hiding places where they seek to escape military service, and they cling to these with all their strength, seeking to prove daily that they are indispensable through their discoveries of all sorts of misdeeds; because they themselves do not wish to go into the trenches, they send others to prison. Thus it is that they keep up the appearance of work and assume to wear the halo of saviors of the State. It is the duty of the people's representatives to clean out these Augean stables and to remove the basis of such a military reign of terror. Vote, then, for our motion demanding the suppression of siege measures, and thus help us to put an end to a situation that is a shame and disgrace to the German name.

Merchant Ships of Central Powers in American Ports

There are sixty-eight German and Austrian merchant vessels in the ports of the United States, of which number fifty-four are German. Twenty-nine of these ships are in New York Harbor. In addition to these there is a merchant vessel (German) in the port of San Juan, Porto Rico; a gunboat is held at Honolulu, and the two German cruisers, Eitel Friedrich and Kronprinz Wilhelm, are interned at Norfolk. The merchant vessels are not, however, interned. They are free to leave the ports of the United States whenever they ask for and obtain clearance papers.



Enslavement of the Belgians

New Documents in the Case

GERMANY'S military policy of deporting Belgian laborers and compelling them to work in an enemy country has continued to be the subject of strong protests during the month just past. Three thousand persons in mass meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Dec. 15, called upon the Government of the United States to protest with "all its force and earnestness" against the enslavement of Belgians. Bankers, railroad Presidents, college Presidents, Bishops and priests, distinguished lawyers, professional and public men of national reputation, took part in the meeting.

CARDINAL MERCIER
(Photo © Amer. Press Association)

Written protests from Belgians have continued to pour in upon Governor General von Bissing, who, in turn, following the instructions of the Imperial Government, has reiterated the necessity of these deportations and has continued to increase the number of exiles. Cardinal Mercier's further protests to the Governor General have reached the United States, and are placed on record in this magazine, with General von Bissing's reply; also the moving appeal of 500,000 Belgian workingmen to their fellow-laborers in the United States.

The charge that, despite the assertions of Baron von Bissing, the deported Belgians in Germany are being forced to do work of a distinctly military character, is made by neutral eyewitnesses. They state that the exiles are employed in digging trenches, carpentering them, laying electric wires for military works, and preparing ground for wire entanglements. The Belgian Deputies and Senators at Mons drew up a letter replying to von Bissing's assertion that the deportations were for the purpose of bettering the conditions of unemployed men. The facts they cited include the following:

At Quaregnon, of 1,000 workmen compelled to report to the authorities, 304 have been deported. Among the latter are 227 who were not unemployed, including four farmers, five master bakers, six bakers, one master butcher, one brewery engineer, the manager of a large brewery, one conspicuous merchant, the son of a Director of iron works, and one master printer. At Dour, of 137 deportees, there are 117 employed men, among them nine farmers, four students, and numbers of small shopmen working at home. At Wasmes, of 136 deportees, 130 were employed. At Frameries, of 200 deportees, 157 were employed. At Hornu, of 140 deportees, 87 were employed. At Paturages, of 155 deportees, 109 were employed. At Ghlin, of 155 deportees, 109 were employed. At Wavre Burgomaster Indl informed the recruiting officers that all men called up for control were employed. He had himself made inquiry, and he asked to be allowed to produce his evidence. His remarks were brushed aside, and, of 450 men called up for control, 45 were deported, all employed.

Other authoritative documents have come to hand to prove that the state of idleness which Germany has used as an excuse was produced by robbing the country of its raw materials and transporting them to Germany. The most eloquent statement of this phase of the indictment is contained in the letter of the Federation of Managers of Belgian Industries, a translation of which appears in connection with the present article. A similar protest of the Senators and Deputies of

the Belgian Province of Luxemburg shows that in the province named there was no unemployment at all, thanks to extensive public works undertaken by the Belgian authorities to avoid such a condition; but that the forcible deportation of workmen interrupted these enterprises and spread suffering among the population.

A sidelight on the subject is afforded by the following advertisement, which appeared in a Holland newspaper on Nov. 2, 1916, in the early stages of the affair:

NOTICE

The Burgomaster of Hoorn (Holland) informs Belgian refugees resident in this place that the German Government has informed the Netherlands Legation that it desires Belgian refugees to return home, so that normal conditions may again prevail in occupied Belgium, and it has submitted a communication to the Legation, of which a textual translation is as follows:

"A rumor has been spread among the Belgian refugees in Holland that if they return to Belgium the German authorities will forbid their going back to Holland for the purpose of getting their families. The Governor General declares that this rumor, which is absolutely false and contrary to the re-establishing of normal conditions, should be denied, and the refugees convinced that their search for their families is authorized."

A. A. DE JONGH,
Burgomaster of Hoorn.

The course of events in Belgium since then has not tended to allay the suspicions of these refugees.

Cardinal Mercier's Appeal for Deported Belgians

ON the day after the capitulation of Antwerp the terrified people begged Cardinal Mercier to ascertain what the Germans were going to do with young men of military age. Moved by the supplications of fathers and mothers, the Cardinal had an interview with the German Military Governor of Antwerp, Baron von Huene, who authorized him to reassure the frightened parents, declaring that there was no need to fear that young men would be taken away to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forced labor. At the Cardinal's request Baron von Huene put this assurance into writing. When Baron von der Goltz became Governor General at Brussels the Cardinal obtained confirmation of these guarantees, but when Baron von Bissing succeeded to the Military Governorship they began at length to be violated on an enormous scale. On Oct. 19 Cardinal Mercier addressed to Baron von Bissing his first protest against the Belgian deportations, saying in conclusion:

In the name of the Belgian citizen's liberty of domicile and liberty of labor; in the name of morality, which would be gravely compromised by this system of deportation; in the name of the promise given by the Governor of the Province of Antwerp and by the Governor General, the immediate representative of the highest authority in the German Empire, I respectfully pray your Excellency to withdraw the measures of forced labor and of deportation with which the Belgian workingmen are threatened, and to restore to their firesides those who have already been deported.

As the deportations continued by thousands Cardinal Mercier at length carried his appeal to the arbitrament of the whole world in a longer protest, issued Nov. 7. Parts of this document were published in the December number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, but the full text follows:

Malines, Nov. 7, 1916.

Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform forced labor.

As early as Oct. 19 we sent to the Governor General a protest, a copy of which was handed to the representatives of the Holy See, of Spain, the United States, and Holland, in Brussels, but the Governor General replied to it that nothing could be done.

At the time of our protest the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; today every able-bodied man is carried off, pellmell, assembled in freight cars, and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague rumors had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournau, Ghent, and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between Oct. 24 and Nov. 2 deportations took place in the region of Mons, Quievrain, Saint Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days they were extended to the Arrondisse-

ment of Nivelles. Here is a specimen of the announcement concerning the proceedings:

"By order of the Kreischef every male person over 17 years old shall present himself, Place Saint Paul, in Nivelles, on Nov. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock, (Belgian time,) 9 o'clock, (Central time,) bringing with him his identification card and eventually his card from the Meldeamt.

"Only small hand baggage is permitted.

"Those not presenting themselves will be forcibly deported into Germany, and will besides be liable to a heavy fine and to long imprisonment.

"Ecclesiastics, physicians, lawyers, and teachers are exempt from this order.

"The Mayors will be held responsible for the proper execution of this order, which must be brought immediately to the knowledge of the inhabitants."

Between the announcement and the deportation there is an interval of only twenty-four hours.

Under pretext of public works to be performed on Belgian soil, the occupying power had attempted to obtain from the communities the lists of workingmen out of work. Most of the communities proudly refused.

Three decrees from the General Government prepared the way for the execution which is in force today.

Under date of Aug. 15, 1915, a first decree imposes, under penalty of imprisonment and fine, forced work on the idle, but adds that the work is to be executed in Belgium, and that noncompliance will be adjudged by Belgian tribunals.

A second decree, dated May 2, 1916, reserves the right of the German authorities to supply work to the idle, and threatens a fine of three years' imprisonment and 20,000 marks imposable on anybody executing or ordering to be executed work not approved of by the General Government.

Under the same decree, the right to judge infractions which had remained with the Belgian tribunals passed from the Belgian to the German tribunals.

A third decree, dated May 13, 1916, "authorizes the Governors, the military commanders, and the chiefs of arrondissements to order that the unemployed be conducted by force to the places where they must work." This was already forcible working, although in Belgium.

Now it is no longer a question of forcible working in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

To give an appearance of plausibility to these violent measures, the occupying power insisted in the German press, both in Germany and Belgium, on these two pretexts: the unemployed constitute a danger to public order and a burden on official benevolence.

To this we replied in a letter addressed to the Governor General and to the head of the Political Department on Oct. 16, as follows:

"You are well aware that public order is in no wise threatened and that all influences, moral and civil, would support you spontaneously were it in danger. The unemployed are not a burden on official benevolence; it is not from your funds that they receive assistance."

In his reply the Governor General no longer urges these two first considerations, but he alleges that "doles to the unemployed, from whatever source they may come at present, must finally be a charge upon our finances, and that it is the duty of a good administrator to lighten such charges"; he adds that "prolonged unemployment would cause our workmen to lose their technical proficiency, and that in the time of peace to come they would be useless to industry."

True, there were other ways in which our finances might have been protected. We might have been spared those war levies which have now reached the sum of one billion francs, and are still amounting up at the rate of forty millions a month; we might have been spared those requisitions in kind, which amount to several thousands of millions, and are exhausting us.

There are other ways of providing for the maintenance of professional skill among our workpeople, such as leaving to Belgian industry its machinery and accessories, its raw materials, and its manufactured goods, which have passed from Belgium into Germany. And it is neither to the quarries nor to the lime kilns to which the Germans themselves declare our specialists will go to complete their professional education.

The naked truth is that every deported workman is another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made into a soldier. Thus the situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be reduced to these terms: Four hundred thousand workmen have been thrown out of work by no fault of their own, and largely on account of the régime of the occupation. Sons, husbands, and fathers of families, they bear their unhappy lot without murmuring, respectful of public order; national solidarity provides their most pressing wants; by dint of unselfish thrift and self-denial they escape extreme destitution, and they await with dignity and in a mutual affection which our national sorrows have intensified, the end of our common ordeal.

Groups of soldiers introduced themselves forcibly in the homes of these people, tearing the young people out of the arms of their parents, the husband from his wife, the father from his children; at the point of the bayonet they block the entrances to the homes, preventing wives and mothers from rushing out to say a last farewell to them; they align the captives in groups of forty or fifty and push them forcibly into freight cars; the locomotive is under steam, and as soon as a trainload is ready, an officer gives the signal and they depart. Thus are another thousand Belgians reduced to slavery.

without previous trial, condemned to the penalty which comes next in cruelty to the death penalty—deportation. They do not know how long their exile is going to last, neither do they know where they are going. All they know is that their work will benefit the enemy. Several of them have been brought to sign—by coercion or by threats—an engagement which their oppressors dare to call "voluntary."

While they certainly take the unemployed, they also take a large number in the proportion of one-quarter for the Arrondissement of Mons—of men who were never out of work and who belong to diversified professions—butchers, bakers, tailors, brewery workers, electricians, farmers; they even take the youngest men, college and university students, or young men from other high schools.

This in spite of the fact that two high authorities of the German Empire had formally guaranteed the liberty of our compatriots.

The day after the capitulation of Antwerp the frightened populace asked itself what would become of the Belgians of military age or those which would arrive at that age before the end of the siege. Baron von Huene, Military Governor of Antwerp, authorized me to reassure in his name the frightened parents. However, as rumors were running that in Antwerp, Liége, Namur, and Charleroi young men had been seized and forcibly carried off to Germany, I asked Governor von Huene to confirm to me in writing the verbal guarantees which he had given me. He replied that the rumors pertaining to deportations were without foundation, and he gave me without hesitancy the written declaration which was read on Sunday, Oct. 18, 1914, in all the parochial churches of the Arrondissement of Antwerp: "Young men need have no fear of being carried off to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forcible employment."

Immediately after the arrival of Baron von der Goltz in the capacity of Governor General at Brussels, I went to ask him to ratify the guarantees given by Governor von Huene to the Province of Antwerp extending them to the whole country without any time limit. The Governor General retained my petition in order to consider it at his leisure. The following day he was good enough to come in person to Malines to express his approval and in the presence of two aides de camp and of my private secretary to confirm the promise that the liberty of the Belgian citizens would be respected.

In my letter of Oct. 16 last to Baron von Bissing after reminding him of the undertaking given by his predecessor, I concluded: "Your Excellency will understand how painful would be the burden of responsibility that I have incurred toward families if the confidence they placed in you through me and at my earnest entreaty should be so lamentably disappointed."

The Governor General replied: "The employment of the Belgian unemployed in Germany, which has only been initiated after two years of war, differs essentially from the captivity of men fit for military service. Moreover, the measure is not related to the conduct of the war, properly speaking, but it is determined by social and economic causes."

As if the word of an honest man were terminable at the end of a year or two! As if the declaration confirmed in 1914 did not explicitly exclude both military operations and forced labor! As if, in fine, every Belgian workman who takes the place of a German workman did not enable the latter to fill a gap in the German Army!

We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity.

When Cardinal Lavigerie embarked on his anti-slavery campaign, Pope Leo XIII., as he blessed his mission, remarked: "Opinion is more than ever the queen of the world. It is on this you must work. You will only conquer by means of opinion."

May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally around our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery.

May human conscience triumph over all sophisms and remain steadfastly faithful to the great precept of St. Ambrose: Honor above everything! Nihil praeferendum honestati!

In the name of the Belgian Bishops.

[Signed.]

D. J. (Cardinal) MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Governor Bissing's Reply

P. A. I-11,254 Brussels, Nov. 23, 1916.

Most Honored Cardinal:

I acknowledge receipt of your honored letter dated Nov. 10, and of the manuscript letter dated Nov. 15, concerning the delay in delivery. This is the answer which I have to give:

Your Eminence wrote to me on Oct. 19 last requesting that the utilization of Belgian unemployed in Germany should come to an end. In my answer dated Oct. 28 I have, in spite of my appreciation of your point of view in the matter, indicated the reasons and the ideas which have inspired the decisions of the occupying power with relation to the question of labor. These decisions were not arbitrary or hastily taken without sufficient consideration for the difficulties of the problem; they were the outcome of ripe reflection bearing on the circumstances and the necessity recognized as unavoidable.

On the whole, I feel obliged to remind your Eminence once more of my explanations of Oct. 28. Your objections to these are founded on either a misconception of these explanations or on ideas to which I cannot, on principle, reconcile myself.

The extensive unemployment which prevails in Belgium is a great social evil, and the employment of idle Belgians in Germany brings them great benefit. I said to your Eminence, on my arrival in Belgium, that I wanted to heal the wounds inflicted by the war upon the Belgian people; the recent measures are not in the least in contradiction with this declaration. I must also consider as a misrepresentation of facts the way your Eminence sets aside the many and often successful efforts which I have made to revive Belgium's economic life with the remark that, on the contrary, unemployment has been artificially created.

Regarding the importation of raw materials into Belgium and the exportation of manufactured articles, England has made unacceptable conditions. There were some time ago negotiations between neutral and Belgian organizations on this question; to dwell on them would lead me too far. I can only repeat here that the present regrettable circumstances are the result, fundamentally, of England's policy of isolation, just as the seizure by us of all raw material was only, after all, a forced consequence of the same policy.

I must also firmly maintain that the occupation affords the country, from the economic point of view, all the advantages which can be provided, considering the conditions enforced on us by England.

In the execution of the measures taken concerning the unemployed, my administration has met with a series of difficulties which cause some inconvenience to the population. All this might have been avoided if the communal authorities had made their execution more simple and more effective by their attitude toward them. Under the present circumstances, we are obliged to use a more involved procedure, into which a wider circle of people are necessarily drawn.

Measures, however, have been taken in order to avoid mistakes as much as possible. Some definite classes of professions have been exempted beforehand from submitting to control, and the individual claims, if they are well founded, will be either immediately considered or submitted to further examination.

Your Eminence will understand from what is stated above that it is impossible to comply with the desire concerning the stoppage of the measures which have been adopted, and that, in spite of the difficulties which we have met, their execution is pursued in the interest of all.

I am, your Eminence, &c.,

BARON VON BISSING,
Governor General.

The Cardinal's Answer

Archbishopric of Malines,
Nov. 29, 1916.

To the Governor General, Sir:

The letter (I-11,254) which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me, under date of Nov. 23, is a disappointment to me. In various circles, which I had reason to believe were correctly informed, it was said, your Excellency, that you had felt it your duty to protest to the highest authorities of the empire against the measures which you were constrained to apply in Belgium. I counted on at least a delay in the application of these measures, while they were being submitted to fresh examination, and also on some relaxation of the rigor with which they are applied.

And now, your Excellency, without replying one word to any of the arguments by which I established the illegal and anti-social character of the condemnation of the Belgian working classes to forced labor and to deportation, you confine yourself to repeating, in your telegram of Nov. 23 the very text of your letter of Oct. 26. These two letters are, really, identical in matter and almost in word.

On the other hand, the recruiting of the so-called unemployed continues, generally without any regard for the observations of the local authorities. Several reports which I have in hand prove that the clergy are brutally thrust aside, burgomasters and town councilors reduced to silence; the recruiters then find themselves face to face with unknown men, among whom they arbitrarily make their choice. There are abundant examples to prove this statement. I will give two recent ones, chosen from a quantity of others which I hold at the disposal of your Excellency.

On Nov. 21 recruiting began in the commune of Kersbeek-Miscom. From the 1,325 inhabitants of this commune the recruiters took away altogether, without any distinction of social position or profession, farmers' sons, men who were supporting aged and infirm parents, fathers of families who left wives and families in misery, each of them as necessary to his family as its daily bread. Two families found themselves deprived each of four sons at once. Among ninety-four deportees there were only two unemployed.

In the region of Aerschot recruiting began on Nov. 23; at Rillaer, at Gebrede, at Rotselaer, young men, supporting their widowed mothers; farmers at the head of large families, (one of these, who is over 50 years of age, has ten children working on the land,) who possess cattle and have never touched a penny of public money, were taken away by force in spite of all their protestations. In the little commune of Rillaer they actually took twenty-five boys of 17.

Your Excellency wished that the communal councils should become the accomplices of this odious recruiting. By their legal situa-

tion and by reason of conscience, they could not do so. But they could have advised the recruiters and are entitled to do so. The priests, who know the working people better than any one else, might have been of the utmost assistance to the recruiters. Why is their help refused?

At the end of your letter, your Excellency, you remind me that men belonging to liberal professions are not interfered with. If only the unemployed were removed I could understand this exception. But if all able-bodied men continue to be enrolled indiscriminately the exception is unjustifiable. It would be iniquitous to make the whole weight of the deportations fall upon the working classes. The middle classes must have their part in the sacrifice, however cruel it may be, and just because it is cruel, that the occupying power imposes on the nation. A great many members of my clergy have asked me to beg for them a place in the van of the persecuted. I register their offer and submit it to you with pride.

I would wish to believe that the authorities of the empire have not said their last word. They will think of our undeserved sorrows, of the reprobation of the civilized world, of the judgment of history, and of the chastisement of God.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency, &c.,

D. J. (Cardinal) MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Text of Allies' Declaration Regarding the Present State of Belgium

THE British Foreign Office issued the following declaration in December, with the approval and concurrence of the French, Russian, and Italian Governments, which published similar statements:

The Belgian Government have solemnly protested to the civilized world against the slave raids conducted by the German authorities in Belgium.

The allies of Belgium associate themselves with that protest, and, further desiring to place on record their sense of the debt which they owe to her, unite in making the following declaration:

"When the sudden invasion of Belgium, long prepared by the Central Empires, attained its temporary success, the Allies agreed that the provisioning and maintenance of the Belgian people remaining in the occupied territories was a duty overriding all consideration of immediate military interests. When, therefore, the Belgian Government set on foot the work of relief, and intrusted it to a neutral commission for relief in Belgium, the allied Governments pledged themselves to the support of that commission. As soon as the financial resources of the Belgian Government were exhausted, the Allies provided sums for the continuation of the work. They have furnished the commission with shipping and all other necessary facilities. Further, they have done their utmost, through the neutral commission, to protect Belgian industry from the disastrous consequences of invasion. They have facilitated exports to neutral countries and the transmission of funds to Belgium for wages and for the upkeep of factories. They have repeatedly made offers to the Germans which would have further promoted Belgian industry and trade under the care of the neutral commission, and would have allowed the importation of raw materials into Belgium. But these offers have met with no reply.

"The Allies call this to mind, not as taking credit to themselves, but in order to show what has been their consistent policy. They have labored to protect Belgium so far as possible from the effects of the war, and they have sought no advantage for themselves from this policy, since they have, through the Belgian Government, intrusted its execution solely to a neutral commission which has consistently refrained from assisting either belligerent and has acted solely in the interests of the civil population of Belgium.

"The Allies have only stipulated that the Germans should equally draw no advantage from the operations of the commission; that they should not seize either imported or native supplies; and that the distribution of relief should not be used for the purpose of coercing Belgian workmen against their conscience. These conditions, which the Germans have pledged themselves to obey, have, in the past, been frequently violated; Belgian cattle have been driven out of Belgium to feed the German armies at the front, Belgian workmen have been coerced, and seizures and requisitions of foodstuffs have taken place throughout the occupied territories. The Germans have also seized raw materials, machinery, and all the property of Belgian factories essential to the maintenance of the national industry, and have thus deliberately created unemployment and misery.

"But these infractions of the German guarantees have in the past been disavowed in many cases by the German Government, and the Allies were content to rely upon the neutral commission to watch over and enforce the fulfillment of the conditions under which it worked. Now, however, the situation is changing. The Germans have abandoned all

pretense of respecting personal freedom in Belgium. They have deliberately ordered the suspension of public relief works supported by the neutral commission, and have openly, in spite of all their professions to the contrary, aimed at creating the unemployment which would furnish them with an excuse for deportations. They have become themselves the 'organizers of, and co-operators with, man-hunts' which they solemnly pledged themselves by the Brussels Convention of 1890 to put down in Africa. Further, the machinery of Belgian industry has now been totally destroyed, and the exports from Belgium of foodstuffs essential for the maintenance of the population has again begun on a large scale.

"The Allies must, therefore, warn the world of what is about to take place. As their own situation grows more desperate, the Central Empires intend to tear up every guarantee on which the work of the relief commission rests. They intend to cast aside all their promises and to use Belgian foodstuffs and Belgian labor to support their own failing strength. The work of relief which neutrals have built up for two years is about to lose its foundation and is in danger of falling.

"The Allies do not intend to change their policy or to desert the oppressed population of Belgium in this most critical moment of the war, but, as it will be impossible for the relief work to continue if its basic guarantees are destroyed, they appeal to the civilized world, not on their own behalf, but on that of innocent civilians who cannot protect themselves, to see that this great work of international benevolence and co-operation which has grown up in the midst of war, and for which the Allies have advanced the money, shall not be endangered by treachery or destroyed by violence. But they would remind the world that the German policy which now stands revealed is being carried out not only in Belgium, but in Northern France, and in all the occupied territories.

"For their part, the Allies pledge themselves not to seek in the future any more than in the past any advantage from the operations of this purely neutral commission."

Protest of Chiefs of Belgian Industries

THE Federation of the Managers of Large Industries in Belgium addressed the following protest to Governor General von Bissing in November. The French text, which recently reached the United States, is here translated in full for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

Your Excellency: The chiefs of Belgian industry would fail in their duty if they did not protest with all their force against the measures which are carrying grief into the bosoms of an ever-increasing number of workingmen's families, and which are hastening the ruin of the nation's business enterprises.

You have often flattered yourself, Excellency, that you would revive business activities in our country. You desired thus to fulfill the promises made in the proclamation in which you announced your accession to your high office, and to confirm the unforgettable declarations of your predecessor.

Everything at that time was working together to cause that utterance to produce a reassuring effect upon our citizens. They knew that at The Hague, in the solemn conclave of civilized nations, the Imperial German Government had sanctioned, and even proposed, the resolutions that were meant to preserve peaceful civilian populations from the horrors of war. The Belgians who had fled before the invasion were induced to return to their homes by other proclamations, which likewise contained the most formal promises of respect and security for their persons and property. We were willing to put our faith in these promises.

Soon these illusions were dissipated. Arrangements made in the offices of the Grand Quartermaster of the Army permitted traffickers to enter our factories as masters in order to take away our tools and machinery. The requisition or seizure of raw materials and finished products was not slow to follow.

Even then your Excellency began to receive protests from us. They announced with only too much accuracy the deplorable consequences that must flow from the fatal facts cited. Several of our leading men talked to you on the subject. You sought to calm their fears, to assure them that these were only exceptional cases, and that the injustices mentioned would be stopped.

We were forced to conclude, however, a little later, that wills superior to your own were carrying out other designs. It is not the revival of business, it is the economic annihilation of Belgium that we see accomplished without mercy. Industry, commerce, agriculture, are undergoing the same fate and sharing the same trials.

The continual carrying away of machines, of raw materials and products; the limitation and exhaustion of indispensable supplies; the obligation to revoke clauses and raise prices in contracts concluded, even before the war, with foreign customers; the imposition of export taxes, hitherto unknown in our country; the forbidding of exports, the order to aid in the execution of products manifestly intended for the use of the German Army; the sequestration of property—

these are the repeated blows with which we have been struck during the last two years, and under which we are languishing.

For a moment we hoped that the industrial revictualing of Belgium, like the alimentary revictualing, might be undertaken under the diplomatic control that is indispensable to prevent abuse. That control was rejected and our hope deceived.

How could establishments that were paralyzed, robbed, starved, keep all their employes busy? Unemployment was bound to come in spite of all that was attempted to retard its appearance. Your Excellency has had the proofs of this. Private charity, aided by us, has not hesitated at any sacrifice to improve the situation. It is not public money that has furnished aid to the families which could no longer support so many idle hands, it is special organizations devoted to the feeding of the needy—it is they that have got together the resources for this new service.

Certain isolated facts have been seized upon to bring charges of habitual idleness against those who have been thus aided. Demands have been made for the lists in order to transform them, so to speak, into rolls of dishonor and proscription. When it is impossible to find work, is unemployment then a crime that calls for denunciation and is punishable with exile and slavery? Is not a workman, like any other man, the master of his person and of the hiring of his services? In the recent strikes of miners your administration itself had to announce that in its eyes no one had a right to use force to the injury of the liberty of labor.

But is the present question really one of checking unemployment? The notices placarded in so many places in the war zone by the military authorities no longer permit one to say or believe this. They compel us to understand that the purpose above all others is to furnish labor for German industries; they establish a radical difference between those who consent voluntarily to be seduced away and those who are torn by force from their firesides; they threaten the severest of inhuman punishments to those who refuse to aid by their labors the works of the enemy. And if there are industries that have thus far escaped this recruiting, it is certain that it is enforced against the others without distinction or consideration of age, of rank, of family, almost of aptitudes. The employed and unemployed alike are deported, and there are even cases, which we could cite, of idleness produced artificially. The end of all work will soon be the result—and the excuse for new deportations.

Public charity, which did not carry the burden from which it is pretended to be relieved, will soon have to furnish help to thousands of women, children, invalids, and old men, whom the removal of their natural support will have deprived of all means of livelihood.

Upon Belgium, so cruelly tried—where the collection and disbursement of taxes are subject to the authority of the occupying power, which exacts a crushing war contribution each month of 40,000,000 francs—upon Belgium is about to be placed the further burden of the support of more than three-quarters of the inhabitants, reduced to the most frightful misery.

Nothing can explain, still less justify, a treatment the sight of which modern Europe had a right to believe it would be forever spared.

The political attorneys of the nation, the highest judicial authorities, have, as was their duty, raised their voices to tell at what point the letter and spirit of our treaties, along with the most inalienable of natural rights, were transgressed.

Our own duty is to show that all economic life has become impossible in our country, and that the nation is going to be forced to breathe its last sigh. On this rich soil, where our laborers, industrious and proud, had so courageously contributed to the upbuilding of prosperity, there will be only desolated regions; here where peaceful communities are enduring with patience and dignity the occupation by foreign troops, there is being sown more and more in men's hearts hatred through suffering.

We cannot doubt that your Excellency must be called upon to share our griefs and fears, for there is not a single one of your words or promises that does not seem to be contradicted by events.

As for us, in placing this protest in your hands, in the name and behalf of the men whose employers and friends we are proud to be, as well as in defense of our enterprises, we shall have fulfilled the double duty imposed upon our conscience and dictated by our relations to society.

May the dreadful responsibility for the calamities that ceaselessly crush us fall upon those who are its authors!

Please accept, your Excellency, the expression of the respectful sentiments which are your due.

THE FEDERATION OF MANAGERS OF LARGE BELGIAN INDUSTRIES.

To His Excellency Baron von Bissing,
Governor General of Belgium.

Appeal of Belgian Workingmen to American Workingmen

AN appeal of 500,000 Belgian workingmen to their fellow-laborers in the United States was published in this country early in January. Its authenticity is attested by M. Hymans, the Belgian Minister to Great Britain, and by Emile Vandervelde, Minister without portfolio, and Henri Carton de Wiart, Belgian Minister of Justice. The day after the German authorities discovered that this appeal had been sent across the frontier into Holland they increased the monthly tribute levied on the Belgians from 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 francs. The translation follows:

In the name of the international solidarity of workers, the working class of Belgium, all threatened with slavery, deportation, and forced labor for the enemy's benefit, addresses to the working class of America a supreme appeal for assistance, energetic and efficacious. No more words of sympathy, but action. You are men, you understand us. Our situation is desperate.

Germany, as you know, attacked and terrorized Belgium in 1914, because the latter defended the rights of her neutrality—sworn faith and honor. Since then Germany has been torturing Belgium. She has made it a prison. The frontiers are armed against the Belgians like a battlefront—trenches, wires, barbed and electrified, and machine guns. All our constitutional liberties are abolished. No more security; the life of the citizens is subjected to arbitrary policing without limit, as well as without pity.

Germany imposed upon her victim an immense war contribution which has already passed the thousand million mark and is increasing at the rate of forty millions per month. She carried off and had transported to Germany, under the form of plunder, confiscation, requisition, and forced sales, more than five thousand million dollars' worth of food and merchandise, industrial and agricultural. At the same time she took and forwarded to Germany the greater part of the raw materials of our factories, machines, and accessories. She thus stopped our industry and brought on a want of work almost general among the working class. For two years the Germans have been keeping up this plaint of want of work until the day—in October, 1916—when Germany, needing hands, could draw upon Belgium for the workmen for whom she had such pressing need.

Yes, the Germans created the Belgian want of work and kept it up to benefit themselves.

By refusing England, who consented to introduce new raw materials, the indispensable diplomatic control to prevent the manufactured goods being taken by the Germans.

By preventing by means of terrible edicts the Belgian communes, associations, and private Belgians from giving work to the unemployed, from attending to their professional education, and from employing them in work of public utility.

Thus five hundred thousand workmen were reduced to a state of unemployment and kept in that state.

Contrary to the reports that the Germans spread in foreign countries, these unemployed and their families are not dependent on public budgets, nor on public charity. They were and are supported in all dignity and fraternity, by a private fund, exclusively Belgian, which never complains of its duty, or its mission. The solidarity of the Belgian social classes assures the life of this magnificent work, which is without precedent in the history of the social "entr'aide."

To these 500,000 involuntary unemployed, made so by the Germans and kept so by them, they have been saying for a month: "You will either sign a contract to work for Germany or you will be reduced to slavery." In either case it means exile, deportation, forced labor for the benefit of the enemy and against our country, dreadful punishments, the cruelest that tyranny ever invented to punish crimes. And what crimes? Involuntary unemployment that the tyrant himself brought about and keeps up.

And as, in spite of the most odious sort of pressure, the Germans have not been able to obtain the signatures—which they dare call voluntary in their official communiqués for neutral countries—they seize by force our workmen, your brothers and ours; they arrest them by thousands each day; they tear them from their wives and their children; surrounded by bayonets they drag them to the cattle trains and carry them off to foreign lands, to France and to Germany.

Forced to Labor on Military Works

On the western front they are forced by the most brutal methods to dig trenches, to prepare military aviation fields, to make strategic routes, to fortify the German lines. And when the victims refuse in spite of everything to do this work forbidden by the law of nations, they ill-treat them, they strike them, they make them ill, they wound them, and sometimes even kill them.

In Germany they throw them into the mines, the quarries, the limekilns, no matter what their age, profession, or trade. They deport pêle-mêle young men of 17 years of age and old men of 60 years and over. Is this not slavery of olden times in its horror?

There have been already more than fifty thousand workmen, unemployed or not, who have been thus deported, prisoners or slaves. Each day a new region is raided. They use a dreadful apparatus — machine guns and innumerable soldiers, and the lugubrious military operation against all these poor unarmed people, terrorized, but conscious of their violated rights.

Do not forget that the soldiers who make themselves the executioners of the Belgian workers are German workmen. And thus 500,000—maybe 800,000—men will be deported, if you do not prevent it. After the men, the women's turn will come, no doubt; again 500,000. * * *

It is the entire working class of Belgium which is threatened with slavery, with starvation, with death.

Do you know, American brothers, what the Germans throw as "salary" to their victims? Thirty pfennigs (about 7 cents) per working day! And the food! * * * what food! * * * The Belgian civil prisoners who come back from Germany after three months of detention have lost one-third of their weight; they are unrecognizable, anaemic, sick; many of them never regain their health; they languish and die. If this is the lot of the prisoners who do nothing, what lamentable lot is in store for the Belgian workmen deported and subjected to the most painful sort of labor?

In a few months our working class, the pride of our free country, will be annihilated in its working force. The day that peace comes there will be no longer any Belgian workmen capable of taking up the great work of the economic reconstruction of that which was prosperous Belgium, whose only crime was to defend without weakness the rights of neutrals to life and to honor.

Vain Appeals to German Pledges

We did everything that this supreme cross of slavery might be spared us.

Our highest social authorities showed the occupying power the supreme injustices and all the iniquity of these measures. The highest Court of Appeal in Belgium asked it to withdraw its edicts because they were contrary to "natural law, to positive law, to the law of nations."

The Belgian Episcopate, with the eminent Cardinal Mercier at its head, asked it to withdraw its edicts because they were contrary to morals and to its word of honor given. Yes; to its word of honor solemnly given in 1914 by the first Governor General of Belgium, Field Marshal von der Goltz, who proclaimed: "Never will the young men be taken to Germany, either to be mustered into the army or to be employed in forced labor." It was because they believed this word of honor of the direct representative of the German Emperor that the Belgian workmen came back from Holland after the siege of Antwerp, and that the others remained. This is why the Germans can take them now to deport them and reduce them to slavery. American brothers, will you suffer it?

Our political representatives asked them to withdraw their edicts, because for a Belgian to work for the Germans at this time means to fight Belgium. Does not the presence of each Belgian workman in Germany permit another German soldier to be sent to the front?

Our chiefs of industries asked the withdrawal of the edicts because thus "all economic life in our country will become impossible and it will be made to draw its last breath."

The workmen, Socialists and Catholics, men and women, united in one thought of solidarity and one anguish, asked the withdrawal of the cruel edicts because they were contrary to rights, to the word of honor given, to civilization, to patriotism and to the dignity of the working class.

All remained in vain. Germany, who has an extreme need of strong arms, did not want to withdraw the application of the edicts for a day nor for an hour. In answer she only sent more soldiers and more machine guns. Now the Belgian working class looks to the neutral powers.

She wonders if this time, in face of this crime of lèse-humanité, their conscience in revolt will not inspire at last the energetic gesture which suits the occasion. To allow such an abominable deed to be committed—is it not taking part in it?

The working class of Belgium wonders with anguish if neutral countries this time again will wash their hands, like Pontius Pilate, under pretext that the German calumnies do not correspond to the complaints of their victims.

Belgium, martyr for right, wishes no more verbal contestations nor platonic sympathies. She wants actions.

Will the neutrals and their directing classes let them act in this way? Will they allow them to carry back civilization to the barbarous ages when the conqueror carried the vanquished people into slavery? Will they allow the working class of a civilized nation to be annihilated?

"Be You Our Friends and Saviors"

Americans! If the others act in this way, if the world must witness again such a spectacle of cowardice, be you at least our friends and our saviors.

We will never forget that it is thanks to the United States that Belgium is not dead of hunger. We hope that, thanks to the United States of America, Belgium's working class will not be reduced to slavery worse than death.

American workmen! We do not doubt you; our cause is yours. It seems to us that if we do not tell you of the attempt which threatens us, you will reproach us some day, saying: "You had not the right to keep quiet and to suffer martyrdom in silence;

you are a depository for your part of the honor of the workmen's condition. If a nation of civilized workers is reduced somewhere to servitude, all the working class is threatened. It is a terrible precedent. We workmen of free America would not have allowed a similar threat to be made. It is from slavery that the modern working class came; it cannot return to slavery!"

American brothers! We seem to hear these prophetic words of our salvation. You are numerous. You are powerful. You are energetic. You are an enormous force in the most powerful of the neutral States, the one even that imposed moderation upon the submarine war.

You alone in the world can help us efficaciously. You alone in the world can prevent an abominable crime against the working class, against yours! You alone in the world can prevent all the working class from falling into a state of slavery.

American workmen! From the bottom of our distress we look to you. Act!

As to ourselves, even if force succeeds for a time in reducing our bodies to servitude, our souls will never consent to it.

We add this: No matter what the tortures may be, we only want peace with independence of our country and the triumph of justice. THE BELGIAN WORKMEN.

Nov. 19, 1916.

Dates of Declarations of War

Following is a list of all the formal declarations of war in the present conflict, with their dates; also the dates of the more important cases in which hostilities began without formal notice. Official announcements of a state of war, as in the case of Russia and Bulgaria, are treated as equivalent to formal declarations of war:

1914

July 28—Austria v. Serbia.
Aug. 1—Germany v. Russia.
Aug. 3—Germany v. France.
Aug. 4—Germany v. Belgium.
Aug. 4—*France v. Germany.
Aug. 4—Great Britain v. Germany.
Aug. 6—Austria v. Russia.
Aug. 7—Montenegro v. Austria.
Aug. 10—France v. Austria.
Aug. 10—Austria v. France.
Aug. 12—Great Britain v. Austria.
Aug. 12—Montenegro v. Germany.
Aug. 23—Japan v. Germany.
Aug. 25—Austria v. Japan.
Aug. 28—Austria v. Belgium.
Oct. 29—*Turkey v. Russia.
Nov. 2—Russia v. Turkey.
Nov. 5—Great Britain v. Turkey.
Nov. 5—France v. Turkey.
Nov. 7—Belgium v. Turkey.
Nov. 7—Serbia v. Turkey.
Nov. 10—Montenegro v. Turkey.

1915

May 23—Italy v. Austria.
June 3—San Marino v. Austria.
Aug. 20—Italy v. Turkey.
Oct. 7—Russia v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 14—Bulgaria v. Serbia.
Oct. 14—Great Britain v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 16—Bulgaria v. Russia.
Oct. 16—France v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 18—Italy v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 18—Montenegro v. Bulgaria.

1916

Mar. 9—Germany v. Portugal.
Mar. 10—Portugal v. Germany.
Mar. 16—*Austria v. Portugal.
Aug. 28—Italy v. Germany.
Aug. 28—Rumania v. Austria.
Aug. 28—Germany v. Rumania.
Aug. 30—†Rumania v. Bulgaria.
Aug. 31—Turkey v. Rumania.
Sept. 1—Bulgaria v. Rumania.

*Began hostilities without formal declaration.

†Ultimatum.

Great Land Ironclads and Victory

By H. G. Wells

Author of "Mr. Britling Sees It Through"

[Copyright by H. G. Wells. All translation rights reserved]

THE young of even the most horrible beasts have something piquant and engaging about them, and so I suppose it is in the way of things that the land ironclad, which opens a new and more dreadful and destructive phase in the human folly of warfare, should appear first as if it were a joke. Never has any such thing so completely masked its wickedness under an appearance of genial silliness. The "tank" is a creature to which one naturally flings a pet name; the five or six I was shown, wandering, rooting, and climbing over obstacles round a large field near X., were as amusing, as disarming, as a litter of lively young pigs.

H. G. WELLS

The War Office, after a period of reluctance, has suddenly permitted a lavish publication of photographs and descriptions of these things, so that their general appearance is now familiar to every one.

They are like large slugs, with an underside a little like the flattened rockers of a rocking horse, slugs between twenty and forty feet long. They are like flat-sided slugs, slugs of spirit, who raise an inquiring snout, like the snout of a dogfish, into the air. They crawl upon their bellies in a way that would be tedious to describe to the general reader and unnecessary to describe to the inquiring specialist. They go over the ground with the sliding speed of active snails.

Behind them trail two wheels, supporting a flimsy tail, wheels that strike one as incongruous, as if a monster began kangaroo and ended doll's perambulator. (These wheels annoy me.) They are not steely monsters; they are painted the drab and unassuming colors that are fashionable in modern warfare, so that the armor seems rather like the integument of a rhinoceros. At the sides of the head project armored cheeks, and from above these stick out guns that look like stalked eyes. That is the general appearance of the contemporary "tank."

"You will smash your hat," said Colonel Stern. "No, keep it on, or else you will smash your head."

Only Mr. C. R. W. Nevinson could do justice to the interior of a "tank." You see a hand gripping something; you see the eyes and forehead of an engineer's face; you perceive that an overall bluishness beyond the engine is the back of another man.

"Don't hold that," says some one. "It is too hot. Hold on to that." The engines roar, so loudly that I doubt whether one could hear guns without; the floor begins to slope and slopes until one seems to be at forty-five degrees or thereabouts; then the whole concern swings up and sways and slants the other way.

You have crossed a bank. You heel sideways. Through the door which has been left open you see the little group of engineers, staff officers and naval men receding and falling away behind you. You straighten up and go up hill.

You halt and begin to rotate. Through the open door the green field with its red walls, rows of work sheds and forests of chimneys in the background, begins a steady processional movement. The group of engineers and officers and naval men appears at the other side of the door, and further off. Then comes a sprint down hill.

It slides on the ground; the silly little wheels that so detract from the genial bestiality of its appearance dandle and bump behind it. It swings round about its axis. It comes to an obstacle, a low wall, let us say, or a heap of bricks, and sets to work to climb with its snout. It rears over the obstacle, it raises its straining belly, it overhangs more and more, and at last topples forward; it sways upon the heap, and then goes plunging downward, sticking out the weak counterpoise of its wheeled tail.

If it comes to a house or a tree or a wall or such like obstruction it rams against it so as to bring all its weight to bear upon it—it weighs "some" tons—and then climbs over the débris. I saw it, and incredulous soldiers of experience watched it at the same time, cross trenches and wallow amazingly through muddy exaggerations of shell holes. Then I repeated the tour inside.

Again, the "tank" is like the slug. The slug, as every biological student knows, is unexpectedly complicated inside. The "tank" is as crowded with inward parts as a battleship. It is filled with engines, guns, and ammunition, and, in the interstices, men.

You descend and stretch your legs.

About the field other "tanks" are doing their stunts. One is struggling in an apoplectic way in the mud pit with a cheek half buried. It noses its way out and on with an air of animal relief.

They are like jokes by Heath Robinson. One forgets that these things have already saved the lives of many hundreds of our soldiers and smashed and defeated thousands of Germans.

Said one soldier to me: "In the old attacks you used to see the British dead lying outside the machine gun emplacements like birds outside a butt with a good shot inside. *Now*, these things walk through."

I saw other things that day at X. The "tank" is only a beginning in a new phase of warfare. Of these other things I may only write in the most general terms.

Greater "Tanks" to Come

I realized as I walked through gigantic forges as high and marvelous as cathedrals, and from workshed to workshed where gun carriages, ammunition carts and a hundred such things were flowing into existence with the swelling abundance of a river that flows out of a gorge, that as the demand for the new developments grows clear and strong, the resources of Britain are capable still of a tremendous response. *If only we do not rob these great factories and works of their men.*

Upon this question I would like to say certain things very plainly. *The decisive factor in the sort of war we are now waging is the production and right use of mechanical material;* victory in this war depends now upon three things—the aeroplane, the gun, and the "tank" developments. These—and not crowds of men—are the prime necessity for a successful offensive.

Every man we draw from munition making to the ranks brings our western condition nearer to the military condition of Russia. In these things we may be easily misled by military "experts." We have to remember that the military "expert" is a man who learned his business before 1914, and that the business of war has been absolutely revolutionized since 1914. The military expert is a man trained to think of war as essentially an affair of cavalry, infantry in formation, and field guns, whereas cavalry is entirely obsolete, infantry no longer fights in formation, and the methods of gunnery have entirely changed.

The military man, I observe, still runs about the world in spurs; he travels in trains in spurs, he walks in spurs; he thinks in terms of spurs. He has still to discover that it is about as ridiculous for a soldier to go about in spurs today as if he were to carry a crossbow. I take it these spurs are only the outward and visible sign of an inward obsolescence.

Machinery and Victory

The disposition of the military expert is still to think too little of machinery and to demand too much of men. He makes irrational demands for men and for the wrong sort of men. Behind our front at the present time there are, for example, many thousands of cavalrymen tending horses, men engaged in transporting bulky fodder for horses, and the like.

These men are doing about as much in this war as if they were at Timbuctoo. Every man who is taken from munition making at X. to spur worshipping in khaki is a dead loss to the military efficiency of the country. Every man that is needed or is likely to be needed for the actual operations of modern warfare can be got by combing out the cavalry, the brewing and distilling industries, the theatres and music halls, and the like unproductive occupations. The understaffing of munition works, the diminution of their efficiency by the use of aged and female labor, is the straight course to failure in this war.

In X. in the forges and machine shops I saw already too large a proportion of boys and gray heads.

War is a thing that changes very rapidly, and we have in the "tanks" only the first of a great series of offensive developments. They are bound to be improved at a great pace. The method of using them will change very rapidly. Any added invention will necessitate the scrapping of old types and the production of the new patterns in quantity.

It is of supreme necessity to the Allies, if they are to win this war outright, that the lead in inventions and enterprise which the British have won over the Germans in the matter should be retained. It is our game now to press the advantage for all it is worth. We have to keep ahead to win. We cannot do so unless we have unstinted men and unstinted material to produce each new development as its use is realized.

Given that much, the "tank" will enormously enhance the advantage of the new offensive method on the French front—the method, that is, of gun demolition after aerial photography, followed by an advance. It is a huge addition to our prospect of decisive victory.

What does it do? It solves two problems. The existing "tank" affords a means of advancing against machine gun fire and of destroying wire and machine guns without much risk of loss, so soon as the big guns have done their duty by the enemy guns. And also behind the "tank" itself, it is useless to conceal, lies the possibility of bringing up big guns and big gun ammunition, across nearly any sort of country, as fast as the advance can press forward. Hitherto every advance has paid a heavy toll to the machine gun, and every advance has had to halt after a couple of miles or so while the big guns (taking five or six days for the job) toiled up to the new positions.

It is impossible to restrain a note of sharp urgency from what one has to say about these developments. The "tanks"—if we keep ahead with them—remove the last technical difficulties in our way to decisive victory and a permanent peace; they also afford a reason for straining every nerve to bring about a decision and peace soon.

Big Land Ironclads

At the risk of seeming an imaginative alarmist, I would like to point out the reasons these things disclose for hurrying this war to a decision and doing our utmost to arrange the world's affairs so as to make another war improbable. Already these serio-comic "tanks," weighing many tons, have gone slithering and sliding over dead and wounded men. That is not an incident for sensitive minds to dwell upon, but it is a mere little child's play anticipation of what the big land ironclads *that are bound to come if there is no world pacification*, are going to do.

What lies behind the "tank" depends upon this fact: there is no definite upward limit of mass. Upon that I would lay all the stress possible, because everything turns upon that.

You cannot make a land ironclad so big and heavy that you cannot make a caterpillar track wide enough and strong enough to carry it forward. "Tanks" are quite possible that will carry twenty-inch or twenty-five-inch

guns, besides minor armament. Such "tanks" may be undesirable; the production may exceed the industrial resources of any empire to produce; but there is no inherent impossibility in such things. There are not even the same limitations as to draft and docking accommodation that set bounds to the size of battleships.

It follows, therefore, as a necessary deduction that if the world's affairs are so left at the end of the war that the race of armaments continues, the "tank," which at present weighs under twenty tons, will develop steadily into a tremendous instrument of warfare, driven by engines of scores of thousands of horse power, tracking on a track scores or hundreds of yards wide, and weighing hundreds of thousands of tons. Nothing but a world agreement not to do so can prevent this logical development of the land ironclad idea. Such a structure will make wheel-ruts scores of feet deep; it will plow up, devastate and destroy the country it passes over altogether.

For my own part, I never imagined the land ironclad idea would get loose into war. I thought that the military intelligence was essentially unimaginative and that such an aggressive military power as Germany, dominated by military people, would never produce anything of the sort. I thought that this war would be fought out without "tanks" and that then war would come to an end. For of course it is mere stupidity that makes people doubt the ultimate ending of war.

I have been so far justified in these expectations of mine, that it is not from military sources that these things have come. They have been thrust upon the soldiers from without. But now that they are loose, now that they are in war, we have to face their full possibilities, to use our advantage in them and press on to the end of the war.

An Invincible Offensive

In support of a photo-aero directed artillery, even our present "tanks" can be used to complete an invincible offensive. We shall not so much push as ram. It is doubtful if the Germans can get anything of the sort into action before the Spring. We ought to get the war on to German soil before the "tanks" have grown to more than three or four times their present size. Then it will not matter so much how much bigger they grow. It will be the German landscape that will suffer.

Of course, if we comb out our colliers and munition workers, it will take much longer, and the big ones will come from the German side. That is the elementary common sense of the case.

After one has seen the actual "tanks," it is not very difficult to close one's eyes and figure the sort of "tank" that—given the assent of our military leaders—may be arguing with Germany in a few months' time about the restoration of Belgium and Serbia and France, the restoration of the sunken tonnage, the penalties of the various Zeppelin and submarine murders, the freedom of the seas and land alike from piracy, the evacuation and reunion of Poland, and the guarantee for the future peace of Europe.

The machine will be, perhaps, as big as a destroyer and more heavily armed and equipped. It will swim over and through the soil at a pace of ten or twelve miles an hour. In front of it will be corn land, neat woods, orchards, pasture, gardens, villages, and towns. It will advance upon its belly with a swaying motion, devouring the ground beneath it. Behind it masses of soil and rock, lumps of turf, splintered wood, bits of houses, occasional streaks of red, will drop from its track, and it will leave a wake, six or seven times as wide as a high road, from which all soil, all cultivation, all semblance to cultivated or cultivatable land will have disappeared.

It will not even be a track of soil. It will be a track of subsoil laid bare. It will be a flayed strip of nature. In the course of its fighting the monster may have to turn about. It will then halt and spin slowly around, grinding out an arena of desolation with a circumference equal to its length. If it has to retreat and advance again, these streaks and holes of destruction will increase and multiply. Behind the fighting line these monsters will manoeuvre to and fro, destroying

the land, for all ordinary agricultural purposes, for ages to come.

The first imaginative account of the land ironclad that was ever written concluded with the words, "They are the reductio ad absurdum of war." They are, and it is to the engineers, the ironmasters, the workers, and the inventive talent of Great Britain and France that we must look to insure that it is in Germany, the great modern war propagandist, that this demonstration of war's ultimate absurdity is completed.

Modern Frankenstein Monster

For forty years Frankenstein Germany invoked war, turned every development of material and social science to aggressive ends, and at last, when she felt the time was ripe, she let loose the new monster that she had made of war to cow the spirit of mankind. She set the thing trampling through Belgium. She cannot grumble if at last it comes home, stranger and more dreadful even than she made it, trampling the German towns and fields, with German blood upon it, and its eyes toward Berlin.

This logical development of the "tank" idea may seem a gloomy prospect for mankind. But it is open to question whether the tremendous development of warfare that has gone on in the last two years does after all open a prospect of unmitigated gloom. There has been a good deal of cheap and despondent sneering recently at the phrase, "The war that will end war."

It is still possible to maintain that that may be a correct description of this war. It has to be remembered that war, as the aeroplane and the "tank" have made it, has already become an impossible luxury for any barbaric or uncivilized people. War on the grade that has been achieved on the Somme predicates an immense industrialism behind it.

Of all the States in the world, only four can certainly be said to be fully capable of sustaining war at the level to which it has now been brought upon the western front. These are Britain, France, Germany, and the United States of America. Less certainly equal to the effort are Italy, Japan, Russia, and Austria.

These eight powers are the only powers in the world capable of warfare under modern conditions. Five are already allies and one is incurably pacific. There is no other power or people in the world that can go to war now without the consent and connivance of these great powers.

If we consider their alliances, we may count it that the matter rests now between two groups of allies and one neutral power. So that while, on the one hand, the development of modern warfare, of which the "tank" is the present symbol, opens a prospect of limitless, senseless destruction; it opens on the other hand a prospect of an organized world control of war.

This "tank" development must ultimately bring the need of a real permanent settlement within the compass of the meanest of diplomatic intelligences. A peace that will restore competitive armaments has now become an almost less desirable prospect for every one than a continuation of the war.

Things were bad enough before, when the land forces were still in a primitive phase of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and when the only real race to develop monsters and destructors was for sea power. But the race for sea power before 1914 was mere child's play to the breeding of engineering monstrosities for land warfare that must now follow any indeterminate peace settlement.

I am no blind believer in the wisdom of mankind, but I cannot believe that men are so insenate and headstrong as to miss the plain omens of the present situation.

So that, after all, the cheerful amusement the sight of a "tank" causes may not be so very unreasonable. These things may be no more than one of these penetrating flashes of wit that will sometimes light up and dispel the contentions of an angry man. If they are not that, then they are the grimmest jest that ever set men grinning. Wait and see, if you do not believe me.

A BRITISH "TANK" CROSSING A SHELL HOLE

This New Type of Armored Car, Traveling on Caterpillar Tractors, Has Played an Important Part in the Somme Engagements, and Is Believed to be the Precursor of Great Land Dreadnoughts

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

FUNERAL OF EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH AT VIENNA

Emperor Charles I. and Empress Zita, with Their Little Daughter, Are Followed (left to right) by the King of Norway, the Crown Prince of Sweden, King Ludwig of Bavaria, the Crown Prince of Germany, and Czar Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

(Central News Photo Service.)

Making Food for Hungry Guns

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

ONE of the miracles of present-day Britain is a place which we will call Moorside. Perhaps it is the most remarkable place in the world. Only a little more than a year ago, say September, 1915, it was a lonely peat bog fringing the sea, with a hinterland of desolate plain, over which the gulls swooped and screamed. Then the great hand of the Minister of Munitions was stretched out to this lonely and inhospitable waste, for it chanced to lie with good rail and water connections and not too remote from centres of coal and of iron. No money and no energy was spared, and half a dozen master hustlers took charge of the whole great scheme.

It is a story which is more characteristic of Western America than of sober British methods. The work went forward by day and by night. The place grew and grew, and still is growing. Already it measures nine good miles one way, with an average of one and a half the other. In the daytime there are at least 25,000 busy inhabitants. The greater part are the builders, who still extend the township. The smaller are the munition workers who will occupy it all when it is finished. But even now, in its partially finished state, its products are essential to the war and its output has entirely changed all the supply of the present and the expectations of the future. It is not yet fully manned—or should I say girled?—but when it is, not less than 12,000 munition workers will be running the miles of factories which overlie the peat bog of last Summer.

And it is not jerry-built—that is the wonder of it. In the centre of the colony is a considerable nucleus of solid brick houses which should be good for a century or more. Here are the main offices, the telephone stations, the club for the staff, (club sprinters would describe the inmates better than club loungers in these strenuous parts,) the hospital, the cinema theatre, a row of shops, and a cluster of residential houses. Radiating out from this centre are long lines of wooden erections to hold the workers, cottages for married couples, bungalows for groups of girls, and hostels, which hold as many as seventy in each. This central settlement is where the people live—north and south of it where they work.

The one end may be called the raw-material end, for all raw material needed is manufactured upon the spot. Here is a huge nitric acid plant. There, further to the right, is an even larger sulphuric acid installation. Some one—he must have been a chemist, and probably a German—has said that the civilization of a nation can be measured by the amount of sulphuric acid which it uses. Greece or Rome would come badly out of such a test, and I fear that for civilization prosperity, which may be its exact opposite, is to be read. But this place, the town on the peat bog, has, as a fact, about doubled the British output of this basic substance.

Hard by are the wide buildings where the raw cotton is stored, where the crude glycerine is refined, where the ether and alcohol are distilled, and where finally the perfect guncotton is completed. Thence by little trams it is conveyed over yonder to that rising ground, which is called Nitroglycerine Hill. You probably don't know it—certainly I did not—but glycerine cannot be pumped, and so to move it along the good old primitive force of gravity is summoned. Hence the Nitroglycerine Hill. There the nitroglycerine on the one side and the guncotton on the other are kneaded together into a sort of devil's porridge, which is the next stage of manufacture. This, by the way, is where the danger comes in. The least generation of heat may cause an explosion. Those smiling khaki-clad girls who are swirling the stuff round in their hands would be blown to

atoms in an instant if certain very small changes occurred. The changes will not occur, and the girls will still smile and stir their devil's porridge, but it is a narrow margin here between life and death. It is only constant order and care which keep the frontier intact.

Look at these great leaden basins and pipes in which the stuff is handled. How is the leaden basin joined to the leaden pipe? Here is one of those queer little romances with which the history of industry abounds. Solder is impossible. The acids would dissolve it. Lead must be welded to lead. It is a rare and difficult trade, one that is handed down from father to son and held close in a narrow circle. A lead-burner is a man of power, a man to be approached with offerings and prayers when a job is to be done. His rarity and his exclusiveness were one of the difficulties which had to be met. He had to be induced to part with his mystery and teach it to others. But he proved to be a patriot like his fellows. Anyhow the thing was done, as these great leaden tanks with their welded pipes will show. The lead must be as smooth as silk, too, upon the inner side. You are dealing with touchy, ill-tempered stuff. The least friction and you will know it—you or your executors.

When I saw these enormous works and the evidences of lavish expenditure, I ventured to ask those in authority how the State was to get its money back when, in the dim and distant future, the new world would become ruined and disorganized by the war coming to an end. Was that old, patient peat bog, waiting so silently below, to finally engulf the millions of the taxpayer? The reply was reassuring. All that I had seen up to that point was a good asset and of permanent value. It was all concerned with stuff which the arts of peace could readily absorb.

But now we went to the further end, where this devil's porridge which we have traced is finally seasoned into the fit food for our hungry guns. How hungry those guns are our minds can hardly conceive. We can never beat Hindenburg until we have beaten Krupp, and that is what these laughing khaki-clad girls of Moorside and elsewhere are going to do. Hats off to the women of Britain! Even all the exertions of the militants shall not in future prevent me from being an advocate for their vote, for those who have helped to save the State should be allowed to help to guide it.

To the further end did we go then, passing great power-houses and central controls upon the way (please don't forget, as you read, the year-old peat bog quivering underneath,) and there we saw pressing and kneading and stuff like brown sugar being squeezed into brown macaroni and finally dried into black liquorice sticks, which are cut up and blended, so as to get a standard strength. Here supervision is needed for a quaint cause. Girls have been known, out of love for Tommy, to put an extra pinch in the brew, with the result, of course, of entirely upsetting its ballistic qualities. We take it for granted that a gunner shooting at three miles can speedily range on a mere slit in the ground. I saw with my own eyes a house at 6,000 yards lifted off the face of the earth at the fourth round. When you see the girls blending the stuff, with the finest care, to get the absolute standard, you begin to understand what lies behind it.

So much for the actual manufacture. I have said nothing of a military guard of over 1,000 men, factory police, workmanlike women police, central bakeries, with 400 dozen loaves at a baking, central laundries, central kitchens with 8,000 rations going out at every meal, cashiers, who pay away £800 an hour in wages. And all this with the primeval ooze lying in stagnant pools around, the remains of the wilderness of September twelve months. Have I made out a case for my assertion that Moorside is one of the wonder spots of earth, as showing what man's brain and man's energy can effect? It is but one out of nearly forty which are working on similar tasks, but it is the newest, the largest, and the most remarkable.

And who did all this? The soldier gets his mention; why not these picked generals of industry behind the line? Those in authority we know; to them be all credit. But what about the men on the

spot, the men who dug into the peat bog, who sank the foundations, who raised the town, who ran the works, who organized the plant which in one item alone, that of ether, produces more in a month than all pre-war Britain in a year. Alas, that their names may not be mentioned! They come from all parts of the British Empire, but especially from oversea. The magic builder who guides the army of 15,000 workers is Mr. P., an Englishman. Beside him are a little band of enthusiasts upon explosives, drawn from all ends of the empire. At one meeting at Nitroglycerine Hill it chanced that every man present was a South African. There is "Q.," an American by nationality, a South African in experience, a man with a drive like a steam piston. There is "G.," also of South Africa; there is "B.," of India; there is "L.," of Australia, and there is Major C. on the military and Mr. H. on the financial side. These are some of the miracle workers of Moorside.

There are two hampering difficulties which will no doubt be overcome, like all else, but which have held matters back. They are drink and labor. As to the latter, the labor unions have acted in a way which calls for the acknowledgment and gratitude of the nation. What they had won during a long and weary fight they renounced for the sake of their country. It is among the great sacrifices of the war, and full faith should be kept with them afterward.

But the faulty national teaching of all these years cannot be eradicated in individuals. There is still a lurking feeling that patriotism is an affair of politics and a tendency to think of one's own ease and advantage rather than the country's need. "There are splendid fellows among them, but on the whole the girls are more patriotic than the men." That was the conclusion of one who knew. Perhaps it is that a man's patriotism is a more silent emotion. Let us hope so.

And, lastly, there is the perennial question of the drink. There also the girls have an enormous advantage. There is not much drinking among the munition workers here. Their conditions are regular and comfortable. The drinking is rather among the great mass of outside workers, who are less under discipline and who live under less comfortable conditions, so that there is some excuse for their turning to the light and warmth and temporary exhilaration of the public house. It is true that the Board of Control stops the sale in the immediate district, but there are considerable towns a few miles away. I have always thought, and I still think, that if light wines and beers were permitted as a safety valve, the sale and even the manufacture of spirits could and should be forbidden. Such a change would be full payment for all that the war has cost us.

But there is no need to end this description on a critical note. After all, the work is done, this wonderful work, and it is not a drink-sodden or degenerate community which does such things. We have our difficulties. Drink is among them. But they affect a minority, and in very different degrees. Does any one suppose that Germany has not her own difficulties, very much heavier than ours? One comes away from Moorside marveling at the adaptability of the nation, at its power of improvisation, at its reserve of brain and energy, and at the promise which all these qualities give for our future place among mankind.

The Moltke of 1870 and the War Plan That Failed

By Thomas G. Frothingham

It is a delusion to believe that a plan of war may be laid for a prolonged period.—Moltke, 1870.

THE idols broken in this great war have not yet been counted. From the European military point of view before 1914, could anything be more surprising than the present military situation, with chains of American Petersburgs strung over the European Continent? Conditions have upset theories, and the elaborated structure of modern military science has fallen.

After the Franco-German war of 1870 the world had been taught that the way to military efficiency was through a scientific General Staff. At the outbreak of this war, in 1914, the Germans had the most perfected General Staff in all history, and they unhesitatingly committed their cause to its guidance.

GENERAL VON MOLTKE OF 1870

The "Kultur" organization of Germany, military, social, scientific, and commercial, at this time will be one of the marvels of history. The organization of its army was as efficient as can be imagined. Yet over this wonderful army was the controlling power of a General Staff that from its very perfection became the first failure of the war.

The German Great General Staff was theoretically the most efficient machine ever put together. All combinations of warfare had been analyzed, and a perverted Moltke cult had been carried to plus infinity. When the war broke out there was no suspicion in the German mind that this machine was not the reincarnation of the Moltke strategy of 1870. With the Moltke of 1914 as its chief, the Great General Staff was believed to be infallible. Yet, strangely enough, the plans of the German Staff of 1914, while attempting to imitate the campaign of 1870, violated the fundamental precept laid down by the victorious Moltke of 1870:

It is a delusion to believe that a plan of war may be laid for a prolonged period and carried out in every point. The first collision with the enemy changes the situation entirely, according to the result.*

What the Moltke of 1870 called a "delusion"—"a plan of war laid out for a prolonged period"—had become a part of the creed of the German Staff of 1914, because of the constant working out of war problems from one side of the board, with fixed conditions. Their campaigns had been reduced to a railroad time-table basis. It was forgotten how suddenly and completely an accident will upset a railroad schedule.

To see how far this was from the real strategy of the war of 1870 one has only to study Moltke's account of the Franco-German war. The most impressive feature is the flexibility of his plans, and the ease with which he changed to meet new conditions** with-

*The Franco-German War of 1870-71.—Helmuth von Moltke.

**The siege of Metz had formed no part of the original plan of campaign—and this necessitated a complete redistribution of the army.—Moltke, 1870.

out confusion or delay in the effective use of his armies.

Moltke's account of his great campaign is as simple and direct as Caesar's Commentaries. "By whatever special means these plans were to be accomplished was left to the decision of the hour; *the advance to the frontiers alone was preordained in every detail.*"† "The orders for marching and traveling by rail or boat were worked out for each division of the army, together with the most minute directions as to their different starting points, the day and hour of departure, the duration of the journey, the refreshment stations, the place of destination. At the meeting place cantonments were assigned to each corps and division, stores and magazines were established, and thus, when war was declared, it needed only the royal signature to set the entire apparatus in motion with undisturbed precision. There was nothing to be changed in the directions originally given; it sufficed to carry out the plans prearranged and prepared." It will be observed that all this ended in the perfect mobilization at the frontiers. "The mobilized forces were divided into three independent armies on a basis worked out by the General of the Prussian Staff."

Yet in the minds of the German Staff of 1914 "plans prearranged and prepared" had been extended far beyond Moltke's mobilization at the frontier. It had become the fashion to think of campaigns and battles in the enemy's territories as mathematically calculated—and most of this had been done by taking the great Moltke's name in vain. A mapped out, dated schedule of a campaign had become the distorted version of Moltke's strategy. There is no authority for this in his own work.

How much truth there may be in the tales of the domination of this militaristic group over the Crown Prince, forcing the war on the Kaiser, &c., is a matter of conjecture. But there is no question of the fact that the German Great General Staff was supremely confident of the result. It believed that the problem had been worked out in advance, and that a quick victory was a mathematical certainty.

The German mobilization of 1914 was as perfect as that of 1870, but the "prearranged" plan went beyond the frontier and there was a continuation of the schedule instead of the mobile armies of 1870.

The plan of war of 1914 was a repetition of the plan of 1870 directed against Paris,‡ the capture of which would probably again have meant the winning of the war. But, beyond the frontiers, this plan was committed to a new "opening"—to borrow a term from chess.

The assault on France had been planned through Belgium, with a supporting army massed in Luxemburg. This had been plotted out for years in advance, and all their machinery of mobilization and invasion had been tied fast to this plan, with the object of avoiding the theoretical strength of the French frontier fortresses.

Such formal fortresses had recently been given a high artificial value in all European military calculations. The use of steel and concrete had again deluded the experts into the belief that defense had advanced beyond the assaults of artillery, and all over Europe were scattered "impregnable" fortresses. These fortresses were all great factors in the preconceived war game—and none was of any value in the actual test of war.

Here was the failure of the German Staff. The French frontier fortresses had been considered so strong that direct attack on them was thought out of the question, and the drive through Belgium was their solution.

The German Staff made two errors. They apparently did not realize that in their heavy howitzers they possessed a weapon that would make formal fort-

†But, above all, the plan of war was based on the resolve to attack the enemy at once, *wherever found*, and keep the German forces so compact that a superior force could always be brought into the field.—Moltke, 1870.

‡The plan of war—fixed from the first upon the enemy's capital, the possession of which is of more importance in France than in other countries.—Moltke, 1870.

resses of no value—and they failed to calculate on a delaying resistance from the Belgians. These two mistakes lost them the capture of Paris.

No serious opposition had been expected to the passage through Belgium. Instead of this, the Belgians made a stout resistance. The Belgian Army fought well in the field, and in the overconfident plans of the German Staff there was no provision for heavy artillery to reduce the Belgian fortresses. Guns were brought up after awhile, but there was a clogging of the perfect machinery — and there was a delay of weeks before the invasion of France.

Seldom has a delay been so costly. France was given time to mobilize; the united response of the French people was wonderful; and the German drive against Paris was beaten off.

GEN. H. J. L. VON MOLTKE
Recent Chief of Staff
© *Am. Press Association*

This defeat of the plan of the German Staff was all the more bitter because of the failure to estimate the power of their new artillery. If, instead of the costly invasion of Belgium, a massed attack with these destructive howitzers had been made on the French fortresses, the Germans would have gone through them as if they had been made of paper. The destruction of all fortresses which have been bombarded by these guns has been the wonder of the war. Nothing has been able to resist them. Yet, although it is evident that the element of surprise is most valuable when an army has a new weapon, the surprise of their deadly assault was wasted on Belgian and outlying fortresses.

If this fearful force had been suddenly turned on the French frontier fortresses, which would have awaited the assault confident in their strength, there would have been a great disaster to the French. There would not have been time enough for the use of American intrenching tactics to save their fortresses. But, after the object lesson in Belgium, all such formal fortresses on the western front were converted into American Petersburg intrenchments, the only defense against such guns.

Another error of the German Staff was the carefully argued conclusion that Russia could not mobilize and take the offensive for months. Instead of this, there was an invasion of East Prussia by the Russians that actually started an exodus of the inhabitants. This compelled the General Staff to send into East Prussia troops much needed at the critical stage of the campaign against Paris.

The withdrawals of troops did great harm to the plans of the German Staff, but the invasion, or rather raid, was decisively defeated—and this defeat brought into prominence the General who was destined to do the greatest harm to the armies of the Allies, and also to dominate the German military situation.

Hindenburg had been out of favor, and was derisively called the "Old Man of the Lakes." Yet, when his favorite strategic field of the East Prussian Lakes was invaded, he was master of the situation. He won the first great German victory of the war at Tannenburg, and ended the Russian invasion. This victory made him the popular idol of Germany. His logical succession to the command in the east was followed by his terrific drive against the Russians in 1915, which made him the great figure of the war.

In the meantime things had gone badly with the German Staff. Moltke, the Chief of Staff, had been removed after the failure of the first great drive. His

successor, Falkenhayn, has met the same fate after months of German disappointment at Verdun.

The call of the German Nation was insistent for Hindenburg, and he is now the military dictator of Germany—and the head of the Great General Staff. When one remembers the omniscience credited to the Great General Staff of 1914, a more unexpected result cannot be conceived.

Yet this result came from logical causes. The General Staff had given to the German Army an organizaion better than had ever been seen, but it had created a bureaucracy, with preconceived ideas and plans fixed upon given conditions through years of peace. They could not be adapted to new forces or unexpected events.

Hindenburg, who was supposed to be tied to his lakes, after proving them of great strategic value, showed himself the master of new forces and changed conditions. His supreme command means the surrender of bureaucrats developed in peace to a leader developed in war. It also means a return to the real tactics of the Moltke of 1870. The following is from an interview given out by Hindenburg:*

> One does a great injustice to an army commander by attributing to him a program. He certainly has in his head a plan of war, a general view of war, but there is no prepared program, except that one—to gain victory. Where and how that shall be done can only be decided each moment anew, on the basis of events. Therefore a decision can be looked for as well in the east as in the west.

Compare these words of Hindenburg with those quoted from Moltke, and it is evident at once how alike the two men are in thought. There is no question of the fact that the supreme command of Hindenburg, with the consequent change in the German Great General Staff, is a menace to the armies of the Entente Allies. The perfected organizing and administrative machinery of the General Staff of 1914 is unchanged, but the directing mind is this new Moltke.

Already the change in control of the German Staff has produced important military results. Hindenburg's statement that he welcomed the entrance of Rumania into the war, because it would take the fighting out of trench warfare, has proved no empty threat. What he has accomplished in the Rumanian campaign is not yet fully appreciated.

Here was a new nation that entered the war because it was supposed that the Teutonic Allies were at the full stretch of their resources. Rumania had an army strong in numbers, with experience in the field, that had been prepared for a long time for just such a crisis. The Rumanians were confident that their sudden onslaught into Transylvania would wrest that province from Austria.

Instead of this, Hindenburg had made his preparations, and without any suspicion in the minds of his enemies, he had gathered two strong armies of Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians to fall upon the Rumanian invaders of Transylvania and to invade Dobrudja.

Both attacks were made with the irresistible momentum that has characterized Hindenburg's "drives." The Rumanians were swept out of Transylvania, Dobrudja was overrun, and Hindenburg's tried Lieutenant, Mackensen, has relentlessly kept up the pressure on the Rumanians. He has defeated the Rumanian Army again and again, driven it from successive positions with great losses, captured Bucharest, and won control of the Danube for almost its entire length. The Teutonic Allies have gained valuable oil fields and quantities of supplies of all kinds.

Hindenburg has accomplished all this without weakening the other Teutonic fronts—at least the Entente Allies have not found any weak point. The new German commander has been able to wear down the Somme offensive on the western front without allowing it to interfere with the Rumanian campaign.

True to the spirit of the Moltke of 1870 Hindenburg had kept his mind open to a "decision in the east as well as in the west." With their obsession for the western front that came from preconceived plans, would his predecessors have been equal to this emergency? It seems impossible.

But the last trace of this defect in the

*New York Times, Oct. 31, 1916.

German Great General Staff has evidently disappeared. With Hindenburg, the reincarnation of the Moltke of 1870 in absolute command, the Entente Allies will have to develop their full strength to contend with the Teutonic armies.

It should not be deduced from the above that there is any less value in a General Staff. On the contrary, a General Staff is the most essential part of an army—and there is no other road to co-ordinated organization and administration. But, after years of peace, too much confidence in the "war game" strategy of a General Staff is dangerous.

Shortly after a great war, as in 1870, when the German Staff had been evolved from warfare, the plans of a General Staff would be of value. This was not the case with Germany in 1914, because Germany had not been at war for a generation, and changed conditions in the last two or three years had upset all previous calculations.

With our nation it would be the same story. This great war has proved that our civil war developed tactics far in advance of its times—which were destined to revolutionize warfare. Just after that war, although it was not recognized at the time, we were ahead of the rest of the world in military science, and we could have safely trusted our defense to our veteran Generals. But that war was over fifty years ago, and we have lost all touch with modern warfare.

This is a great lesson of the war for us—and it confirms the lessons of all wars. An army or navy should have a modern General Staff, to give it the only possible organization by which it can be called to active service efficient in all departments, but a staff should never be controlled by men of preconceived ideas, or by any group of men who have formed the habit of thinking alike.

The war colleges of the army and navy, in our country, are free from this danger of forming a bureaucracy. At these colleges intelligent officers of every kind of different individuality are taught to analyze and arrive at conclusions from sound processes of thought. The great variety of minds among the many officers in the classes prevents any clique or cult from spoiling the work.

The effect of the war college courses in both services is very marked, and this will increase in benefit to the army and navy from year to year with the accumulated written analyses of so many different skilled officers. It is probable that among these officers will be found the future leaders of our army and navy.

Wonders of War Surgery

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IN every one of the belligerent countries there is now a new army, the army of maimed and crippled men. So great is their number—they are to be counted by hundreds of thousands—and so serious is the loss to the efficiency of the respective nations that it is realized that nothing less than heroic measures can minimize the evil both to the community and to the individual sufferer.

While the war goes on the first consideration in dealing with the men who appear in the casualty lists under the heading of "wounded" is to get as many as possible fit again for the firing line. This exclusively military standpoint has had a tendency to leave the man incapacitated for further fighting to shift for himself or rely upon charity. The army authorities, finding that a wounded soldier could not be patched up, have lost interest in him, given him his discharge and a pension, and forgotten other national needs. It has, however, become increasingly evident that, while a man may have ceased to be of further military value, it would be disastrous to let him become a useless member of society, a source of expense to the State and a burden to himself.

A man may have lost a limb or his eyesight, and yet, given the opportunity, he may be fitted for some new useful occupation. Accordingly, in Germany and France, and to some extent in Great Britain, the foundations are being laid for a system of "re-education," that is, a system of vocational training that will enable wounded men to begin a new career of usefulness. In this way it is hoped to alleviate somewhat the horror of the human wreckage and reduce the waste of industrial man power.

One of the striking features of the war has been the rapid progress in surgery consequent upon the necessity of saving life and limb. Surgeons have performed operations that were hardly thought possible before the war. New methods have been discovered, new appliances invented, and, indeed, an entirely new chapter has been written in the history of surgery. Soldiers, whose fighting days seemed at an end, have been remade and sent back to the front as fit and strong as when they first joined the colors.

In the old days, as any one who has read history knows, the practice was to amputate as a matter of course. Now every effort is made not to amputate, for surgery in its progress has become conservative in the best sense of the word. Thus, at the Herbert Hospital, Shooter's Hill, London, there have been between three and four thousand operations on wounded soldiers, but of these only about twenty-five have been primary amputations.

Extraordinary operations are being performed every day in cases of bone, muscle, and nerve fracture. The surgeons, discovering that the human body has greater powers of recuperation than they thought, do not hesitate to take a piece of bone from one part of a patient's anatomy and utilize it to repair another that has been destroyed or removed. At another military hospital in London there was, for example, a case of severe injury to the jaw. The surgeon removed a piece of bone about 2½ inches long from the tibia (the large shinbone) of the patient and fixed it in the jaw. The man's leg has healed up, and the jaw has improved so much that eating is now a far less painful process. In very many cases a broken bone is rejoined by a steel splint screwed to the bone just as a carpenter screws together two pieces of wood. The steel plate, which is sometimes an inch wide and four or five inches long, remains permanently in the wound, together with the steel screws, without pain or inconvenience. One of the surgeons who has performed many of these operations believes that in time the steel will become dissipated in the system and disappear altogether. As iron is one of

the constitutents of the blood, the splint does not become a source of danger.

Wonderful successes have also been achieved with injured nerves. At the Hammersmith General Hospital, London, for example, six useless muscles were taken from one side of a patient's wrist and transferred to the other, with the result that the hand, previously paralyzed, could once more be used. In another case the surgeon found four inches of a nerve in the arm gone. He telephoned round to the other London hospitals to inquire whether an amputation was in prospect and learned that a man was to have a leg off that afternoon. He asked that the severed limb should be put at once in a saline bath and brought to him in a taxicab. The patient was already under an anaesthetic when the leg, still blood-warm, arrived. The surgeon promptly transferred four inches of nerve from the amputated leg to the arm of the patient with a perfectly successful result.

But perhaps the most wonderful surgical triumph was that in the case of a man with a shrapnel wound. A piece of metal, about the size of a twenty-five-cent piece and much thicker, had entered the breast and lodged in the region of the heart. It was actually touching the heart and impeding its action. When the opening was made the surgeon thrust his hand right in and pulled out the piece of metal. The soldier made a complete recovery. The triumphs of British, French, and German practitioners would fill volumes.

The bacteriologist has also played an important part in the war. In the earlier period of the war tetanus was playing havoc among the troops, and great work was done in combating its ravages by the famous French physician, Doyen, since dead. More recently an important discovery has been made by Miss Mary Davies, bacteriologist for the Robert Walton Goelet Research Fund, as the result of experiments at a hospital in France. One of the chief causes of infection has been pieces of uniform shot into the body. Miss Davies, who had already gained distinction by inoculating herself with gangrene bacilli to prove the efficacy of Taylor's specific, set to work to discover how soldiers' uniforms could be rendered aseptic. She finally devised a treatment based upon a combination of cresol and soft soap with which the clothing is to be periodically impregnated.

Mr. Lloyd George, then War Minister in England, on receiving Miss Davies's report, ordered that the British soldiers' clothes should be sterilized with her preparation. In addition to its value in reducing the proportion of highly septic wounds the preparation is also welcome as a destroyer of body lice, one of the greatest discomforts of life in the trenches.

Military considerations have, of course, been so far uppermost in the treatment of wounded men; but it is recognized that steps must be taken to prepare the maimed, crippled, and invalided as effectively as possible for civil life after the war. Germany has in this respect taken the lead. There sixty schools are already in existence for the purpose of training men in new occupations. France has also made a vigorous beginning in the matter of "réducation des mutilés." M. Millerand took the initiative while Minister of War. As a result of the movement then begun, the Ministries of the Interior, of Commerce, and of Agriculture have since joined hands to create a system of training the "mutilated" for new occupations.

At first there was naturally some confusion of method. Men who had lost legs or feet were placed in the same institutions as those who had lost arms or hands, when obviously two such distinct classes of wounded men needed different courses of training. But these early mistakes have been corrected, and the French Government, beginning with the great school established at Bordeaux, has evolved a system which will ultimately classify the "mutilated" according to the limbs or organs they have lost and find appropriate occupations for the different groups. Legless men who can use their hands will learn different crafts from those who are armless, and so on.

Great Britain has moved more slowly than France or Germany in the task of re-educating her mutilated men. Nevertheless a start has been made, in one

instance more through the spontaneous desire of the wounded soldiers to have something to do to pass the time than because of any carefully thought-out plan. At the Military Orthopedic Hospital, Shepherd's Bush, London, a proportion of the 800 inmates have been set to work at a variety of occupations. Workshops have been built, as well as a gymnasium. In one of the shops a number of men are now making surgical boots, and have developed so much skill that their work is as good as that of the lifelong craftsman, while the hospital is getting the articles it requires at practically cost price. Other wounded men are making aluminium splints, steel supports, and leather bandages for their comrades.

One of the most pathetic, and yet curious, sights is to see two men who have each lost a hand combining to do the work of one man. You will see, for example, in the blacksmith's shop attached to the hospital a one-handed soldier pumping the bellows till the steel is red hot. Then he takes it out of the fire and places it on an anvil, where he holds it in position while another one-handed man hammers it into shape. In the carpenter's shop you will see similar teamwork by a couple of men engaged on a skillful piece of joinery for hospital use, one man holding the nail while the other does the hammering. Men who have lost the right arm or hand learn to put the left to new uses, and it is amazing how resourceful a man with only one hand can become.

The British Government, however, is slow in developing a national system of re-education for the disabled, for in this, as in most things, the British way is not to plan beforehand or with much logic, but to improvise and build up as one goes along. John Galsworthy, however, has foreseen the danger that must inevitably arise if the treatment of the wounded and disabled is to be dealt with from the military point of view of salvaging manhood merely for a new lease of life in the trenches.

"If it remains simply an army problem," he has declared, "our towns and countrysides, when the war is over, will be plastered for the next twenty or thirty years with well-nigh useless men. To retain control of the patient, so that his treatment may be coherent and sustained, seems to be of the very essence of what can be done for the future of most of these men. Vital it is that the most huge calamity of this war shall be divested of every consequence which foresight and ingenuity can strip away. Not all discharged men, of course, will need refitting for civil life—there are some whom refitting cannot serve; but for the great majority it is essential. The disablement is so various; eighteen categories exist. Think what that means in the diversity of treatment required. Every man who is discharged without being first remade so far as possible goes back to civil life half beaten. The half-beaten man is soon done for altogether, and becomes a ghost to haunt us all."

But these ghosts are already haunting the people. In every town, in every little village, the belligerent countries swarm with the cripples and invalids, the wreckage of the war; and so it will be for a generation to come. It is that which makes the thought of living in those countries after the war a thing of horror. Already in England some of these men who have escaped with their lives but not with bodies intact are being driven to eke out their scanty pensions by such disguised forms of begging as soliciting pennies with the aid of a street organ. Before the war Great Britain had nearly a million persons whose legal status was that of paupers. It is easy to imagine what the condition of the country will be if the poor-law army is allowed to be swelled by thousands of men who have been disabled in the war.

The aggregate of disabled men for all the warring nations runs to millions, and they are practically all Europeans. This immense population, filling the hospitals now as thick as leaves in an Autumn forest, dependent upon public and private benevolence, despite the salvage that will be effected by refitting and re-educating a certain proportion, already means a huge loss to the productive capacity of Europe and the social and intellectual activities upon which economic well-being depends.

[HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR]

A War Vision

By Count Ilya Tolstoy

[Translated from the Russian by Miss I. Rojansky for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

This is the first English translation of excerpts from a war diary written by Count Ilya Tolstoy, a son of the late Count Leo Tolstoy, the famous novelist. Count Tolstoy has been serving with the Red Cross branch of the Russian Army, and these impressions are from his diary. He is now visiting the United States.

THE war relics of devastated structures leave a sad and painful impression. Of the many deserted battlefields which I have seen during the two years past, of the nameless little graves faintly marked with little wooden crosses, of the deserted trenches, nothing gave me so much food for deep and sad reflection as the bare and lonely chimneys projecting from amid piles of rubbish, melancholy blackened pots, the scattered remnants of domesticity; a smashed pail, a broken wheel, a binding of a torn book, the splinters of what was once a crib.

To think that hereabout dwelt a family; that they were contented and possibly happy! Those walls, stripped and crumbled, what have they not seen!

It always seems to me that an event having occurred at a given place, the memory of the occurrence attaches permanently to it. Whenever I happened to find myself in a locality in which some memorable events had taken place I could not think of those events without at the same time visualizing the surroundings amid which they occurred; and the more recent the occurrence, the more vividly I can see the scene unfolding itself before my eyes.

The vast number of such impressions which the present war has produced make a film, vivid and endless.

I remember one such pile of ruins, which I saw not far from the road leading to Jaroslav. This ruin remained permanently fixed in my memory by reason of a horrible tale connected with it.

Some time ago there lived on a farm a well-to-do Galician gardner. When the war broke out he was drafted into the army. He went forth, leaving behind him a wife and three small children. Shortly following his departure, troops commenced appearing in the immediate neighborhood. At first came small detachments, but these were quickly followed by more formidable bodies. In a short time lines of trenches were dug on both sides of the farm and real warfare began.

The firing was continuous. The family sought safety in the corners of their hut. They hid in the cellar under the heaps of beets and potatoes, but the children soon became accustomed to the hissing of bullets and lost all fear of them.

The wounded soldiers, for the most part Austrians, began crawling toward the farm. There they bound up their wounds. The children looked on and sometimes gave aid, holding with their tiny fingers the blood-soaked cotton, or winding long and transparent bandages around the wounded limbs. They became accustomed to pain and to the groans of the dying, and in their naïve and simple way rendered all the help of which they were capable.

At night, when darkness fell and when firing from both sides would cease, the Austrian relief workers would come, place the wounded on long and unsteady stretchers, and carry them to the rear. On one occasion the wounded sent the eldest girl to the pond to fetch some water. She stayed away for a long, long time. Later she was found lying on the grass with a bullet in her slender little shoulder. The pails lay near her empty.

During the night she, too, was placed on a stretcher and was carried away. With her went the mother and the rest

of the children. From that night on the farm remained forsaken.

The wounded, however, continued crawling to the hut, their numbers increasing from day to day. At times the litter bearers could not manage to look into the farm, and the wounded lay for days at a stretch without aid.

At the end of October a serious cholera epidemic broke out among the Austrian troops. From that time on there appeared among those creeping toward the lonely farm large numbers of emaciated and pale-blue forms—shadows of men. On reaching the farm they fell on to the straw, coiled and groaned in agony, and for the most part remained lying there, silenced by everlasting sleep.

There was no one to bury the bodies, and they gradualy began decomposing. On top of those bodies fell more and more. It became impossible to live amid these hellish surroundings, and if by chance some unfortunate wounded happened to come along most of them would leave the little hut and limp ahead, preferring to dare the firing line rather than be stifled in this horrible atmosphere of death and stench.

The engagements, having lasted several weeks, became more and more stubborn. The trenches crept nearer and nearer, until they resembled two live, gigantic horns about to embrace each other. Presently one of the Austrian trenches came so near the farm that the house became an obstacle to firing, and an order was issued to apply the torch to the incumbrance.

It was a dangerous task; all knew through experience that the Russians keep a sharp lookout on all that transpires in the enemy line and do not allow to pass with impunity the most insignificant move on the part of the enemy. At night the men, while smoking, would lie low at the very base of the trench, as the mere striking of a match sufficed to draw fire from the opposite lines.

As a result of some faint noise or a slight movement, vigorous firing would not infrequently burst out all along the line, and instead of getting the much-needed rest, the soldiers would pass nights on their feet and remain fatigued from sleeplessness and nervous exertion.

A young Second Lieutenant, recently promoted, and clean-shaven, volunteered to apply the torch. Though an ambitious man, he was at the same time limited and cowardly. He always tried to conceal his cowardice under a mask of arrogance, pushing his way forward whenever there was an opportunity to get into the spotlight and have his name mentioned. To brace himself, the officer emptied a large glass of spirits, and, taking along one of the men, left a cozy, sheltered trench and began feeling his way across the fields.

The night was dark as a grave, and over the lowland of the garden hung a thick, milky fog. The feet sank deep into the sticky, soaking mud. The Lieutenant's assistant went slowly, bent to the ground and breathing heavily.

They continued on their way without seeing anything ahead. Though the distance between them and their object was only 200 yards, it seemed to them from time to time as if they had lost their bearings and were going in the wrong direction.

Soon they were aware of a heavy, suffocating smell; the next moment there loomed up before their eyes a sombre silhouette of a building. It stood there enveloped in fog.

Reaching a corner of the house, the Lieutenant stopped short, drew from his ulster a big field revolver, and whispered to the man to come near.

It seemed that his main care was not to carry out the task he had undertaken, but to hide conveniently from the Russian fire, and then slip off to the rear as soon as the house caught fire. He figured that while the flames were spreading over the structure, and before they had reached the last wall, he could quietly and without the least danger remain under shelter. As soon as the fire enveloped the structure, and before the walls began crumbling, he would run back in time to avoid exposure by the conflagration.

With this in view, he gave orders to his subordinate to pile up straw on the side of the building directly facing the trenches. In the meantime the officer, having taken shelter behind the opposite

wall, lit a cigar and remained waiting for developments.

A few moments of long and painful suspense followed. The poor Lieutenant was in a state of frenzy. It was not the personal danger alone that now excited his imagination. He was tormented by the mystic fear of that which he was about to carry out. In the darkness he drew a sombre sketch of all that was hidden behind the wall, the inevitable which he was to face within a few moments.

How many of them are there? In what stage of decomposition? How do they lie?

The officer suddenly recalled a conversation in which some one had told him that when the flames touched the dead in the crematory they coiled and twisted as if alive. In his excited imagination he quickly pictured a wild dance of the dead which was about to begin.

"When they calm down," he thought, "after they are burned, as soon as roast meat is scented I will run, and then let the Russians shoot at them. All I have to do is to get away in time. If we were only done with this! Quick! Quick!"

At this moment he became aware of a pleasant smell of straw smoke, and immediately afterward the opposite corner of the structure burst into a bright flame. Almost simultaneously with the flash firing began from the Russian trenches, and it seemed to the officer that a few bullets hissed near him.

The soldier succeeded in pouring a great quantity of kerosene into the interior of the house. The fire spread with unusual swiftness. In two minutes the structure was all ablaze.

The officer stood at the open door, watching curiously the interior of the main room. Scattered all over the floor there lay contorted and twisted forms. They lay in irregular heaps. It was an appalling and gruesome sight. From somewhere protruded some one's long, bare legs; near the wall lingered a lonely arm, curled, swollen, and slightly lifted, it hung in a threatening posture; from under a tattered old military coat projected a thick brush of black-blue hair; and at some distance, leaning on the furnace, there half sat the mighty figure of a stately corpse. The majestic body was bent in gloom, two huge, rough, and calloused hands supporting a big head.

Suddenly it seemed to the Lieutenant as if he heard some one groan. The sound became more and more audible, coming nearer and nearer; one voice, a second, somebody called, a cry rang out, and suddenly pandemonium broke loose. Air-rending cries came from all sides, and men began to drop, one by one, falling about the officer and stretching at his feet. Some fell straight from the ceiling to the earthen floor, others came creeping down the ladder; they dropped into the flames, choking and writhing in deadly agony.

The officer, half dead from fright, drew his revolver and opened fire. He ceased firing when his supply of bullets gave out. His ammunition gone, the Lieutenant threw down the weapon and ran. No one will ever know the number of unfortunates he thus killed. All I know is that of all the men hiding in the garret of that farm only one was saved. It was he who told me this terrible tale. He did this while lying in one of our hospitals. According to his version, there were at the time in the building a great number of wounded soldiers, who had come there during the last engagement. When fire was set to the house, they endeavored to get down. All perished. Some were burned alive, while others were shot to death by their own officer. Among those who perished was also the soldier who had served as the Lieutenant's assistant.

These were the horrible visions. I saw them every time I chanced to pass the ruined and devastated spot.

The fate of the vain and unhappy officer does not in the least concern me. I am not even disposed to blame him for his weakness. For this we can only pity a man. One is bound to pity also those who met death at his hands.

But for some reason or other I cannot help remembering the wounded little girl. There she lay, dying from loss of blood; there at the turning of the footpath, near the two little birch trees.

[Copyright, 1916, by Otis F. Wood.]

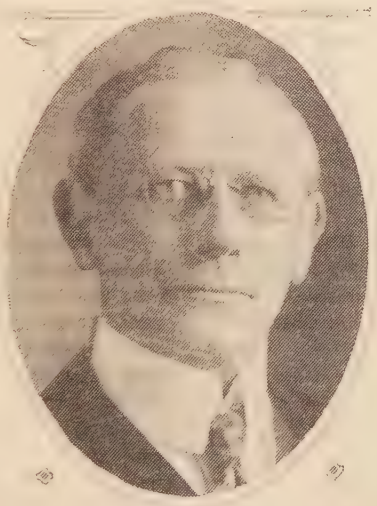
American Precedents for All British Dealings With Neutrals at Sea

By A. Maurice Low

Author of "The Law of Blockade"

Mr. Low is an English journalist and publicist who has spent the best part of his life in the United States, and has been for some years the Washington correspondent of The London Morning Post. He is a frequent contributor to leading magazines on both sides of the Atlantic, and is the author of numerous books on American life and institutions.

THE United States has a serious dispute with Great Britain over the blockade of Germany, which most Americans believe is not a legitimate exercise of the rights of belligerency but a defiance of neutral rights in violation of international law and precedent. I shall show that for everything the British Government has done since the beginning of the war affecting neutrals there is an exact precedent derived from American authorities; that the British Government is simply following the rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States in its decisions arising out of seizures of neutral vessels during the American civil war, and that the practices of the commanders of British cruisers are in every respect those which were enforced by American commanders during the civil and Spanish wars, which were sanctioned by the Supreme Court.



A. MAURICE LOW
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

The American Government protested against neutral ships being taken into British ports for examination instead of search being made on the high seas. The new practice, Secretary Lansing wrote, subjected the neutral to great inconvenience and loss, and was unnecessary, as a board of naval experts, to whom the question had been referred, reported to him that it was as easy to search a vessel of 20,000 tons at sea as it was one of a thousand tons.

On March 13, 1863, Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey, commanding the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, writing to the Secretary of the Navy, expressed his dissatisfaction because the British brig Magicienne had been released by the Prize Commissioner, and said:

> In this connection I would remind the department that the mere fact of contraband would be sufficient to warrant her being seized by our cruisers and sent in for adjudication, and that a search for such further proof of complicity with the rebels, as is suggested above *would be impossible at sea,* [my italics,] as all such proof would naturally be stowed well out of reach. (Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, Series 1, Vol. XVII., Page 402.)

Thus, fifty years ago an American squadron commander found it impossible to search vessels at sea and was forced to take them into port.

As the American note (although there are many notes, for the sake of convenience I discuss them as a whole) lays much stress on this alleged obnoxious and indefensible practice, I shall refer to it later; here it is only necessary to say that the Supreme Court of the United States held that when a commander believes a vessel carries contraband he is in duty bound to bring in the vessel for

adjudication. In pronouncing decision in the Peterhoff case Chief Justice Chase declared:

> The search led to the belief on the part of the officers of the Vanderbilt that there was contraband on board destined to the enemy. This belief, it is now apparent, was warranted. It was, therefore, the duty of the captors to bring the Peterhoff in for adjudication. (The Peterhoff, 5 Wall, 28.)

Sir Edward Grey might with propriety have referred to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Isabella Thompson case, (3 Wall, 155,) in which it was held:

> The term "probable cause" in matters of prize means such circumstances as would warrant a reasonable ground of suspicion that the vessel was engaged in an illegal traffic. To adopt a harsher rule, and hold that the captors must decide for themselves the merits of each case, would involve perils which few would be willing to encounter.

Chief Justice Fuller

Exigencies of space will not permit further civil war decisions, but it is important to give a decision arising out of the last war in which the United States engaged, which shows that the American judicial mind takes the same view today of national rights in time of war as it did half a century earlier. During the Spanish war the Olinde Rodrigues, a French ship, was captured for attempted breach of the blockade of San Juan, Porto Rico. In pronouncing decision Chief Justice Fuller said:

> Probable cause for making the capture undoubtedly existed. * * * Probable cause exists when there are circumstances sufficient to warrant suspicion, though it may turn out that the facts are not sufficient to warrant condemnation. And whether they are or not cannot be determined unless the customary proceedings of prize are instituted and enforced. Even if not found sufficient to condemn, restitution will not necessarily be made absolutely, but may be decreed conditionally, as each case requires, and an order of restitution does not prove lack of probable cause. (174 U. S., 510.)

Mr. Lansing complains of the vexatious proceedings of British naval officers, yet here is the Supreme Court of the United States sanctioning a seizure if there is "probable cause"; and not only sanctioning it but saying even if a ship is released the fact of restitution does not prove lack of probable cause.

Meeting the American protest that it is illegal for a belligerent to interfere with goods intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, or, as it is more commonly known, with goods intended to be incorporated in the "common stock" of the country, Sir Edward Grey says the mere fact that goods are ostensibly destined to form part of the common stock of a neutral country cannot be regarded as sufficient evidence to prove their innocence.

It is unfortunate that the Foreign Secretary does not clinch his argument by the citations, because they would quiet American resentment. The Supreme Court definitely settled the question of real and fictitious trade when it said:

> If by trade between neutral ports is meant real trade, in the course of which goods conveyed from one port to another become incorporated into the mass of goods for sale in the port of destination * * * we accept the proposition of counsel as correct. But if it is intended to affirm that a neutral ship may take on a contraband cargo ostensibly for a neutral port, but destined in reality for a belligerent port, either by the same ship or another, without becoming liable from the commencement to the end of the voyage to seizure, in order to the confiscation of the cargo, we do not agree with it. (The Bermuda, 3 Wall, 515.)

Mr. Lansing objects to the wide extension of the contraband list and questions the legality of the British Government declaring certain articles contraband heretofore never so regarded. Mr. Cass, Secretary of State, addressing Mr. Mason, American Minister to France, on the subject of contraband, wrote on June 27, 1859: "There is no approved enumeration of the articles coming within the prohibition. * * * The principle by which they are to be tested is so loosely defined that it is practically of little use."

In 1864 the United States added coin and bullion to the contraband list. Printing presses, material and paper, and postage stamps belonging to the enemy, and intended for his immediate use, were declared contraband by a ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States. (The Bermuda, 3 Wall, 515.) Mr. Bayard, when Secretary of State, wrote:

> I apprehend it to be the settled rule of international law that the question of contraband is to be determined by the special circumstances of each case. Horses, for ex-

RUMANIAN TROOPS RETREATING ACROSS THE DANUBE

Across This Pontoon Bridge in Northern Dodrudja the Rumanians Were Driven Back by the Germans from the Left Bank of the River

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

VIEW OF HEART OF ATHENS AS SEEN FROM THE ACROPOLIS

The Greek Capital, with Its Ruler, King Constantine, Has Furnished the Entente Allies with One of Their Knottiest War Problems

(Photo from Central News Service.)

ample, would not ordinarily be spoken of as contraband, yet all authorities agree that they may be so regarded when their supply is so essential to a particular belligerent that he cannot carry on operations successfully without them.

Chase on Contraband

That the term contraband has a meaning but is incapable of precise definition was stated by Chief Justice Chase in delivering the decision in the Peterhoff, when he said: "A strictly accurate and satisfactory classification [of contraband] is perhaps impracticable."

The same eminent authority enlarged the established list of contraband acknowledged by the American Government by including not only recognized articles of military use, but also those for the use of the civil branch of the belligerent Government, the first time, I believe, this inclusion was made. In the Bermuda decision the Chief Justice said:

> Now, what were the marks by which the conveyance of contraband on the Bermuda was accompanied? First, we have the character of the contraband articles, fitted for immediate use in battle, or for the immediate civil service of the rebel Government.

Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, writing to the Spanish Minister, said:

> Cotton, in fact, was to the Confederacy as much munitions of war as powder and ball, for it furnished the chief means of obtaining those indispensables of warfare. In international law there could be no question as to the right of the Federal commanders to seize it as contraband of war, whether they found it on rebel territory or intercepted it on the way to the parties who were to furnish in return material aid in the form of the sinews of war, arms or general supplies.

Chancellor Kent says:

> It is the usus bellici which determined an article to be contraband, and as articles come into use as implements of war which were before innocent, there is truth in the remark that as the means of war vary and shift from time to time, the law of nations shifts with them; not, indeed, by the change of principles, but by a change in the application of them to new cases and in order to meet the varying inventions of war.

The American Government challenges the validity of the blockade, because under the established rule of international law not only must a blockade be effective, but it must apply impartially to the ships of all nations. The American Government alleges, "as a matter of common knowledge," that the German coasts are open to trade with the Scandinavian countries, and German naval vessels cruise both in the North Sea and the Baltic. Therefore, the blockade is unequal, as while it prevents American commerce with Germany, it leaves Sweden, Norway, and Denmark free to trade with Germany. Furthermore, a belligerent may not blockade neutral ports, but Great Britain, by interfering with neutral trade, is virtually blockading neutral coasts.

Sir Edward Grey's answer is to recall the action of the United States during the civil war in stopping trade between neutral ports and the blockaded Southern ports, and the extension by the Supreme Court of the doctrine of continuous voyage so as to cover all cases of intent to break the blockade, direct or indirect.

The British case at this point would have been strengthened had Sir Edward Grey called Mr. Lansing's attention to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Olinde Rodrigues, (174 U. S. 510.) Chief Justice Fuller in delivering the opinion said:

> Blockades are maritime blockades, or blockades by sea and land; and they may be either military or commercial, or may partake of the nature of both. The question of effectiveness must necessarily depend on the circumstances. * * *
>
> Our Government was originally of the opinion that commercial blockades in respect of neutral powers ought to be done away with; but that view was not accepted, and during the period of the civil war the largest commercial blockade ever known was established.

Ultimate Destination

The "commercial blockade of neutral powers," which received the sanction of the Supreme Court, is one of the weapons employed by England to reduce Germany, and is an application of the American doctrine of ultimate destination. That doctrine is very simple, but that it may be understood by every one, lawyer as well as layman—and there are some lawyers who certainly do not understand it, as they have written to their own confusion—a short historical sketch is necessary.

In 1801 Sir William Scott, later and more generally known as Lord Stowell, sitting in the Court of Admiralty, held

that no matter at how many ports a vessel touched, or how much of her cargo was discharged or taken on en route, the voyage was continuous from the original port of departure to the final port of destination. This was the doctrine of "continuity of voyages," as it was originally called, and in modern times the doctrine of continuous voyage. Scott invented his doctrine to stamp with illegality voyages between the French and Dutch colonies and the mother countries, with whom Great Britain was at war. To secure immunity French and Dutch colonial products were shipped in neutral vessels, which first touched at an American port, where by a pleasing legal fiction the cargoes ceased to be French or Dutch and became American.

During the American civil war British ships laden with British goods were dispatched nominally to the British West Indian possessions, but actually their cargoes were for the Confederacy. Federal cruisers went out into the Atlantic, some of them 1,000 miles from the blockaded Southern coast, and captured British vessels. Their owners claimed that the seizures were in violation of international law, as the vessels were proceeding from one neutral (British) port to another; that no evidence was produced to show the vessels contemplated a breach of blockade; that no proof had been adduced that their cargoes were enemy goods; that the United States had always stood for the principle of "free ships, free goods," and a ship under a neutral flag was "free"; that the goods were intended in the exercise of legitimate commerce to be sold into the common stock of the place where they were to be discharged, and, Great Britain being a neutral, it was illegal and in violation of international law for a belligerent to blockade the ports of a neutral—the very point, it may be added, that Secretary Lansing more than half a century later now applies as against Great Britain. The Supreme Court decided against these ingenious but dishonest sophistries by declaring:

> A voyage from a neutral to a belligerent port is one and the same voyage, whether the destination be ulterior or direct, and whether with or without the interposition of one or more intermediate ports; and whether to be performed by one vessel or several employed in the same transaction and in the accomplishment of the same purpose. (The Bermuda, 3 Wall, 515.)

And again in the same case: "It makes no difference whether the destination to the rebel port was ulterior or direct."

This doctrine of ulterior, ultimate, real, or final destination, and the terms were interchangeably used by the Supreme Court, greatly enlarged the scope of the original doctrine. Sir William Scott held that seizure could not be legally made until after the vessel had touched at the intermediate port. That is to say, a vessel sailing from Martinique for New York was immune from seizure, but after leaving New York, if she attempted to make a French port, she could be captured. Under the Supreme Court doctrine of ultimate destination it was legal to seize a vessel between the port of original departure and the intermediate neutral port, "and this on the conjecture of an ulterior adventure being projected for the goods in question from such intermediate neutral to a blockaded port."

A Civil War Precedent

Mr. Lansing complains that British cruisers have seized neutral vessels on "suspicion" and not on the "evidence found on the ship under investigation," and Sir Edward Grey fails to remind him what was done during the civil war. On July 7, 1862, the British steamer Adela, while off Great Abaco Island, was captured by the Quaker City and sent into Key West as a prize. Commander Frailey of the Quaker City, reporting his capture to the Secretary of the Navy, says: "I did not examine her hold, being under the impression at that time that I had no authority to open her hatches, but, having a *suspicion* [my italics] of her character, I deemed it my duty to send her into port and hand her over to judicial authority for examination." Commander Frailey had no proof, he did not even open a hatch, but having his suspicions and being in doubt he played trumps.

The Supreme Court did what I believe no other court has ever done, and that is, declared intent to be sufficient to convict. It applied to the civil law the

harsh principle of the more rigorous criminal law, which makes intent the distinction between murder and manslaughter. In the proceedings arising out of the Circassian (2 Wall, 135) the court ruled that "a vessel sailing from a neutral port with intent to violate a blockade is liable to capture and condemnation as prize from the time of sailing, though she intended to call at another neutral port not reached at the time of capture, before proceeding to her ulterior destination"; and again in the Cornelius (3 Wall, 214) it was held that "presumption of an intent to run a blockade by a vessel bound apparently to a lawful port may be inferred from a combination of circumstances." Could anything more be desired by a belligerent? Satisfy the prize court of intent, infer presumption of an intent to run the blockade, and the vessel stands condemned.

The Southern ports were under blockade, and any vessel, no matter what her cargo, whether contraband or noncontraband, found within the limits of the blockade was lawful prize for attempted breach of blockade. This is well established in international law and acquiesced in by all nations. Once again the Supreme Court enlarged international law. It was lawful for a neutral British ship to carry all classes of goods, contraband or not, to a British port in the West Indies. That the Supreme Court did not challenge, but in sustaining the validity of the capture of the Springbok, seized 150 miles off Nassau in 1862 while en route to that port, Chief Justice Chase, announcing the decision of the court, said:

> We do not now refer to the character of the cargo for the purpose of determining whether it was liable to condemnation as contraband, but for the purpose of ascertaining its real destination; for, we repeat, contraband or not, it could not be condemned if really destined for Nassau and not beyond; and, contraband or not, it must be condemned if destined to any rebel port, for all rebel ports were under blockade. (5 Wall, 13.)

The fact that a vessel carries goods of which Great Britain knows Germany has urgent need is sufficient presumption, under the rulings of the Supreme Court, that their ultimate destination is Germany. It is not necessary that on the vessel there should be found absolute proof. Suspicion may be inferred, and on that suspicion the vessel can be seized and taken into port. Nor is it necessary that anything more than intent be shown. Nor does it absolve the vessel because its voyage terminated at Rotterdam or a Scandinavian port. If the court can satisfy itself that the ultimate destination of the cargo is Germany, that is sufficient to work forfeiture. To none of this, I submit, ought the United States to object, in view of its own decisions.

All the decisions I have cited deal only with continuous voyages in fact, that is, sea voyages, and where no question of land transportation was concerned. It can well be held, and that view is strictly in accordance with the facts and common sense, that a voyage is continuous no matter how devious the course of the ship or at how many ports she touches before reaching her port of destination. But can it be said in truth that a "voyage" is continuous when a ship is unloaded in a port and her cargo must be transported by land before it reaches the hands of the owner?

The doctrine of continuous voyage could not be made effective against transport partly sea and partly land; the doctrine of ultimate destination could, and was. Again I must give a short historical retrospect to enable the reader to have a clear understanding of the facts. One means of the Confederacy's procuring foreign merchandise was to send it to Matamoros, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and there take it across the river into Texas. Against this traffic the United States was powerless. The Rio Grande, being neutral waters, could not be blockaded.

In 1863 Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey was in command of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. His reports and orders, scores of which I have examined, show him to be a first-class sailor, very similar, one would say, to hundreds of officers under Sir John Jellicoe, like them impatient of juridical niceties, and anxious only to be given an opportunity to exert their full power against the enemy. With Lincoln in the White House, Seward in the State Department, and Welles in the Navy Department

the interests of the United States were safe.

The Matamoros Cases

Early in 1863 the British brig Magicienne for Matamoros was captured off the Cape Verde Islands and brought into Key West for adjudication, there subsequently to be released. Bailey was dissatisfied. The Peterhoff, another British vessel, also bound for Matamoros, had been captured, and Bailey was afraid she would slip through the court on a technicality. To Welles he wrote, "It will readily occur to the Government that, unless this trade can be restricted in some way, the object of blockading our southern coast must necessarily, in a great measure, be frustrated."

Six days later Bailey again wrote to the department suggesting that an arrangement be made with the French (France and Mexico were then at war) for a joint blockade of the Rio Grande so as effectually to seal up Matamoros "against any set of papers that a vessel could carry."

Welles saw at once that Matamoros was the Northern heel of Achilles, and unless a way could be devised to stop supplies reaching the rebels by land transport through Matamoros the blockade would fail. On receipt of Bailey's dispatches, Welles sent them to Seward for his information; and to Chase he wrote asking if some measures might not suggest themselves to him "to restrict the trade between Northern ports and Matamoros and check the growing and injurious illicit intercourse with the insurgents."

It is interesting to note, as showing how neatly circumstances dovetailed, that Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury, sitting in the Cabinet, must have heard the discussion between Seward and Welles over the Matamoros trade and probably was asked for his opinion; must have known the urgent necessity of stopping this traffic; must have recalled those Cabinet discussions when a year later he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and as Chief Justice delivered those momentous Bermuda, Springbok, and Peterhoff decisions that made the American doctrine of ultimate destination part of the law of nations.

A short passage in a letter from Welles to Seward strikingly illustrates the grasp and foresight of these men and with what little hesitation they cut the Gordian knot. To Seward, on June 23, 1863, Welles wrote:

> Our rights as a nation ought not to be sacrificed because a new question has arisen that has not heretofore been adjudicated or settled by diplomatic arrangement. Because the Rio Grande is a neutral highway, it is not to be used to our injury; yet we know such to be the fact, and it seems to me some effectual steps should be taken to correct the evil. It can be done, I apprehend, in a manner satisfactory to both countries, and a principle be established that will be conformable to international law.

Welles saw that a principle must be established. He was soon to have his desire gratified. We left the Peterhoff waiting judgment, with that good sailor man, Theodorus Bailey, apprehensive about her fate. His fears were soon quieted. She went into the prize court and was condemned, and in due course an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. That court accepted in good faith that she was going to Matamoros and not an enemy port, and agreed that neither the mouth of the Rio Grande nor the Mexican port of Matamoros could be blockaded, yet it decreed the condemnation of the contraband in the cargo and also the noncontraband belonging to the same owners under the "doctrine of infection." The contraband was condemned because all the circumstances indicated that its real destination was not Matamoros but the rebel forces in Texas. Contraband intended for a hostile country, the court ruled, could be seized whether that country was blockaded or not. Hence "articles of a contraband character, destined in fact to a State in rebellion, or for the use of the rebel military forces, were liable to capture, though primarily destined to Matamoros." (5 Wall, 28.)

Supreme Court Ruling

Now at last we have the doctrine of ultimate destination in its full perfection, and it is interesting to note how it was developed and brought to the measure of its efficiency under the ministering hands

of the Supreme Court. Sir William Scott ruled that a neutral vessel bound from an enemy port to a neutral port, and then continuing her voyage to an enemy port, was in fact making a continuous voyage and could be lawfully seized after resuming her journey from the neutral port. The Supreme Court held that a neutral vessel bound from one neutral port to another could be seized at any time after issuing from her port of departure if there was suspicion of her intent to land her cargo, either directly or through the interposition of another vessel, in enemy territory. To this it finally added the dictum that if contraband was discharged in a neutral port, and then transported by land to the enemy, it could be made lawful prize, even although no blockade existed. So that the Supreme Court has said it is legal for a belligerent to seize all goods, no matter what their character, when transported by a neutral by sea if the belligerent has reason to believe the ultimate destination of these goods is enemy country under blockade; and it is equally lawful to seize contraband, conveyed partly by sea and partly by land, passing through a neutral port to the enemy, even if no blockade exists.

It should be remembered that the doctrine of ultimate destination enunciated and enforced by the United States is not merely American municipal law. It is much more than that. It is international law as between the United States and Great Britain, and binding on both. The British Government accepted the doctrine, and by that acceptance it became incorporated into the code governing the relations between the two countries and is international law, so far as the two countries are concerned, as effectively and as affirmatively as any other provision of the law of nations.

The United States of course admits the validity of the doctrine of ultimate destination; it could not do otherwise; but it claims that the doctrine rests, in so far as non-contraband is concerned, on blockade, and where no blockade exists trade by a neutral between neutral ports cannot be interfered with. The only question then to be determined is whether a legal blockade exists.

It would be idle at this time to enter on a discussion of the legality of the British blockade, because neither the Foreign Office nor the State Department is a court of competent or final jurisdiction, and, with all due deference to both, the opinion of either would, in the judgment of the other, be ex parte, and therefore properly appealable to an impartial tribunal. Until the verdict is delivered neither Government nor individual can speak ex cathedra.

There is no uncertainty, however, in meeting the objection raised by the State Department to the extension of the contraband list, and especially to the abolition of conditional contraband. What Great Britain and her allies are doing is, I believe it can be fairly said, no more radical than the action of the Supreme Court when it engrafted the doctrine of ultimate destination on the doctrine of continuous voyage. Mr. Welles saw that there must be a "principle established" if the blockade was to be made effective. No new principle is involved in the extension of the list of contraband; it is simply, as Chancellor Kent declared, the change in the application of old principles in order to meet the varying inventions of war.

The Supreme Court and other eminent authorities have declared that contraband is not a term of fixed meaning, that it must necessarily be elastic, and that it is the usus bellici that determines the contraband nature of an article. In the past articles capable of military use were few and undisguisable; therefore it was not difficult to make the distinction between contraband and non-contraband. Today that distinction has ceased to exist.

Blockade and Contraband

Lawyers may argue that if the blockade is effective Great Britain does not have to make everything contraband, as nothing may pass into a blockaded country; and by making everything contraband Great Britain admits the ineffectiveness of the blockade. This, while theoretically true, has no force. It is a sound rule in law that when a litigant has alternative remedies he may avail himself of that which offers the largest measure of relief; it is equally sound

law that, arising out of the same cause of action, a litigant may simultaneously resort to more than one remedy to obtain redress. England may, under the rules of international law, apply both blockade and the prohibition of contraband against Germany, and by using both England does not violate international law. In this connection it is well to recall the letter addressed by the American Commissioners, Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, to M. de Talleyrand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Jan. 17, 1798, in the course of which they said:

> The right of a belligerent over the goods of his enemy within his reach is as complete as his right over contraband of war, and it seems a position not easily to be refuted that a situation that will not protect the one will not protect the other. A neutral bottom, then, does not of right, in cases where no compact exists, protect from his enemy the goods of a belligerent power.

Are these goods, sent in an American ship to Rotterdam to go forward to Germany, goods of the enemy? Unquestionably they are; they are as much the goods of the enemy as if they had been ordered by the German Government in its own name, sold to the order of the German Government, and paid for by a draft on the German Treasury. The interposition of a neutral agent, who pays for them with neutral funds in a neutral country, no more divests them of their true character as enemy goods than the interposition of a neutral port to an enemy port of final destination clothes contraband with innocency. "Neutrals who place their vessels under belligerent control and engage them in belligerent trade, or permit them to be sent with contraband cargoes under cover of false destination to neutral ports, while the real destination is to belligerent ports, impress upon them the character of the belligerent in whose service they are employed, and cannot complain if they are seized and condemned as enemy property." (The Hart, 3 Wall, 559.)

Whether this is harsh and injurious to the neutral cannot now be considered. It is American law. It is the law under which neutrals suffered injury when the United States was fighting to preserve its national existence. War always brings hardship and inconvenience to neutrals, which is the penalty neutrals must pay when nations are at war; and yet there has seldom been a war when some or all of the neutrals have not been made richer by it, and while the belligerents have shed their blood and dissipated their treasure neutrals have amassed wealth. This war is no exception.

Esperanto Turned to War Uses

A writer in the Paris Figaro gives these curious facts concerning the part played in the war by the new universal language, Esperanto, whose creator, Dr. Zamenhoff, designed it as the greatest of all agencies of peace:

At the beginning of the war the German Esperantists proposed to the Minister of War that the universal language be used to "instruct" foreign nations. The idea was adopted, and the German authorities have had no cause to regret it. For months past, all the official war bulletins and accounts of battles emanating from the Staff Headquarters of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey have been translated into Esperanto at the moment of their publication and have been spread broadcast every day over *twenty-eight* neutral countries at the rate of a thousand copies to each country. In certain regions these German versions of events are the only available source of war information.

These same countries have been flooded with a brochure entitled "The Truth About the War," which contains the translation into Esperanto of the German White Books, the speeches of the Kaiser, the discourses of Bethmann Hollweg—in a word, all the documents which the Germans consider useful to spread abroad and justify their deeds. Behold a development which the good Dr. Zamenhoff did not foresee!

What the Allies Are Fighting Against

Gilbert Murray's Explanation to Neutrals

This brief and breezy analysis from The Westminster Gazette is especially addressed to Americans. Mr. Murray makes clear in a few words just what is the main issue of the war for the Entente nations and their friends.

IT is proverbially difficult to define an elephant, though quite easy to know one when you meet him. And any belligerent when talking to neutrals, especially to neutrals who live far removed from the scene of war, finds himself in a similar difficulty. We all of us know by now what we are fighting against. We know as it were by instinct the sort of thing that strikes us as "Hunnish" or "Teutonic." And the most sincerely pacific among us have perhaps most strongly the sense of being engaged in a profound struggle against evil. But it is difficult to make this feeling seem justified, or even quite intelligible, to a Western American, or to show that we ourselves embody any particular principle.

Partly, he lives too far off. He has not met the particular wild beast about which we say such strange things. Partly, also, I believe, the very magnitude of the cause at issue makes it difficult for us to explain and for neutrals to understand. It is a hard task to state that cause, to put into words, however imperfect, the centre of our profound feeling.

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people"? That is a principle which Americans have paid for with their blood, and which they understand with every fibre of their being. But is it exactly democracy for which we are fighting? The Republic of France, the limited monarchy of England, and the autocracy of Russia? We sometimes say, and feel, that we are fighting for democracy, and in a sense it is true; but democracy alone cannot be the exact definition of our cause.

Is it, then, a fight for civilization against barbarism? The thesis is difficult to maintain. In material civilization probably Germany is actually our superior. The organization of German trade, of railways, of schools, of things intellectual, seems, at least to a superficial glance, to be the very acme of civilization. To speak of the Germans as barbarians may in some profoundest sense have truth in it, but in the ordinary meaning of the words it is a paradox.

Some writers, again, have tried to tell the Americans that we were fighting for Christianity against godlessness; but that is not, as it stands, a very persuasive statement. They can point to many saintly lives still lived in Germany; the book shelves of their professors of divinity are loaded with German books of devotion and theology; and I hardly imagine that we and our French allies make quite the impression of a nation of early Christians.

None of these statements seems exactly adequate, yet there is some profound truth underlying all of them. I do not suppose that my own definition will stand criticism much better than these I have mentioned, but I will venture to put down the way in which the issue strikes me.

We all remember the old philosophic doctrine of the "Social Contract" as the origin of ordered society; that men lived at first in a "state of nature," with no laws, no duties to one another, no relationships —Homo homini lupus, "every man a wolf to every other man," and then, finding that condition intolerable, they met together and made a contract, and hence arose civilized society. And many of us remember the criticism passed on the doctrine by such philosophers as T. H. Green. The criticism is that beings in that supposed condition could not even begin to make a contract; that before any contract can be thought of there must be some elementary sense of relationship, of mutual duty, some elementary instinct of public right. Before any contract is pos-

sible there must be at least the elementary understanding that if a man pledges his word he should keep it. It is that primary understanding, that elementary sense of brotherhood or of public right, which it seems to us the present Government of Germany in its dealing with foreign nations has sought to stamp out of existence. It has rejected, in the words of the King's speech, "the old ordinance which has held civilized Europe together." It has acted on a new ordinance that every nation shall be a wolf to its neighbor.

Put baldly thus, this degree of wickedness will seem hard to believe of such a nation as Germany. The neutral will suspect that we are just venting our anger in abuse. But I think we can see how it came about. Germany is the great country of specialization. Above all, she has produced the specialized soldier; not the humane soldier, the Christian soldier, the chivalrous soldier, or the soldier with the sense of civil duties; but the soldier who is trained to be a soldier and nothing else, to disregard all the rest of human relations, to see all his country's neighbors merely as enemies to be duped and conquered, to see all life according to some system of perverted biology as a mere struggle of force and fraud. The Germans have created this type of soldier, able, concentrated, conscienceless, and remorseless; and then—what no other people in the world has done—they have given the nation over to his guidance. Of course we all have armies. We all have military experts and strategists. But with the rest of us the soldier is the last resort, like the executioner. We call him up only when all other means have failed. But in Germany the soldier is always present. He is behind the diplomatist, behind the educator, behind the preacher; he is behind the philosopher in his study and the man of science in his laboratory; always present and always in authority.

In other nations the sword is the servant of the public welfare, a savage servant never used but in the last necessity; in Germany all the resources of the nation, its banks and railways, its schools and universities, its very religion and philosophy, are the servants of the sword.

It is this which gives to our present war something of the quality of a crusade against the infidel. It is this which makes peace so difficult and confidence so impossible. It was something approaching to this which made it impossible for Europe to live at peace with Napoleon; for the other Italian States to live at peace with Cesare Borgia; for various modern nations to tolerate certain societies which denied allegiance to the State.

And the tragedy is that, in each case, so much devotion and such great virtues should be used merely as tools toward a purpose which the human conscience rejects as intolerable.

BASIS OF A DURABLE PEACE

Discussion by "Cosmos" of Problems Arising in Ending the European War

A PROFOUNDLY considered discussion of the basis of a durable peace was contributed to THE NEW YORK TIMES toward the close of last year by a distinguished American. The series of articles attracted widespread attention in this country and in Europe. The writer signed himself "Cosmos" and was indorsed by the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES as "a source the competence and authority of which would be recognized in both hemispheres * * * one who possesses candor, breadth of view, impartial fairness, profound understanding of political principles and far-seeing statesmanship."

The first installments were postulated on a military and economic victory of the Allies over the Central Powers, and "the continuance of the war until it appears to be certain that an international agreement can be formulated which will first accomplish and make secure the ends for which the Allies are prosecuting the war."

In one of his final installments "Cosmos" defined the issues at stake in the great war as follows:

> This is no ordinary war. It is, as has been said over and over again, a clash of ideals, of philosophies of life, of political and social aims. This is why it must be fought until the principles at stake are or can be established, and why it cannot be compromised. One who cannot range himself on one side or the other in this conflict must be either so dull of understanding as not to be able to comprehend the greatest things in the world or so profoundly immoral as not to care what becomes of the human race, its liberty and its progress.

In view of this attitude his formulae, which appear in abbreviated form below, may be definitely appraised.

Autonomy for Small Nations

"Cosmos" first discusses the declarations of Viscount Grey on Oct. 23, 1916, and the German Chancellor's reply on Nov. 9, in which they both affirm their adherence to the doctrine of the free development of all nations, both great and small. He finds that agreement between Germany and Great Britain is certainly in sight on this point, provided Germany is willing to permit the Poles and South Slavs to choose the form of their own political organization and to direct it when organized.

He then discusses the possibility of Germany's abandoning her traditional exclusive trade policy for the open door, and maintains that this might follow if the Allies abandon the purpose of a commercial strife after the war and offer the Central Powers, instead, "complete participation on equal terms in the trade of the world, on sole condition that political activity in other countries be abandoned and that an international guarantee for national security be at once agreed upon."

He maintains that Belgium must be restored and indemnified by Germany; Serbia likewise by Austria-Hungary; that Russia be assured free access to the sea throughout the year; that Alsace-Lorraine be restored to France, with compensation for damages, and that the freedom of the seas be assured. This latter subject is comprehensively discussed, and important citations are presented from instructions to American delegates to The Hague Peace Conventions and to urge for adoption the American doctrine of the absolute immunity of all private property not contraband from hostile treatment at sea, the same exemptions which such property already enjoys on land. He urges upon Great Britain the acceptance of this principle as hastening international peace, but adds:

> The common sense of mankind, however, will not be satisfied with any definition of freedom of the seas in time of war which does not frankly put in the category of murder such amazing barbarities as history will recall whenever the words Lusitania and Sussex are mentioned.

As to Prussian Militarism

"Cosmos" maintains that the threat of Prussian military domination will be ended, so far as the rest of the world is concerned, only when the German armies are defeated; but in so far as Prussian militarism is a state of mind he holds that "it cannot be exorcised by any forcible process whatsoever. It can be got rid of only by a change of heart on the part of the German people themselves." He argues that the disappearance of the German liberal element after the revolutionary movement of 1848 left Germany without the strong impulse toward democratic policies which the revolution of 1688 gave to England and 1789 to France. He concludes that subject as follows:

It is true that Prussian militarism must be wholly and finally destroyed before the peace of the world will be really secure, but inasmuch as it can only be wholly and finally destroyed by the German people themselves, the war need not be continued until that end is accomplished. All that the Allies can do toward the destruction of Prussian military domination is to confine it to Germany. When so confined it will disappear not slowly, but relatively fast by reason of its own weight and untimeliness.

There is, however, one way in which Prussian militarism might emerge victorious even if the German armies are finally defeated on the field of battle—that is, if the spirit and policies of Prussian militarism should conquer the mind of Great Britain or that of any other allied power. A Hymn of Hate is as unlovely when sung in English as when sung in German. The destruction of liberal policies and practices under the guise of national necessity differs but little from "die Not kennt kein Gebot," with which Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg defended the ravishing of Belgium. The Allies, and particularly Great Britain, have urgent need to be on their guard that when they are defeating Prussian militarism on the field of battle, it does not gain new and striking victories over them in the field of ideas. A durable peace requires that Prussian militarism be wholly and finally destroyed; first, by the allied armies in the field; second, by the German people in their domestic policies; and, third, by the allied powers in keeping it from invading their own political systems.

New International Order

The series concludes with a full discussion of a new international order which may grow out of the war. In approaching this subject "Cosmos" quotes as an appropriate basis the Declaration of the American Institute of International Law as to the rights and duties of nations, issued Jan. 6, 1916, as follows:

1. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

2. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

3. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

4. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

5. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

6. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

The Spirit of Nations

He warns that too much reliance, however, must not be put upon formal declarations and upon the machinery of the most approved international system; of more importance, he says, is the spirit of the peoples affected. He approvingly quotes President Nicholas Murray Butler's definition of the international mind, which is

nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.

Once this point of view is gained and this

code of international morals accepted, then all dreams of world conquest will fade forever, as well as all schemes to extend Anglo-Saxon, or Latin, or Teutonic, or Slavonic culture over the whole world. The several stones in the structure of civilization will differ in size, in character, and in the weight that they support, but each one of them will do its part.

The several nations now at war and those neutral nations that will join them in bringing about a new international order could do no better than adopt as their platform the eloquent words of the declaration made by Elihu Root when Secretary of State of the United States in the presence of the official delegates of the American republics accredited to the third Pan-American Conference held at Rio de Janeiro on July 31, 1906, which stirred the heart of every American republic and which sounded the note of a genuinely new international freedom:

We wish for no victories but those of peace, for no territory except our own, for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief gurantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Work of The Hague Conferences

Proceeding on this thesis, "Cosmos" reviews at length the progress made by the various Hague Conferences toward international arbitration and an international court of justice. Of the eight topics in the program submitted by the Russian Foreign Minister for the First Conference, the last related to the acceptance in principle of arbitration. This topic, and not the reduction of armaments, was the chief question that engaged the First Conference. "Cosmos" pays a tribute to Dr. Andrew D. White and Frederick W. Holls, Chairman and Secretary, respectively, of the American delegation, for their influence in having the principle of arbitration recognized by the conference.

He reviews that phase of the situation as follows:

The First Hague Conference did not really establish a court in the sense in which that word is generally understood, but it did make great progress toward the establishment of such a court and toward preparing the public mind for further and more definite steps. It was no small achievement to have the powers unite, as they then did, in the declaration that they would use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences with a view to obviating as far as possible recourse to force in the relations between States. They agreed upon admirable provisions for good offices and mediation as well as for international commissions of inquiry. They defined international arbitration as having for its object "the settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." It will at once be seen how far this falls short of the settlement of disputes between States by judges independently chosen, and on the basis not alone of respect for law, but of submission to law.

The permanent court of arbitration was really nothing more than a panel of men "of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators." Such a tribunal as this, wholly dependent for its existence and usefulness upon the concurrence of two disagreeing States in submitting a question to arbitration and in agreeing to the choice of individual arbitrators, was not a true court. Nevertheless, its importance must not be minimized, for this tribunal has dealt with not a few cases of more than usual difficulty, and it has served to accustom the public opinion of the civilized world to the spectacle of sovereign nations submitting international disputes which had not been resolved by the usual diplomatic means to inquiry and judgment by arbitrators.

Mexico and the United States, at the instance of President Roosevelt, quickly submitted to this tribunal the Pious Fund case. Shortly afterward Germany, Great Britain, and Italy brought before it in the Venezuelan preferential case their controversy with the Republic of Venezuela over certain pecuniary claims of their subjects. Similarly France, Germany, and Great Britain submitted to The Hague Tribunal their difference with Japan over a matter arising from the extraterritorial jurisdiction which was maintained in respect to the citizens of foreign nations resident in Japan prior to 1894. The Casablanca case between France and Germany and the Savarkar case between France and Great Britain were similarly considered and decided. Doubtless the most important case yet heard by this tribunal was the North Atlantic coast fisheries case, in which Great Britain and the United States were opposing parties in a vexatious controversy that had lasted for 100 years.

It will be seen, therefore, that while the

nations have not yet established a real international court of justice, they have taken such long steps toward it that it should not be difficult to cover the remaining distance, in view of the vital importance of the existence of such a court to an international order which aims to secure a durable peace.

International Court of Justice

At the Second Conference in 1907 the American delegates were explicitly instructed by Secretary Root to add a real international court of justice to the permanent court of arbitration that was established in 1899. "Cosmos" discusses the proceedings of that conference in these words:

In his formal instructions to the American delegates to that conference Mr. Root pointed out that the principal objection to arbitration rests not upon the unwillingness of nations to submit their controversies to impartial arbitration, but upon an apprehension that the arbitrations to which they submit them may not be really impartial. In other words, he pressed upon the American delegates, and through them upon the conference, a clear recognition of the distinction between the action of Judges deciding questions of fact and law upon the record before them under a sense of judicial responsibility, and the action of negotiators effecting settlement of questions brought before them in accordance with the traditions and usages and subject to all the considerations and influences which affect diplomatic agents. The one is a judicial determination of a disputed question; the other is an attempt to satisfy both contending parties by arriving at some form of compromise.

Secretary Root pointed to the Supreme Court of the United States, passing with impartial and impersonal judgment upon questions arising between citizens of the different States or between foreign citizens and citizens of the United States, as a type of tribunal to which the nations of the world would be much more ready than now to submit their various controversies for decision. He instructed the American delegates to make an effort to bring about a development of the existing Hague Tribunal into a permanent court composed of Judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. He pointed out that the members of such a court should be selected from different countries in such manner that the different systems of law and procedure and the principal languages would be fairly represented. It was Secretary Root's expressed hope that this court might be made of such dignity, consideration, and rank that the best and ablest jurists would accept appointment to it, and that the whole world would have absolute confidence in its judgments. * * *

Co-operation Almost Secured

It was by the joint efforts of the delegates from Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States that the project for an international court of justice was approved by the Second Hague Conference on Oct. 16, 1907. Unfortunately the conference could not agree upon the method by which the Judges of the proposed court were to be chosen. Failure to agree on this vital point deprived the project for the moment of any practical effect. The conference went so far, however, after having adopted the project, as definitely to recommend that the court be established as soon as the nations could agree upon a method of appointing Judges. The German Government has officially declared its readiness to co-operate in the establishment of this court, and the British, French, and American Governments have publicly supported the action of their representatives at The Hague. These significant facts must not be overlooked.

It is important to bear in mind that the action of the Second Hague Conference in 1907 was not merely the expression of a wish or desire that a court should be established, but it was a definite recommendation to the powers to undertake the establishment of the court. Ever since the adjournment of the Second Hague Conference it has, therefore, been easy for any group of nations to agree to establish such a court for themselves by coming to a common determination as to how its Judges should be appointed. One hope was that an international prize court might be called into existence and its jurisdiction gradually enlarged to cover the field of an international court of justice.

It would now give great satisfaction to the lovers of justice throughout the world if, without waiting for the conclusion of the war, the Governments of the allied powers would publicly announce that as one of the terms and conditions of a durable peace they proposed to unite in the prompt establishment of an international court of justice substantially as outlined and agreed upon at the Second Hague Conference. Such a declaration on their part would emphasize anew the principles of liberty, of order, and of justice for which they are now contending on the field of battle, and would turn the thoughts of men, when terms of peace are discussed, more and more to that justice which must underlie and accompany any peace that is to be durable, and away from that vengeance and reprisal which can only incite to new wars.

To take this step should not be difficult, since the American Government has been pressing it upon all the chief powers for some years past and has indicated with definiteness and precision how the necessary steps may be taken. The work of the Naval Con-

ference at London in 1908-9 made a beginning in the formulation of some parts of that law which the proposed court must interpret and administer. The war broke out, however, before an agreement as to the Declaration of London had been finally worked out, and all further progress was necessarily suspended. There has never been a clearer demonstration of the truth of the ancient maxim, "inter arma silent leges."

American Official Plan

As late as Jan. 12, 1914, James Brown Scott, who as Solicitor for the Department of State had been a technical delegate at the Second Hague Conference, addressed to Mr. Loudon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, a letter begging him to take the initiative in bringing about the establishment of a court of arbitral justice through the co-operation of Holland, Germany, the United States, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Russia. In this letter, which was written with the approval of Elihu Root and Robert Bacon, former Secretaries of State, it was pointed out that a court constituted through the co-operation of these nations would, to all intents and purposes, have the advantages and render the services of a true international court, and in a very short time would probably become a court to which every nation would be glad to resort. Before any action could be taken the overhanging war clouds burst into storm.

It is probable that the plan brought forward by Mr. Scott is the most practicable and, therefore, the one most likely eventually to be followed. An international court of justice established by agreement of the nine nations named would have all needed prestige and authority. Should a nation not party to the agreement wish to appear before the court as litigant or be ready to accept an invitation or summons so to appear, it would be easy to provide that in such case the nation in question might appoint an assessor for the hearing of that particular cause. Should a case come before the court involving two or more nations not parties to the agreement for its establishment, then similarly each of those nations might be given the right to name an assessor to participate in hearing the arguments in that case. It is neither necessary nor desirable to go here into further detail as to the constitution and scope of this court. These matters are dealt with in the fullest possible way, and from every point of view in the published records of the Second Hague Conference and in subsequent publications that deal with this specific question.

Supreme Court Precedents

Americans must be pardoned if they keep insisting upon the advantage of studying the history and practice of the Supreme Court of the United States in order to answer objections and to smooth away difficulties which arise in the minds of many thoughtful men in other countries as to the practicability of an international court of justice. It may be doubted whether any strictly legal question as to the rights of nations and their nationals will arise before such a court which has not already arisen in some form or other before the Supreme Court of the United States as a question involving the rights of States and their citizens. For example, nearly eighty years ago the United States Supreme Court was called upon to distinguish a judicial from a political question; it did so then and has frequently done so since without serious difficulty. A question addressed to the framework and political character of a Government is essentially political; it is, therefore, not a question that is in its nature justiciable and that can be presented to a court.

It would, of course, be necessary for an international court of justice to build up gradually and by a series of decisions a body of precedents that would, so to speak, take the form of an international common law. The point of departure would be the international law of the moment, existing treaties, and the form of agreement through which the court itself would come into being. It might be expected that this court would decide for itself in matters of doubt whether or not a given question was justiciable. The international court of justice could hardly vary from the practice of the United States Supreme Court in not attempting to compel the presence of any Government made defendant or in not attempting to execute by force its finding against the contention of any Government. If the publicity attending the operations of such a court, the inherent and persuasive reasonableness of its findings, and a body of international public opinion that has turned with conviction to the judicial settlement of international disputes, cannot insure the carrying into effect of the judgments of an international court of justice, then the world is not ready for such a court. To establish it under such circumstances would merely be to provide another opportunity for so magnifying and sharpening points of international difference as probably to increase the likelihood of war.

There was a time when, under great stress of party and personal feeling, Andrew Jackson could say, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Nevertheless, the judgments of the United States Supreme Court are not only obeyed but respected. This results not alone from the confidence in their reasonableness which the tradition of a century has built up, but from the fact that American public opinion will not tolerate any other course. There is every reason to believe that a course of judicial action that has been demonstrated to be practicable, wise, and beneficent within the United States will also in time be demonstrated to be practicable, wise, and beneficent as between nations. The important thing is to make a beginning. This the Allies are in position to do.

Third Conference at Hague

"Cosmos" proposes that a third international conference be called to assemble at The Hague as soon as peace is established. He recalls the fact that the Sixty-fourth Congress, in enacting the Naval Appropriation bill, added a specific request to the President of the United States to

> invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives and such secretaries and other employes as may be needed. Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

"Cosmos" suggests that the United States delegates urge upon the conference: (a) The establishment of an international court of justice. (b) An international commission of inquiry to examine into all questions without exception at issue between nations. (c) Provision for automatic reassembling of the conference at four-year intervals. (d) The adoption of a formula of the rights of nations in conformity with the Declaration of the American Institute previously quoted. He argues that England, Germany, and France, by the recent declarations of their chief spokesmen, have indorsed the proposal of a league of nations to maintain peace, and that President Wilson on May 27, 1916, used these words:

> Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at least in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established.

The Monroe Doctrine

The United States confronts a grave difficulty—in the form of the Monroe Doctrine—at the threshold of any intended participation in an international agreement to enforce peace. "Cosmos" cites the fact that at both previous conferences a reservation reaffirming the Monroe Doctrine was explicitly made by the American delegates, and adds:

> Put in plain language, this reservation means that while there is one international law and while there may be one international order, in the declaration and establishment of which the United States participates, yet there are two separate and distinct areas of jurisdiction for the enforcement of international law and for the administration of the international order. The area of one of these jurisdictions is Europe and those parts of Asia and Africa immediately dependent thereon; the area of the second of these jurisdictions is America.

He goes on to say that, however feasible our joining a world's police league may appear in theory, "it seems quite plain that as a practical matter the people of the United States could not now be induced to take any such novel and revolutionary steps." While Europe has changed greatly since Washington wrote his Farewell Address and Monroe formulated his doctrine of American aloofness, and while time is on the side of democracy and will bring about its triumph in Europe sooner or later, there remains a well-defined cleavage of interests between the affairs of the New World and those of the Old World. "Cosmos" holds that true progress is more likely to be attained by the American people on the original lines laid down by Washington and Monroe than by trying any new and radical experiments. He continues:

> The Monroe Doctrine must be accepted as an elementary fact in attempting to arrive at any practical conclusion as to the participation of the United States in the administration of a new international order. So far as European territory and jurisdiction are concerned, the new international order will have to be administered by the European nations themselves. So far as American territory and jurisdiction are concerned, the new international order will have to be administered by the people of the United States in friendly

concert with those of the other American republics.

The formal erection of these two separate jurisdictions need not in the least weaken the position or the influence of the United States in the counsels and semi-legislative acts which will lay the basis for a durable peace, and out of which the new international order will grow. Neither should it be held to deprive the people of the United States of the opportunity and the right to give expression to their feelings and convictions when questions of law and justice, of right and wrong, are raised as between nations in any part of the world. It simply means that for the reasons stated and on the grounds given the direct responsibility of the Government of the United States for the enforcement of the new international order will be limited to the American continents and to territory belonging to some one of the American republics.

Problems for Americans

The Monroe Doctrine leads up directly to profoundly important questions of domestic policy affecting the military and naval systems of the United States. "Cosmos" remarks that competition in armaments is the worst possible form of international rivalry, but adds that to take a seat at an international council table without some adequate means of enforcing the nation's purpose would be merely to indulge in futile debate. The other liberty-loving nations would be justified in asking us, first, What policies do you recommend for the new world order? and, second, What can you do to help enforce that order if it be adopted? Among the conclusions to which this line of thought leads the author is this: That there should be established at once in the United States a system of universal military training. He continues:

The people of the United States will never become an important agency in the development of helpful world policies unless they first take those steps that both entitle and enable them genuinely to participate in such a task. Every belligerent nation is receiving at the hands of this war the severest possible course of instruction and discipline. Every important belligerent nation will emerge from this war a generation or perhaps a century in advance of the United States in all that pertains to national service, to national sacrifice, and to that strengthening of character which comes not from talking about ideals but from actively supporting them in the most fiery of contests. It is for the people of the United States to find ways and means of learning the lessons of the war without having to pay the awful cost in life and treasure which military participation in it involves. Their future place in the world's history, the regard which other nations will have for them, and their own more fortunate and just development all depend upon the way in which these searching problems are solved.

An International Sheriff

An international league to enforce peace by united, armed action, according to "Cosmos," is not practicable. The essential portions of his article on this subject follow:

There is at present no suggestion from any authoritative source that some sort of international Sheriff should be called into existence for the purpose of enforcing the findings of an international court of justice. It is everywhere proposed to leave this to international public opinion. There are, however, well-supported proposals that, in case any nation which has become a member of the proposed international order shall issue an ultimatum or threaten war before submitting any question which arises to an international judicial tribunal or council of conciliation, it shall be proceeded against forthwith by the other powers; first, through the use of their economic force, and, second, by the joint use of their military forces if the nation in question actually proceeds to make war or invades another's territory.

In so far as a plan of this kind is a recognition of the undoubted fact that force of some kind is the ultimate sanction in all human affairs, it is on safe ground. When, however, it proposes to make immediate practical application of this principle in the manner described, the case is by no means so clear. It is not unlikely, for example, that the adoption of such a policy would require that every war of whatever character should become in effect a world war. If it be replied that the joint forces of the other powers would be so overwhelming that no one power would venture to defy them, then one who recalls the political and military history of Europe must be permitted to doubt.

An Example Near Home

On April 20, 1914, the President of the United States in a formal address to the Congress narrated certain circumstances which occurred at Tampico, Mexico, on April 9 and the days next following. Having set forth the facts concerning these incidents the President continued: "I, therefore, come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States." Two days later the Congress adopted a joint resolution declaring that the President was justified in the employment of armed forces of the United States to enforce his demand for unequivocal

amends for certain affronts and indignities committed against the United States, and at the same time disclaimed on behalf of the United States any hostility to the Mexican people or any purpose to make war upon Mexico. It so happened that between the day of the President's address to the Congress and that of the passage of the joint resolution, namely, on April 21, the Admiral commanding the American Navy off Vera Cruz, acting under orders, landed a force of marines at that place and seized the Custom House. In these operations nineteen American marines were reported killed and seventy wounded, while the Mexican loss was reported to be 126 killed and 195 wounded. That legally this was an act of war can hardly be doubted.

At the time of these incidents there was in existence a treaty between the United States and Mexico which explicitly provided that any disagreement arising between the Governments of the two republics should, if possible, be settled in such manner as to preserve the state of peace and friendship that existed when the treaty was made, and that if the two Governments themselves should not be able to come to an agreement a resort should not on that account be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind until that Government which deemed itself aggrieved should have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborship, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of Commissioners appointed on each side or by that of a friendly nation. This provision, contained in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, proclaimed July 4, 1848, was explicitly reaffirmed in the Gadsden Treaty, proclaimed June 30, 1854.

Would the Plan Have Worked?

These being the facts, would it be the contention of those who urge the use of force to compel a power to submit its international disputes to a judicial tribunal or to a council of conciliation before making or threatening war, that had such an agreement been in existence in April, 1914, the armies and navies of Great Britain, of France, of Germany, of Russia, of Italy, and of Japan should have jointly moved against the United States? Would such action, if taken, have been likely to promote international peace or to compel prolonged and destructive international war?

Again, if it be said that with such an agreement in force the Government of the United States would not have taken the action in question, the answer must be that such an inference is, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful.

As a matter of fact, the only practical sanction of international law is the public opinion of the civilized world. Even now nations are not anxious to incur the condemnation of other peoples. Such condemnation leads to unfriendliness, and unfriendliness leads to economic and intellectual isolation. These are universally disliked and dreaded. The strongest Governments are the quickest to respond, as a rule, to the judgment of international public opinion. It is in highest degree deplorable that the German Government felt itself strong enough to defy the public opinion of the world in its relation to the origin of the present war and in its conduct of it; but in so doing it departed from the precepts and the practice of Bismarck. He was always anxious that before beginning a war steps should be taken to predispose the opinion of other nations in favor of his policies and acts. That decent respect to the opinions of mankind upon which was rested the first national public act in the western world is still a powerful moving force among men and nations. It may well be doubted whether this very sanction is not more effective in securing obedience to municipal law than are the punishments which the various statutes provide.

Basis of Durable Peace

In conclusion, "Cosmos" declares that the deep underlying causes of the present war must be understood before a practical and durable peace can be discussed intelligently. "By this," he says, "is not meant the narrow question of the precise sequence of events from July 23 to Aug. 1, 1914, or the weight to be attached to any given act or word of any particular Government at that hectic time. * * * The real underlying cause of the war was an irrepressible conflict between two views and ideals of national development and of civilization." Germany is fighting for an outgrown and vanishing ideal, and is destined to be defeated, says "Cosmos," but the German people will for that very reason have a still more important part to play in civilization than in the past. He concludes:

> Should this war prove to be a burning up of the most powerful remnants of militarism that yet remain in the world, it will have done the German people the greatest possible service. One hundred and twenty millions of eager, active, purposeful men, living in the temperate zone and having a long tradition of heroic endeavor, cannot be reduced to nothingness by any power but their own. Stripped of the militaristic purpose and brought into harmony with the other great peoples of the world, the Germans would, it may safely be predicted, enter upon a new period of usefulness and achievement that would make the history of the last hundred years seem paltry by comparison.

A durable peace depends upon the victory of the Allies in the present war and upon

the establishment in public policy of the principles for which they are contending. It depends upon a withholding of all acts of vengeance and reprisal and the just and statesmanlike application to each specific problem that arises for settlement of the principles for which the war is being fought. It depends upon the establishment of an international order and of those international institutions that have been here sketched in outline. It depends upon a spirit of devotion to that order and to those institutions, as well as upon a fixed purpose to uphold and to defend them. It depends upon domestic policies of justice and helpfulness, and the curbing of arrogance, greed, and privilege, so far as it is within the power of government to do so. It depends upon the exaltation of the idea of justice, not only as between men within a nation, but as between nations themselves; for durable peace is a by-product of justice. When these things are accomplished there will be every prospect of a durable peace because the essential prerequisite will have been provided—the Will to Peace.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL
CALIFORNIA

History of Past Efforts to Enforce Peace

By Sterling E. Edmunds

Lecturer on International Law, St. Louis University Law School

[Written for THE NEW YORK TIMES]

THE universal solicitude that such calamities as the present great war shall not again afflict the earth, expressed in the formation of such organizations as the League to Enforce Peace and other bodies, recalls many similar movements during the last 200 years to accomplish the same object.

The most notable of the earlier ones was that launched by the Abbé Saint-Pierre following the Peace of Utrecht of 1713. The period between the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the Peace of Utrecht had been one of almost uninterrupted war, largely growing out of the Spanish succession. The Abbé Saint-Pierre had been present at the conference of Utrecht, and was deeply imbued with the necessity of reclaiming Europe from the waste and misery which its conflicts occasioned.

In 1729 he published his Projet de Paix perpetuelle, and, not scrupling to clothe it with a compelling force, falsely attributed the project to his sovereign, Henry IV. of France, and his Minister, Sully. This project attempted to found universal peace upon the principle of the fixedness of the state of possession of territories established by the Peace of Utrecht and its confirmation of applicable articles of the Peace of Westphalia. It likewise proposed the institution of a permanent Grand Assembly of the powers, through plenipotentaries, to which monthly contributions were to be made to meet the common expenses. Each State was to renounce the right of making war, submitting to arbitration in the event of differences, and in turn to have its territories guaranteed by the others. There were nineteen powers in all, each entitled to a single vote in the Grand Assembly, three-fourths of which should control in all matters. Any offending power was liable to be coerced jointly by the others to cause compliance with the obligations of association. Europe was not ready, however, for such a confederation.

Closely following in the footsteps of Saint-Pierre appeared Rousseau, as deeply imbued with the sentiment of peace, who, in 1761, published his Extrait du Projet de Paix perpetuelle de M. l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre. Rousseau elaborated the principles of his predecessor and illuminated them with his peculiar genius. He says:

> If social institutions had been the work of reason and not of passion and prejudice, mankind would not have so long failed to perceive that their existing organization creates a social relation between the citizens of the same State, while it leaves them in a state of nature toward all the rest of the human race.
>
> If there be any practicable means of avoiding these evils they must be sought for in the establishment of confederations by which distinct communities may be united together in the same manner as the individual members of a particular State are now united in one society.

The next ardent advocate of universal peace appeared in England in the person of Jeremy Bentham, who, in 1786, published a work similar to Saint-Pierre's and Rousseau's. His doctrine was likewise founded upon confederation, citing as practical examples on a smaller scale the armed neutrality of 1780, the American Confederation, the German Confederation, and the Swiss League. He, however, introduced the novel suggestion of reduction of armaments and the emancipation of colonies by all of the European States. He conceived colonial possessions to furnish by far the most frequent causes and objects of war. He proposed likewise a codification of the unwritten rules of international law and a harmonizing or unification of all doubtful or conflicting rules by convention. In this respect at least, he anticipated the work of The Hague Conferences.

The interest in universal peace soon thereafter, in 1795, manifested itself in Germany with the powerful support of the philosopher of Königsberg, Emanuel Kant, who likewise considered a general confederation as the sine qua non to the accomplishment of the object. As a condition precedent, however, he declares that every adhering State should be republican in form, which he defines as a government where every citizen participates, by his representatives, in the exercise of the legislative power, and especially in that of deciding on questions of peace and war. But, according to Kant, a republican form must not be confounded with a democratic form of government, since, according to his view, democracy excludes representation, is inevitably despotic, eventuating in tyranny by the majority.

The worthy efforts of Kant, however, were soon to be countered by the younger philosopher, Hegel, who may be considered the founder of the later school of German philosophers, typified by von Treitschke. Hegel declared that war ought not to be considered as an absolute evil, and as an accidental event, the origin of which is to be attributed to the passions of Princes and people.

It will be seen from these speculations that the propaganda in our own time contains little that is new, but on the contrary has borrowed very largely from our predecessors. When Saint-Pierre conceived a confederation of European States as the prerequisite to peace he meant such a system merely as a means whereby international law might acquire a coercive sanction. That is still the great defect of the law, to supply which is still the primary aim of all movements calculated to preserve the order of the world.

And yet the fact must not be lost sight of that when the public law of nations ultimately acquires a coercive sanction its character as a human institution is not changed; that it will then be liable to the abuses of power no less than the present state permits of the abuses of weakness. The golden mean between anarchy and tyranny will come only through the slow and halting processes of civilization.

Rising Tide of Democracy in Germany One Cause of War

Dr. Henry Dwight Sedgwick, a distinguished American historian and essayist, has commented upon the "Cosmos" letters in an article in which he maintains that an understanding of the causes of the war is essential in effecting a rational peace. He predicates his argument on the assumption that the military party in Prussia "deliberately played a bully's part that meant war unless the rest of Europe was to cringe and slink away."

Dr. Sedgwick cites "two reasons which urged the military party in Prussia to play the bully," and proceeds to discuss them:

THE first reason may be called the traditional military policy of Prussia; this policy proceeds upon the theory that in this world, still not well organ-

ized, still uncivilized, the best organized, the most civilized element in it should control the rest, and that this best element can only acquire such control by military force. This theory is justified by the history of Prussia during the last 200 years, which is a history of the successful use of military organization in acquiring dominion over less well organized rivals. Extension of political dominion, of course, secures and extends the power of the Hohenzollern dynasty, of the military party, and of the capitalistic class as a whole.

The second reason is the apprehension entertained by the military and capitalistic classes of the rising power of the Social Democracy. The figures of the Social Democratic vote should not be forgotten:

Year.	Vote.
1871	124,655
1877	493,288
1887	763,128
1898	2,107,076
1907	3,259,020
1912	4,250,329

At this rate of increase it was almost possible to calculate at just what coming election the Social Democrats would have a majority in the Reichstag and be able to refuse the taxes necessary to keep the military party in power. The program of the party states: "The battle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is necessarily a political battle. The working class cannot carry on its economic battles or develop its economic organization without political rights. It cannot effect the passing of the means of production into the ownership of the community without acquiring political power. To shape this battle of the working class into a conscious and united effort, and to show it its naturally necessary end, is the object of the Social Democratic Party." And among their immediate demands are: "Self-government of the people in empire, State, province, and commune. Authorities to be elected by the people; to be responsible and bound. * * * Settlement of all international disputes by the method of arbitration. * * * Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other politico-economic measures which sacrifice the interests of the whole community to the interests of a favored minority." But indeed no quotations are necessary to show that the principles of the Social Democracy are totally opposed to the principles by which the Hohenzollerns and the military party remain in power. The growing vote was like the handwriting on Belshazzar's wall. Everybody knows that a successful foreign war is the surest method of strengthening a conservative party in power.

And what does Liebknecht say? "The German Government in its social and historical composition is an instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the working masses; it serves the interest of the Junkertum, of capitalism, and imperialism, both at home and abroad. It is the unrestrained representative of the policy of worldwide expansion and the strongest promoter of competitive armament, and, therefore, of one of the most important factors in the creation of the causes of the present war. In partnership with the Austrian Government it plotted to bring about this war, and thus burdened itself with the principal responsibility for its immediate outbreak."

Now, if this hypothesis of the cause of the war (as most Americans believe) be true, then the primary cause of the war is the military party in Prussia, with the Hohenzollern dynasty at its head. Mr. Asquith so thinks, for he stated that Great Britain would not sheathe her sword "until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed." M. Trepoff is reported to have said to the Duma: "The war must continue until German militarism is destroyed"; M. Briand has used similar language. And, as Dr. Prince says, "the people of England and France are literally inspired, as by a religion, to make no peace until Prussian militarism is destroyed." And this is also what the President of the United States must mean by his recent words: "Throughout the last two years there has come more and more into my heart the conviction that peace is going to come to the world only with liberty. * * * Peace cannot come so long as the destinies of men are determined by small groups who make selfish choices of their own."

Such being the causes of the war, (ac-

cording to this hypothesis,) it is necessary, in Mr. Asquith's phrase, to destroy the military domination of Prussia, or, in Mr. Wilson's, to overthrow the small group of men whose selfish choices directly or indirectly caused the war. This is the cure, and the only cure, for the malady of war. But as it is obvious that the present Government of Germany would not consent to self-annihilation, and as it is also obvious that the Allies, even if they were to march into Berlin, could not set up a stable government of their own choice in Germany, it will be necessary for the Allies to continue pressure by force from without and by want within until the Social Democrats or the proletariat shall rise of themselves, put down the military party, and take the Government into their own hands.

If the Social Democrats were in power all questions as to terms of peace would virtually adjust themselves, for such a Government would be in accord with England, France, and the United States. Belgium would be evacuated, Alsace-Lorraine decide its own fate, Poland be granted self-government, the German colonies in Africa could safely be given back, rules as to war by land and sea agreed upon, an international tribunal for the settlement of quarrels established, &c.

"Cosmos" agrees that "Prussian militarism must be wholly and finally destroyed"; but his theory is that the war should end first, after some such readjustments as he has suggested, and that Europe may then intrust the task of destroying Prussian militarism to the German people. This is indeed to dance a minuet with the phantoms of hope. Left to themselves, the Hohenzollerns, Junkers, soldiers, and capitalists would persuade the nation that they, by their military policy, by their military preparations, had saved the nation from subjugation; and the traditional belief of Prussia that might alone is to be trusted would be drunk in by every baby with its mother's milk.

No; the bitter conclusion seems unavoidable, the war must continue until after the Germans themselves shall have effected a political revolution. That is the situation that confronts the American Government and the American people today.

The Eloquent Dead

By ALAN SEEGER

[Alan Seeger, an American poet who died fighting in France, left a volume of war poems (published by Scribner) which will long keep his memory alive.]

There, holding still, in frozen steadfastness,
Their bayonets toward the beckoning frontiers,
They lie—our comrades—lie among their peers,
Clad in the glory of fallen warriors,
Grim clusters under thorny trellises.
Dry, furthest foam upon disastrous shores,
Leaves that made last year beautiful, still strewn
Even as they fell, unchanged, beneath the changing moon;
And earth in her divine indifference
Rolls on, and many paltry things and mean
Prate to be heard and caper to be seen.
But they are silent, calm; their eloquence
Is that incomparable attitude;
No human presences their witness are,
But Summer clouds and sunset crimson hued,
And showers and night winds and the northern star.
Nay, even our salutations seem profane,
Opposed to their Elysian quietude;
Our salutations calling from afar,
From our ignoble plane
And undistinction of our lesser parts:
Hail, brothers, and farewell; you are twice blessed, brave hearts.

How Other Wars Ended

By Charles Willis Thompson

Of the Editorial Staff of The New York Times

THERE is no exact parallel in modern wars for Germany's action—an undefeated belligerent asking her adversaries to meet her and discuss unformulated terms of peace. The impression, however, that nations desiring to end a war generally avail themselves of the offer of some friendly neutral to act as mediator is utterly unfounded, though a great deal of the talk about the possible action of the United States in such a way has proceeded as if that were the almost invariable rule.

When England desired to end the war with the Colonies she began by sending separate negotiators to the French Government and to the American Commissioners in Paris. The latter, though positively commanded by Congress to negotiate no peace without the participation of their French allies, did sign a separate treaty, though with the reservation that it should not go into effect until France had made peace. They then informed the French Government, which accepted the terms.

The Napoleonic peace treaties usually began with an armistice. The most famous, the Treaty of Tilsit, was brought about by a personal meeting between Napoleon and Alexander I. on a raft in the middle of the River Niemen to agree upon an armistice which the Czar had already sought. An armistice was also agreed upon after the battle of Lützen, but Napoleon would not agree to the allies' terms and resumed hostilities. His fall in 1814 was accompanied by no negotiations; the allies were actually in Paris. Napoleon's Generals persuaded him to sign an act of abdication, and the French Senate dethroned him.

The way to the Peace of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812, was paved by an offer of the Czar to act as mediator, though it was rejected. In rejecting it, Lord Castlereagh let it be known that he was willing to negotiate directly with the United States. The United States gladly accepted and sent Commissioners, but England neglected to appoint envoys until long afterward, when her troubles had become so great that she was desirous of peace.

In the Mexican war President Polk was always anxious for peace, but his envoys were not accepted. At last he went so far as to send an envoy, Nicholas P. Trist, along with Scott's army, authorized to treat with Mexico the moment that country was willing to do so. Scott quarreled with Trist and refused to transmit his letter to the Mexican Government, and Trist had to get the British Minister to forward it. After repeated failures and rebuffs, he finally got in touch with Commissioners appointed by a new Government which had succeeded Santa Ana, but not until Polk had ordered his recall. He disregarded this order and negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

On the death of Czar Nicholas I., his successor, Alexander II., announced to the Courts of Europe his desire that the Crimean war should end, and this is the nearest approach to a parallel with Germany's action today. A peace conference was held in Vienna, but in three months it was broken off and the war resumed. The war went on until Austria, a neutral power, threatened to join the allies unless the Czar accepted her ultimatum. He at first refused, but a personal letter from the neutral King of Prussia induced him to reconsider, and the final peace conference was held.

The war of Italy, France, and Austria in 1859 was terminated in a surprising fashion by an armistice agreed on personally between Napoleon III. and Franz Josef, just as the French and Italian armies were in the full tide of success. Victor Emmanuel was forced to agree, and the terms of the armistice were embodied in a peace treaty.

The war between Prussia and Denmark in 1864 came abruptly to an end

when the Danes learned that neither England nor France would help them. They dismissed their War Ministry from office and sent proposals for a truce directly to Berlin and Vienna.

The terms of peace between the United States and the Confederacy were arranged by Generals in the field.

In the war between Austria, Prussia, and Italy in 1866, Franz Josef, after his defeats at Königsgratz and elsewhere, informed Napoleon III. of his willingness to cede Venetia to Italy and his desire that Napoleon be mediator. Napoleon accepted, and Bismarck drafted the terms and sent them to Napoleon, who, as mediator, accepted them. An armistice followed.

In 1870 the French Government which succeeded Napoleon III. asked first for an armistice, then for peace, but the requests were declined and the siege of Paris began. After the surrender of Paris the Germans consented to an armistice to permit the election of a National Assembly which it could recognize. The preliminaries of peace were agreed on between Bismarck and Thiers at Versailles, and the treaty followed at Frankfort.

The Russo-Turkish war was cut short by England's threat to enter it. Russia arranged an armistice immediately and negotiated the Treaty of San Stefano directly with Turkey. England, backed by France and Austria, refused to recognize it, and the Congress of Berlin was summoned; but before it met the Czar had negotiated a secret treaty with England embodying most of the agreements subsequently made there.

China made two approaches to Japan while the war of 1894 was going on, but through envoys who had no proper credentials, and Japan refused to treat with them. When China was wholly defeated and the Japanese armies about to march on Peking, the empire sent Li Hung Chang with proper credentials to Shimonoseki, and the treaty was at once drawn up.

Russia put an end to the Turco-Grecian war of 1897 by peremptorily ordering an armistice just as the victorious Turks were marching on Central Greece.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 closed when Spain, on July 26, made overtures to the United States through Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington. Seventeen days later the protocol was signed.

The Boer war ended in an unprecedented way. The members of the Transvaal Government rode into Middleburg and requested to be sent to Lord Kitchener to arrange peace terms with him. He met them but held that because of the peculiar character of the Boer Army the men in the field would have to be consulted if any assurance of peace was to be given. Steyn, De Wet, and Delarey went to the commandos, explained the situation to them, and each body in the field chose two delegates to meet at Vereeniging and decide the matter by vote.

President Roosevelt brought the Russo-Japanese war to an end by sending, on June 8, 1905, identic dispatches to both Governments urging that they enter into peace negotiations. Both accepted, and sent envoys to the United States to negotiate the Treaty of Portsmouth.

An armistice in the first Balkan war was ended by a breaking off of negotiations. The powers then agreed upon terms and offered mediation. A second armistice was signed, but Montenegro would not join it and went on with the war. She captured Scutari, but Austria took it away from her, and the second peace conference, which was successful, met in London.

The ways of ending wars, therefore, are various. Mediation has played an infinitesimal part in the wars of the last century and a half; and direct application by one belligerent to others, save in cases of utter defeat, has few precedents.

Armenia and Civilization

By R. H. Kazanjan

An Armenian Now Living in This Country

IN the history of the struggles and triumphs of various nations the world is thrilled with the romance of conquest and exploration, of revolutions sweeping over the land, of dynasties that rise, flourish, and pass away. From these annals emerge the heroes, immortal names upon the scroll of national honor: great men and women whose personality and appearance are preserved by the genius of sculptors and the skill of painters. All this gives birth to that peculiar pride which we call patriotism, and which in turn renders a nation's flag a sacred emblem.

It is therefore with a species of sad surprise that we contemplate a people, superior in every way, chronologically the first Christians in the world, highly educated, enterprising, ambitious, who after twenty-five centuries of existence are without unity as a nation.

I am referring, of course, to the Armenians. Peaceable, law-abiding, eager to amass wealth and acquire culture, they have ever turned their attention to the arts and crafts rather than to arms and conquest. The result has been endless persecution through the ages, until today Armenia may be regarded as a vast community sacrificed upon the altar of barbarity and greed.

During the last six centuries the tormentors have been the Turks, whose cruelty has outdone all the others. They have confiscated or demolished property, despoiled women, massacred Armenians by the thousand, and prevented them from developing the great resources of their fatherland.

It is high time the world should know the truth concerning the whole Turkish Empire. Its people are practically without ambition, almost devoid of commercial energy, and steeped in a religion that is the very quintessence of predestination. "Whatever is to be is to be. So what is the use?" That which was good enough for their forebears is good enough for them. Such is their attitude toward progress. They have always regarded with a mixture of envy, spite, and suspicion any innovations the unfortunate Armenians attempted to inaugurate. Such evidences of advanced civilization—railroads, quays, great buildings, modern inventions—as are to be found in Turkey today have been forced upon them by foreigners and constructed by foreign engineers; and the Turks have tolerated them because the building of such vast improvements offered great opportunities for graft.

During the last generation or so extraordinary care has been taken by the crafty Turk to conceal the true condition of his depraved country. Wealthy and influential tourists, as well as gifted writers, have been led astray, deliberately misinformed by the oily tongues of diplomats and officials. The result has been numerous books, stories, and reports of "the delightful home life," the "clean Turkish baths," the magnificent cities and the pleasing aspect which romantic Turkey presents to the world. In many instances, no doubt, writers have been well paid to convey these "impressions," and along with them misrepresentations concerning the character and status of the Armenians. The latter have been pictured as mutinous, troublesome, filled with treachery and deceit, lacking in national faith and patriotism, their only thought being to accumulate riches at the expense of the poor Turk. The world must now learn that most of these were honeyed lies.

In his executive capacity the Turk has always been a tyrant. Look into the history of his relations with the Bulgarians, the Syrians, the Persians, the Greeks: you will find oppression, tyranny, everywhere; only he has treated the Armenians with the greatest severity, for the reason that the descendants of Haig have never

been able to fight back to any great extent. They have never been permitted to organize themselves into a State or nation of their own, with an adequate army at their command. Since the days of their lost kingdom, centuries ago, the Armenians have been merely a helpless part of the Ottoman Empire, subject to unjust taxation, plundered, and murdered at irregular intervals. That the civilized world should have stood aside, as it were, and allowed such a gigantic exhibition of injustice to go on is a circumstance calculated to impair one's faith in human nature. All the printer's ink in Christendom and all the eloquence of diplomats plenipotentiary cannot blot out the crimson stains that redden the pages of Turkish history during these shameful centuries.

If coming events cast their shadows before them, it would seem to an observant person that the opportunity is soon to be given to certain leading powers to redeem themselves by securing for Armenia the independence to which that country is rightfully entitled. Let us hope they will do this, and do it cheerfully.

In this connection one cannot help wondering just what Germany's attitude is toward Armenia and what is to be Armenia's fate in the event Germany is finally triumphant. It is to be hoped her conscience and her heart will be touched, after having witnessed so much distress, both at home and among the enemies with whom she has fought, and that, as a result, she will do her share in freeing forever the Armenian people from the thralldom in which they have been held.

I am sure the opinion is widespread that England is the logical nation to intervene in Armenia's behalf. During the last four decades, beginning with the treaty of Berlin in 1878, Great Britain has had brilliant opportunities to bring about much-needed reforms in Turkey. But for reasons that (with a little study) will become obvious to the reader, England has always acted in such a half-hearted manner as to leave the Turks free to continue their dastardly course.

Had a people as energetic and resourceful as the Armenians been able to realize their ambition to become an independent nation, and had they long since organized an efficient army of nearly a million men, what a different state of affairs might now be prevailing in the eastern theatre of the present war! Allied with France or England, they could have given efficient service against the Turks on many a "front," and perhaps materially changed the aspect of things. For the Armenians are great warriors when given the opportunity. There is a saying among the Turks: "Let not fifty Armenians get together, armed. They will conquer the world!"

Another country that should aid materially in gaining independence for Armenia is Russia. In a manner of speaking, Russia owes it to the Armenians to lend her assistance; for did she not at one time promise this very thing?

Soon after the war began the Turks attempted to induce a large number of Armenians to join the two million or more of their fellow-exiles in Russia, create a reign of terror and revolution in that country, and, if possible, deliver vast numbers of Russian soldiers into the hands of the Turks. This the Armenians indignantly refused to do, becoming so disgusted with the tactics of the Turkish Government that many thousands, already drafted into the army, deserted, while every Armenian that could manage to do so got out of the country and enlisted in foreign armies.

There are millions of Armenians scattered throughout the civilized world who would welcome an opportunity to return to their native land.

Eminently able to govern themselves, they deserve to have the same independence that has been enjoyed for hundreds of years by nationalities hardly their equal in intelligence and ambition. They want the whole world to know the truth: how for untold generations the Turks have ground them beneath the heel of oppression, woefully retarding the progress of the entire country. It is time some great power intervened and brought to an end the spectacle of a brutal people trampling the very souls out of human beings infinitely their superiors.

The Last Stand of the Armenians

LORD BRYCE'S report on the Armenian massacres, parts of which appeared in the November issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, has been published by the British Government as a Blue Book, with indorsements as to its essential truth from Viscount Grey, H. A. L. Fisher, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Moorfield Storey. It places the total of deaths at 600,000. The following passage from the narrative of a survivor of the Sassoun massacre is a dramatic record of the last desperate attempt of the Armenians to defend themselves:

"The Armenians were compelled to abandon the outlying lines of their defense and were retreating day by day into the heights of Antok, the central block of the mountains, some 10,000 feet high. The non-combatant women and children and their large flocks of cattle greatly hampered the free movements of the defenders, whose number had already been reduced from 3,000 to about half that figure. Terrible confusion prevailed during the Turkish attacks, as well as the Armenian counterattacks. Many of the Armenians smashed their rifles after firing the last cartridge, and grasped their revolvers and daggers. The Turkish regulars and Kurds, amounting now to something like 30,000 altogether, pushed higher and higher up the heights and surrounded the main Armenian position at close quarters.

"Then followed one of those desperate and heroic struggles for life which have always been the pride of mountaineers. Men, women, and children fought with knives, scythes, stones, and anything else they could handle. They rolled blocks of stone down the steep slopes, killing many of the enemy. In a frightful hand-to-hand combat women were seen thrusting their knives into the throats of Turks, and thus accounting for many of them. On Aug. 5, the last day of the fighting, the bloodstained rocks of Antok were captured by the Turks. The Armenian warriors of Sassoun, except those who had worked round to the rear of the Turks to attack them on their flanks, had died in battle. Several young women who were in danger of falling into the Turks' hands threw themselves from the rocks, some of them with their infants in their arms."

Horrors of Armenian Encampments

Story of an Eyewitness

THOUSANDS of exiled Armenians are held in Turkish prison camps in the Valley of the Euphrates and in Northern Arabia and Syria. The first neutral to visit these camps (he is not an American) has written a report of what he saw and handed it to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, which vouches for the reliability of the witness. The writer of the report says that he was permitted to visit the Armenian encampments all along the Euphrates, and was able to see and to gather data concerning the exiles.

"It is impossible," he writes, "to give an account of the impression of horror which my journey across the Armenian encampments scattered all along the Euphrates has given me, especially those on the right bank, between Meskene and Der-i-Zor. These can hardly be called encampments, because of the fact that the majority of these unfortunate people, brutally dragged out of their native land, torn from their homes and families, robbed of their effects upon their departure or en route, are penned up in the open like cattle, without shelter, almost no clothing, and irregularly fed with food altogether insufficient."

The writer says that the remnants of the Armenian Nation disseminated along the Euphrates are composed of old men and women and children.

"Meskene, through its geographical position on the border between Syria and Mesopotamia," the writer continues, "is the natural point of concentration of deported Armenians coming from the vilayets of Anatolia and sent afterward all along the Euphrates. They arrive there by the thousands, but the majority leave their bones there. The impression which this immense and dismal plain of Meskene leaves is sad. This information was obtained on the spot, and permit me to state that nearly 60,000 Armenians are buried there, carried off by hunger, by privations of all sorts, by intestinal diseases and resultant typhus. As far as the eye can reach mounds are seen containing 200 or 300 corpses buried in the ground pell mell, women, children and old people belonging to different families. At present nearly 4,500 Armenians are kept between the town of Meskene and the Euphrates. These are but living phantoms.

"I saw under a tent of five or six square meters about 450 orphans. These poor children receive 150 grams of bread a day. However, at times, and this is more often the case, they remain two days without eating anything. Death makes cruel ravages among them. This tent was sheltering 450 victims while I was passing through. Eight days afterward, upon my return, disease had carried off seventeen of them.

"Abou Herrera is a small place north of Meskene on the bank of the Euphrates. It is the worst part of the desert. On a small hill 200 meters from the river are confined 240 Armenians under the surveillance of two gendarmes."

Similar conditions of suffering were found at Hamman, where there were 1,600 Armenians; at Rekka, where there were 6,000, and at Zierrat, where 1,800 were encamped. In conclusion, the writer says:

"I believe there are some 15,000 Armenians scattered about all along the Euphrates between Meskene and Der-i-Zor, passing through Rekka. As I have already said, these unfortunate people, abandoned, ill-treated by the authorities, are gradually dying of starvation. Winter cold and dampness will add their victims to those of famine. If funds are not sent, these unfortunate people are doomed."

The London Times has received the personal narratives of two Mussulmans whose former official standing is known and whose veracity has been tested by personal examination.

"In the month of August, 1915," relates one of these eye witnesses, "at about two hours from Zaart I saw masses of Armenian bodies piled up in two ravines. I estimated the number at about 15,000. I learned that the Armenian Bishop of Zaart was not killed with the others, but at his own request had been shot in a cave near by. On my way back from Zaart to Mush there were 500 Armenians herded together in a stable near Mush and locked in. Through an opening in the roof gendarmes threw flaming torches. I saw the flames and heard the screams of the victims, all of whom were burned alive.

"At Mush the streets were strewn with Armenian bodies. Whenever an Armenian ventured out he was killed on the spot. Neither old, blind, nor sick was spared.

"On the way from Mush to Hinis I saw headless Armenian bodies at short intervals in the fields by the roadside. Between Hinis and Sherkiskeui I saw two ravines filled with Armenian corpses, mostly men. There were about 400 in each ravine."

The second eyewitness was stationed at Erzerum in April, 1915, when the order came from Constantinople that the Armenians should be deported to the interior. He says:

"At Kamach I saw in prison a Kurdish chieftain, Mursa Bey. I asked him why he was there. He said:

"'I have killed 70,000 Armenians, and now they have arrested me for striking a gendarme.'

"He was afterward secretly executed."

This eyewitness says he saw no German officers actually connected with massacres, but that the German military authorities in Turkey knew of them and made no attempt to stop them.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From December 12, 1916, Up to and Including January 11, 1917

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Dec. 15—Germans attack Russian lines in the region of Zubilno, in Volhynia.

Dec. 17—Germans take part of Russian trench in the region of Dolchi Porsk and Maly Porsk on the Kovel front.

Dec. 20—Russians operating in the region of the River Bystritsa penetrate into Bohorodczany Stare.

Dec. 21—Russians check Teuton advance in the Zlota Lipa region.

Dec. 23—Russians drive back German scouts near Baranovichi.

Dec. 27—Germans repulsed in attack near Little Porsk.

Dec. 31—Skirmishes in Galicia northwest of Zborow.

Jan. 3—Germans bombard several villages in the direction of Zalogev.

Jan. 5—Germans take possession of an island in the Dvina River east of Glaudan.

Jan. 6—Russians repel attacks east of the Drul Swamp in the Riga sector.

Jan. 8—Russians capture enemy trenches south of Lake Babit.

Jan. 10—Russians on the Riga front capture a position between the Tirul marsh and the River Aa.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 12—Austro-German forces in Wallachia occupy the towns of Mizil and Urziceni; Russians renew offensive in the wooded Carpathians and along the Moldavian frontier.

Dec. 13—Russians capture a line of trenches on heights to the south of Agusulia in the region of the Trotus Valley; Bulgars shell Monastir.

Dec. 14—Mackensen's army crosses the River Jalomita in Eastern Wallachia.

Dec. 15—Teutons capture the town of Buzeu; Bulgarian forces cross the Danube near Futesti.

Dec. 17—Teutons cross the Buzeu and the lower Calmatuiul Rivers in Eastern Wallachia.

Dec. 18—Russians check Teuton offensive and form defense line between Rimnik-Sarat and the Danube marshes; Teutons in Northern Dobrudja cross the line between Babadagh and Pecineaga.

Dec. 19—Russians and Rumanians in Dobrudja continue their retreat and approach the lower Danube.

Dec. 20—Russians and Rumanians repel attacks made in the direction of Parlita on the Danube.

Dec. 22—Russians forced back in Northern Dobrudja; Bulgarians attacked to the east of Lake Babadagh and thrown into Lake Ibolata; many drowned.

Dec. 23—Teutonic troops in Dobrudja take several Russian rear-guard positions and occupy Tulcea; entire province cleared of Rumanian and Russian forces except the terrain between Matchin and Isakcha.

Dec. 24—Teutons capture Isakcha.

Dec. 25—Teutons capture Tultcha in Dobrudja and begin attack on the bridgehead at Matchin; Russians repel attacks north of the Uzul Valley in Moldavia.

Dec. 27—Russians defeated on wide front in Eastern Wallachia, and the town of Rimnik-Sarat captured; Teutons make progress in attack against Matchin bridgehead in Dobrudja.

Dec. 28—Braila, in Northeastern Wallachia, is under fire of German-Bulgarian cannon from across the Danube; fierce fighting in Dobrudja.

Dec. 29—Teutons push on northwest of Rimnik-Sarat, take the town of Ratchelu in Dobrudja, and advance in Moldavia.

Dec. 30—Teutons take Russo-Rumanian trenches on the Transylvanian front; Falkenhayn's men push forward north and northeast of Rimnik-Sarat.

Dec. 31—Russians thrown back to the bridgehead of Braila in Wallachia; Russian points east of Matchin have been captured.

Jan. 1—Austro-Germans on the Moldavian front capture several heights and two towns in the Zabella Valley; Russo-Rumanians defeated in Wallachia near Rimnik-Sarat; Danube army fights for Braila bridgehead.

Jan. 2—Rumanians regain ground in the Kasino River sector.

Jan. 3—Teutons capture the towns of Matchin and Jijila in Northern Dobrudja and Barsesci and Topesci on the Moldavian front.

Jan. 4—Russians pierce Teutons' lines south of the Botochi Mountain in the Carpathians; Russian forces in Dobrudja withdraw toward Braila across the Danube in Wallachia.

Jan. 5—Germans and Belgars take Braila in Wallachia, Slobozio and Rotesti in the Rimnik-Sarat sector, and Gurgueti and Romanul south of the Buzeu.

Jan. 6—Teutons storm Russian defenses on an extended front south of the Trotus Valley, capture five more towns near Braila, and reach the Sereth River at two points.

Jan. 7—Russians recover lost positions near Fokshani, occupy main mass of Mount Odobechti, and press on in the Oituz region.

Jan. 9—Teuton troops storm defenses on both sides of the Kasino and Suchitza Valley and capture the town of Galreaska.

Jan. 10—Teutons drive Russians back further along the Kasino Valley and gain a footing on the left bank of the Putna River north of Fokshani.

Jan. 11—Rumanians and Russians pressed back southeast of Monestar-Kachinul on the River Kasino and northeast of Kempirule de Sus on the River Suchitza; Teutons cross the River Putna in the region of Svendeschi.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Dec. 12—Germans repulsed in attack near Lassigny, south of the Somme sector.

Dec. 15—French, in big drive north of Douaumont, break through German lines on a six-mile front, from the Meuse River to the plain of the Woevre, penetrating to a depth of nearly two miles, and capture Vacherauville, Louvemont, Chambrettes Farm, and field works at Hardaumont and Bezonvaux.

Dec. 16—French capture the Village of Bezonvaux and push forward their lines in the Caurières Wood.

Dec. 18—French driven out of Chambrettes Farm, but retake it.

Dec. 21—British penetrate advanced German positions north of Arras, but are ejected.

Dec. 28—Gun duels renewed north of Verdun.

Dec. 29—German troops transferred from the Somme front enter French positions on Hill 304 and on the southern slope of Dead Man Hill.

Jan. 2—British report repulse of Germans in trench raids near Vermelles and Ypres.

Jan. 4—Violent artillery action near Souain and in the Verdun sector.

Jan. 6—British seize two hostile posts north of Beaumont-Hamel.

Jan. 7—Germans repulsed in attack at Beaumont.

Jan. 8—Germans repulsed near Arras.

Jan. 10—British seize a German trench north of the Ancre, east of Beaumont-Hamel.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 14—Artillery duels in the Pesadeno area and on the Asiago Plateau in the Trentino, in the Plava sector, and on the Carso Plateau.

Dec. 20—Italians silence Austrian batteries in the Arsa Valley and disperse Austrian troops in the Carso.

Dec. 23—Italians repulse Austrian attacks on the Maso Torrent in the Sugana Valley.

Jan. 5—Italians repulse violent Austrian assault near Lake Garda.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

Dec. 15—British troops take the offensive in the region of Kut-el-Amara and occupy Turkish positions on the Hai River.

Dec. 22—British capture El Arish in Egypt.

Dec. 25—British capture strong Turkish position at Maghdadah.

Dec. 26—British advance on the right bank of the Tigris and destroy Gassabs fort.

Dec. 27—Turks assume the offensive in the region of Petrakolai in Armenia, but are driven back in the region of Charafkhan, west of Mush.

Jan. 3—British repulsed by Turks in attack on Inam Muhamed, on the Tigris front

Jan. 10—British Indian troops take Turkish trenches on a front of 1,000 yards east of Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 11—British capture six lines of intrenchments covering the town of Rofa.

AERIAL RECORD

Aerial operations were renewed on a large scale on the western front. The Allies shelled blast furnaces at Dillingen and railroad stations at Montmedy and Pierrepont, east of Longuyon. In one day, Dec. 29, ten German machines were destroyed.

Two German airplanes were brought down in the region of Porskaia Vulka, in the east.

British naval airplanes wrecked the railway bridge over the Maritza River at Kuleli Burgas.

A British seaplane squadron destroyed the Chicaldar Bridge on the Bagdad Railway, east of Adana.

NAVAL RECORD

Forty-eight vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been destroyed by submarines in the war zone within a month.

In the Mediterranean Sea, the British transport Ivernia, the British warship Cornwallis, the French armored cruiser Gaulois, and the British horse transport Russian were torpedoed. Seventeen American muleteers were lost on the Russian.

MISCELLANEOUS

Greece has accepted further demands of the Allies concerning the removal of troops and war material, but has protested to them against the tolerance by the allied naval authorities of the revolutionary movement. The Allies on Dec. 31 made new demands for reparation for past acts and guarantees that would make it impossible for Constantine's Government to hamper further the Allies' campaign in Macedonia.

The Turkish Government, in a communication addressed to Germany and Austria-Hungary, proclaimed her independence of the suzerainty of the great powers of Europe, repudiated the Treaty of Paris and the Treaty of Berlin, and abolished the special status of the Liva of Lebanon.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

A Chance

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

THREE EXILED KINGS—IN CHORUS: "What! they have set up a throne? Then I will offer my kit of royal tools."

[Russian Cartoon]

The Bloody Deluge

—From Loukomorye, Petrograd.

KAISER: "I hope that peace dove will return in time."

[English Cartoons]

The German Peace Dove

—*From The Westminster Gazette.*

BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "Now remember, you've got to look like a dove."

—*From Sunday Telegraph, London.*

THE BRUTE INSIDE: "Va-at?!!—You *tont like* my sveet, chentle, leedle tove?!! —zen must I my life-like, most peastly rebresentation of a boisonous rebtile again gif!!!—and vor-rse!!!"

[German Cartoon]

If Lloyd George Had His Way

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

ANGEL: "I bring you peace at last."
MEN OF WARRING NATIONS: "Thanks, awfully—we have it already."

[French Cartoon]

The "War Brides" of Lille

—From a lithograph by Steinlen in Cartoons Magazine.

Under the Heel.

[Spanish Cartoon]

Freedom for Poland

—From Iberia, Barcelona.

POLAND: "And what must I put into that?"
GERMAN LIBERATOR: "Your head!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Stepmother of Poland

—From Esquella de la Torratxa, Barcelona.

GERMANY: "Now who will say I do not love you!"

[French Cartoon]

At the Pearly Gates

"Before his death, Francis Joseph received the special benediction of the Holy Father."
—News dispatch.

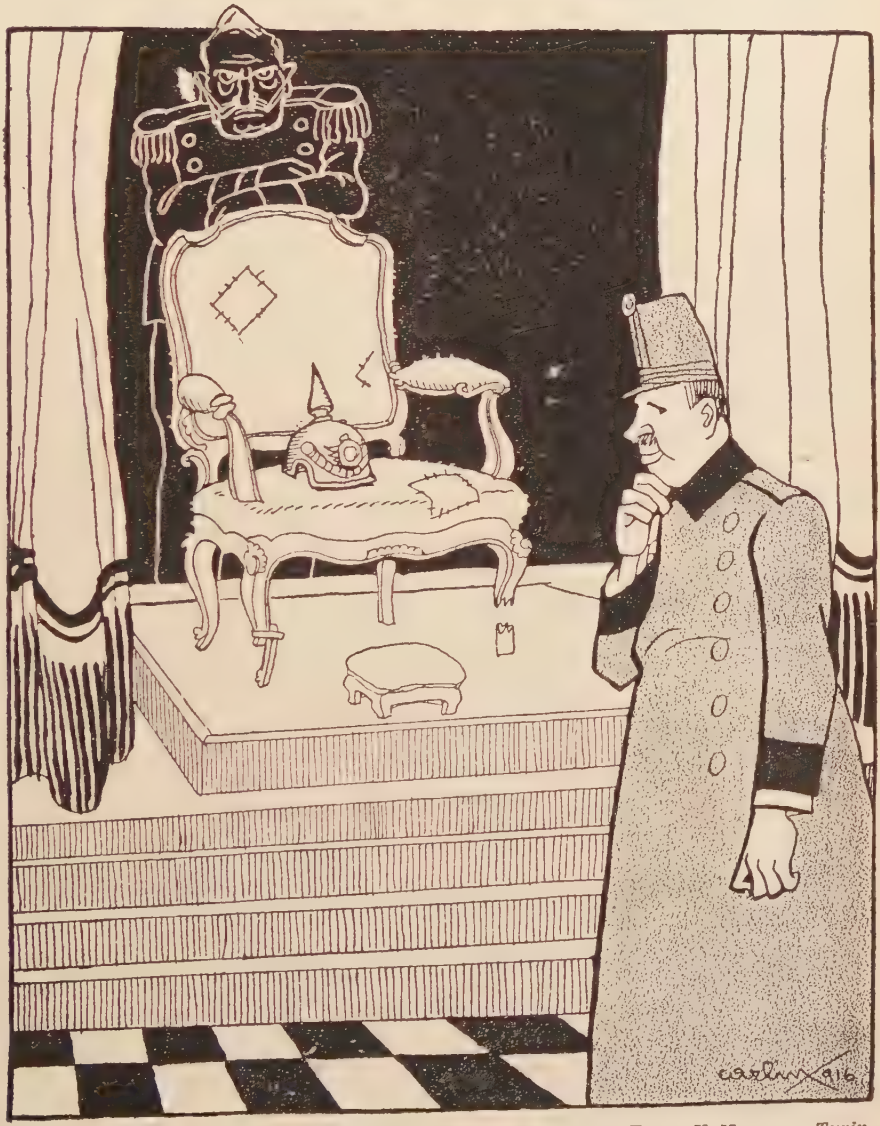
—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

ST. PETER TO FRANCIS JOSEPH: "The special benediction of the Pope! Out of here, you dog! This place would be too comfortable for you!"

[This extraordinarily bitter cartoon appeared on the front page of Le Rire.]

[Italian Cartoon]

The Austrian Throne



—*From Il Numero, Turin.*

CHARLES I.: "I can get along with the breaks and repairs, but that spike can't be very comfortable."

[Spanish Cartoon]

Constantine of Greece

—From Iberia, Barcelona.

A difficult subject.

[German Cartoon]

Venizelos and Martyred Greece

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

VENIZELOS TO THE ALLIES: "May you never withdraw your protection from my unhappy country!"

[Polish Cartoon]

Polish Freedom—German Style

—*From Mucha of Moscow, late of Warsaw.*

A picture of "free Poland" as conceived by the impressionist artist, Wilhelmus Hohenzollernicus.

[The three divisions represent the Kingdom of Poland, (in Russia,) Galicia, (Austrian,) and Posen, (German Poland.)]

[Dutch Cartoon]

Wilson the Balancer

—*By Raemaekers.* © 1916, *all rights reserved.*

There can be no peace between Justice and Militarism.

[American Cartoon]

The Peace-Proposal Game

—From The New York Times.

ENTENTE ALLIES: "Our cards are on the table; show yours."

[German Cartoon]

Premier Briand's Hope

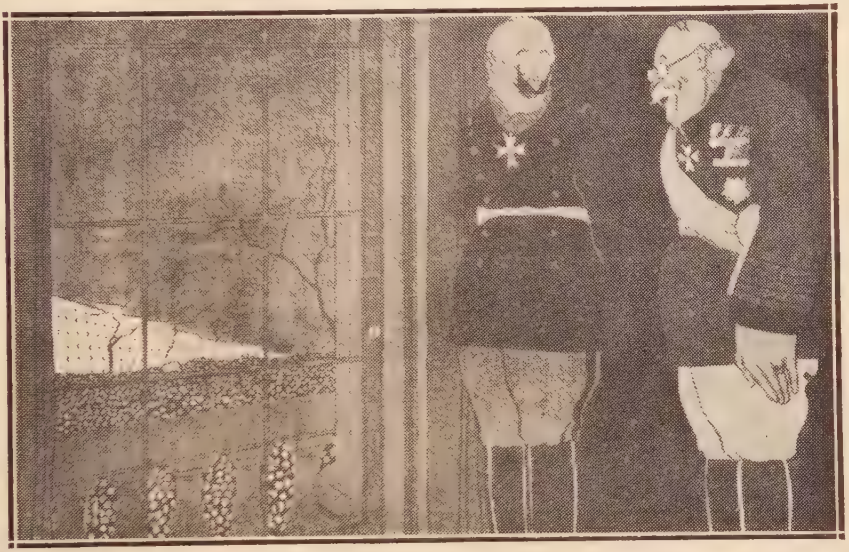
—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

The rising generation in France.

[A German fling at the Allies' employment of Asiatic and African troops on the French front.]

[French Cartoon]

The Berlin Food Riots



—From La Baionnette, Paris.

HINDENBURG: "Sire, they ask for bread."
KAISER WILHELM: "Give them victories."

[German Cartoon]

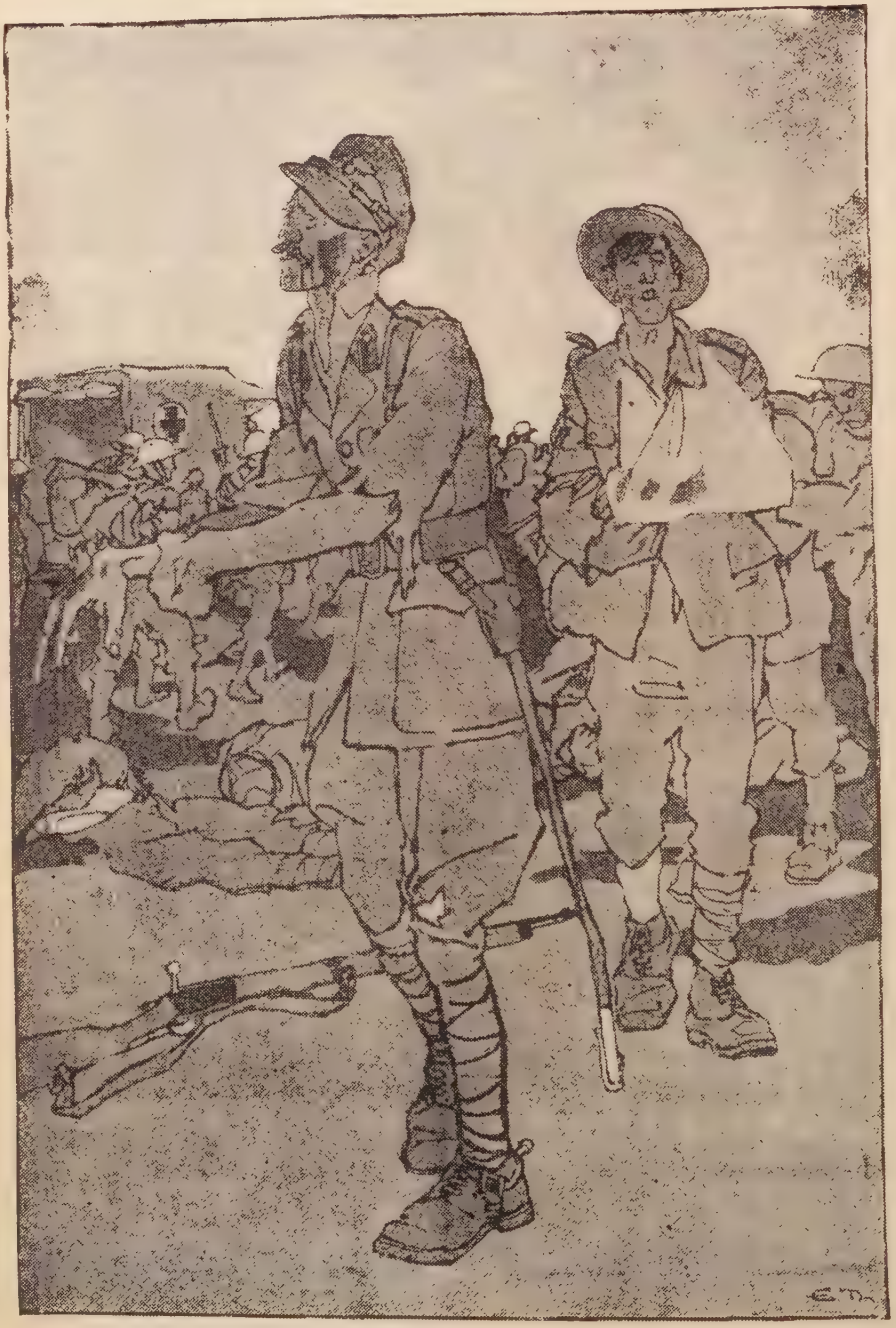
Starvation Policy

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

JOHN BULL: "If you don't come out I shall soon be in a starving condition myself."

[German Cartoon]

On the Somme

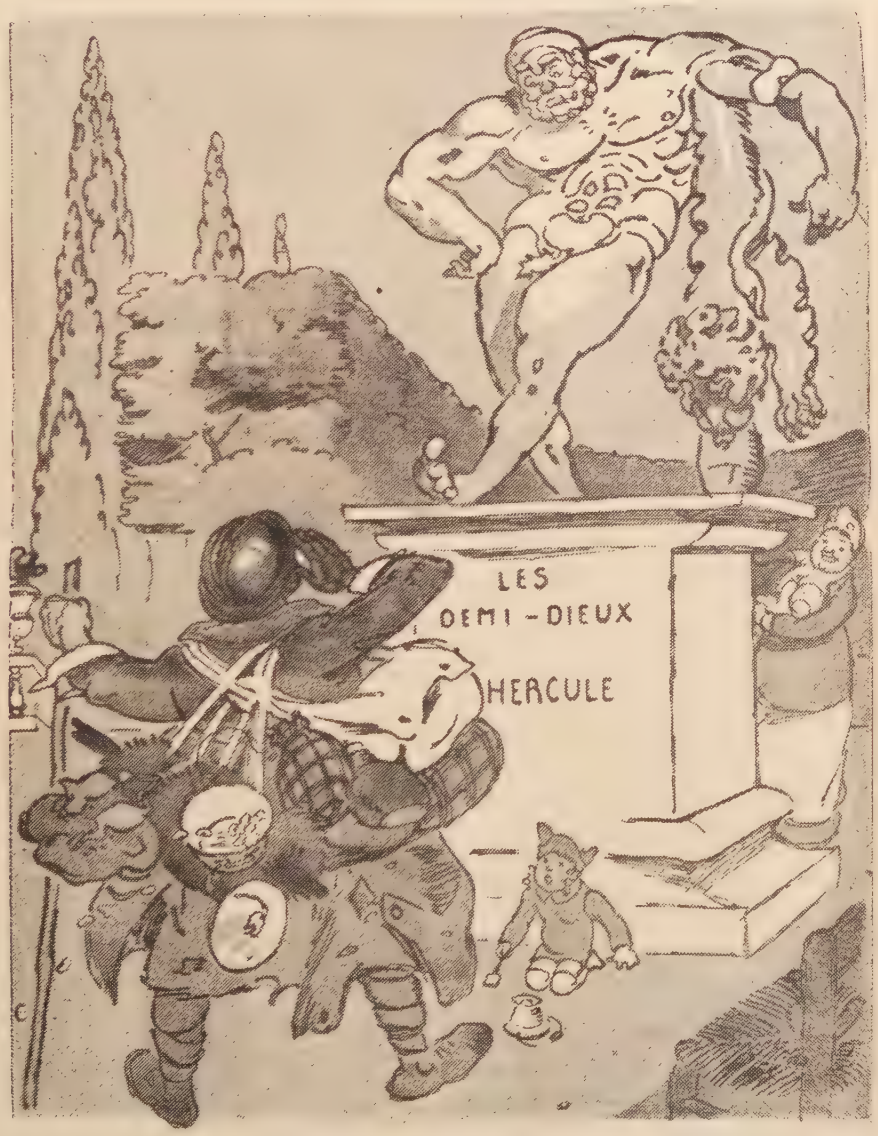


—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

FIRST TOMMY: "Have we won any ground today?"
SECOND TOMMY: "Not enough to bury our dead in."

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Demigod



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

THE POILU: "Say, old man, come down off there and make way for me."

Russia's Aims

—From St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

For Humanity and CONSTANTINOPLE!

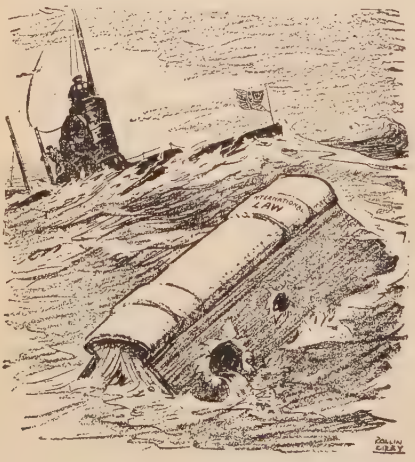
Germany's Peace Proposal

WHAT DO YOU SAY TO QUITTING TODAY? IT'S LONG PAST MY BED TIME.
WHY WE'VE ONLY JUST STARTED!
IF WE QUIT NOW I'LL HAVE TO BORROW CAR FARE
RUSSIA

—From The Des Moines Register.

Evidently the Kaiser is for quitting while the quitting is good.

A Submarine Error



—From The New York World.

Thought it was a warship.

Pay As You Enter!

—From The Baltimore American.

Who enters here must leave militarism behind.

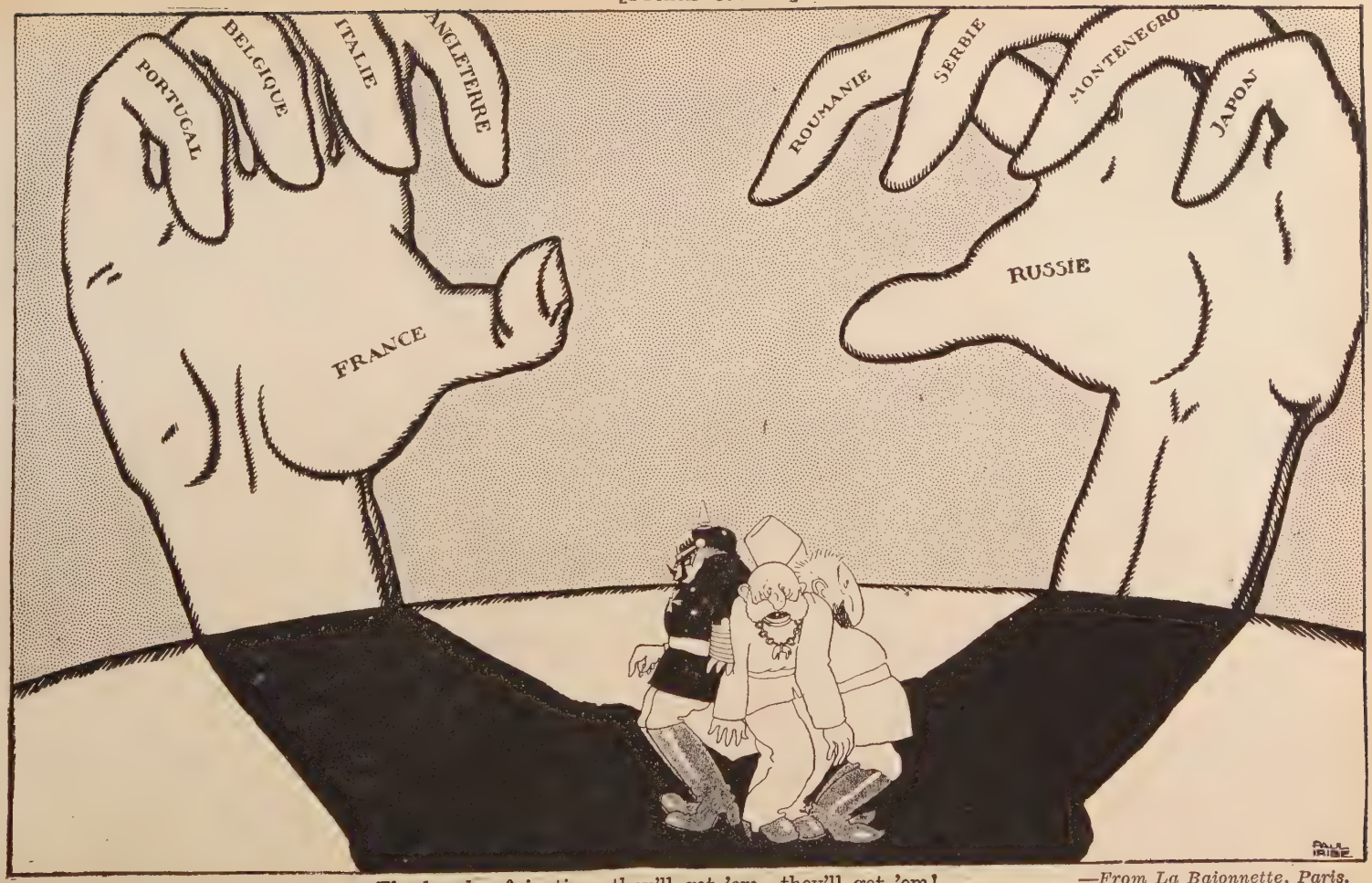
[German Cartoon]

The Knack of Being Too Late

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

RUMANIA: "Help! Help!"
ALLIES: "Hold your tongue! You are disturbing our deliberations on how to rescue you!"

[French Cartoon]



The hands of justice—they'll get 'em—they'll get 'em!

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

GERMAN SOLDIER IN WINTER GARB

This German Sentinel on the Russian Front Is Dressed in the White Snow Mantle and Black Gas Mask Which Have Been in General Use During the Winter.

A GERMAN WAR INVENTION

The Germans Are Now Using Automobile Wheels Made of Steel Springs, Thus Overcoming the Shortage of Rubber Caused by the British Blockade.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

NAVAL MILITIAMEN GUARDING BROOKLYN BRIDGE

On the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Germany, the Naval Militia and Two Regiments of the National Guard Were at Once Called Into Service to Protect the Bridges and Water Supply of New York City from Explosives.

(© *American P ess Association.*)

A FRENCH CHARGE ON THE SOMME VIEWED FROM THE AIR

A Remarkable Photograph of a French Attack on German Trenches in the Vicinity of Chaulnes. It Was Taken by a French Aviator Flying Low Over the Battlefield.

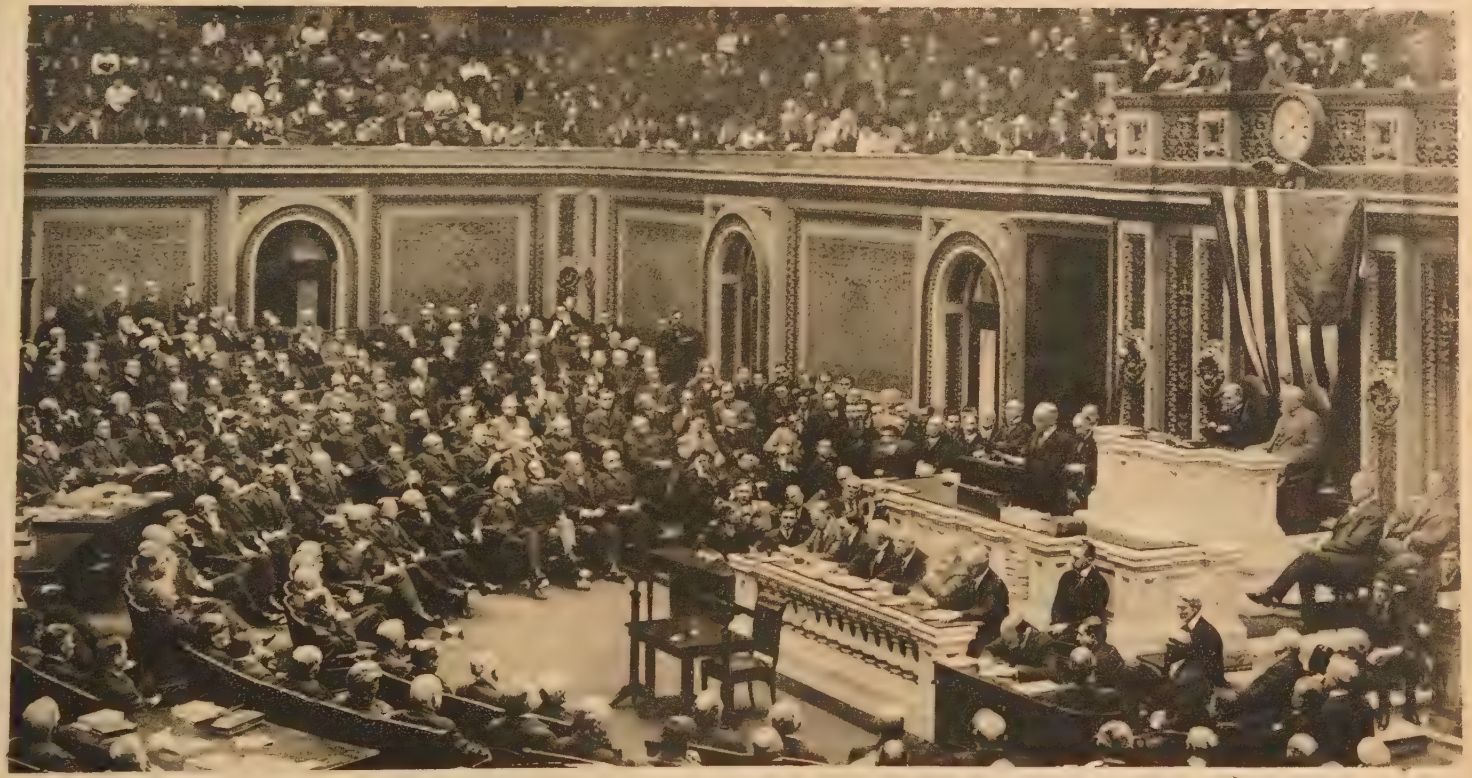
(© *American Press Association.*)

CORONATION OF KING CHARLES IV. OF HUNGARY

Emperor Charles I. of Austria-Hungary Was Crowned King of Hungary on Dec. 30, 1916, at Budapest. The Prince Primate of Hungary, Johann Cardinal Czernoch, Is Seen Administering the Oath, and on the Cardinal's Left Is Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

PRESIDENT WILSON ANNOUNCING TO CONGRESS THE BREAK WITH GERMANY



The President Appeared Before Congress in Joint Session on Feb. 3, at 2 o'Clock, to Announce That Diplomatic Relations with Germany Had Been Severed by Reason of Germany's New Submarine Warfare.

(© G. V. Buck, from Underwood & Underwood.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. V.—No. 6 March, 1917 25 Cents a Copy $3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE BREAK WITH GERMANY: UNITED STATES SEVERS RELATIONS	963
Text of Germany's "Barred Sea Zone" Note	963
Description of the Prohibited Zone, with map	966
German Chancellor's Official Announcement of New Policy	968
Diplomatic Break Between the United States and Germany	969
Text of President Wilson's Address to Congress	971
Dismissal and Departure of the German Ambassador	972
The American Ambassador's Detention in Berlin	974
Attempt at Compromise Refused	977
The Crisis in American Ports	978
Public Sentiment and Defense Measures	981
Protests of Other Neutrals Against Germany's Submarine Order	982
Eighteen Days of Ruthless Submarining	987
TWO HUNDRED AMERICANS LOST IN SUBMARINE ATTACKS	990
A Net to Protect New York Harbor	993
Entente Shipbuilding vs. U-Boats	994
New British Blockade in the North Sea	995
THE GERMAN SUBMARINE RECORD: Catalogue of Two Years' Sinkings	996
THE WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES:	
Military Operations of the Month: German View . By H. H. von Mellenthin	1005
The Month's Strategic Developments: American View . By J. B. W. Gardiner	1009
PROGRESS OF THE WAR . . . . . Chronology to Feb. 18	1012
CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED . . . . Brief Editorial Summaries	1015

Contents continued on next page

Copyright, 1917, by The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved. Entered at the Post Offices in New York and in Canada as second class matter.

CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
CANADA'S WORK IN THE WORLD WAR	By Francis J. Dickie	1023
MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE WAR	By Major Edwin W. Dayton	1031
THE BRITISH NAVY'S TITANIC TASK	By Admiral Sir John Jellicoe	1040
COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF NAVIES TODAY	By Thomas G. Frothingham	1043
NAVAL POWER IN THE PRESENT WAR. III.	By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill	1051
BRITISH AND GERMAN NAVAL LOSSES IN THE PRESENT WAR		1058
A LINCOLN DAY MESSAGE	By David Lloyd George	1060
FAMINE: THE FOE DREADED BY ALL		1062
GERMAN INTRIGUES IN RUSSIA	By Paul Milyukov	1068
STRATEGY OF THE RUMANIAN RETREAT	By Colonel Shumsky	1071
His Majesty's Danube Monitors	By Karl Marilaun	1074
Wrecking Rumania's Oil Wells	By Hamilton Fyfe	1076
BRITISH CAMPAIGNS IN TURKEY	By James B. Macdonald	1078
THE TURKISH SOLDIER	By Lieutenant S. F. Bryant	1086
PRESIDENT WILSON'S SENATE ADDRESS ON PERMANENT PEACE		1090
Criticism of the President's Peace Plan		1093
Bonar Law's Answer to President Wilson's Speech		1096
Will Russia Make a Separate Peace? Russia's Official Reply		1097
PEACE PROPAGANDAS OF PAST CENTURIES	By Dr. Alfred Fried	1101
FORCING BELGIANS TO WORK IN GERMANY		1106
Text of German Memorial Defending Belgian Deportations		1107
Belgian Legation's Reply to German Memorandum		1110
GERMAN METHODS IN NORTHERN FRANCE		1111
AN ENGLISH MOTHER AND HER DEAD BOY	By Harold Begbie	1113
THE GREATEST BATTLE IN HISTORY	General Sir Douglas Haig's Report	1114
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS	27 Cartoons, All Nations	1133
FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR		1153

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
German Soldier in Winter Garb	*Frontis*
A German War Invention	*Frontis*
Guarding Brooklyn Bridge	*Frontis*
French Charge on the Somme	*Frontis*
Coronation of King Charles I.	*Frontis*
President Wilson Addressing Congress	961
Count Johann von Bernstorff	976
Ambassador Gerard and Staff	977
United States Naval Commanders	992
United States Army Officers	993
Group of Neutral Diplomatists	1008
New Russian Foreign Minister	1009
General Sir Henry Rawlinson	1040
Portrait of Cardinal Mercier	1041
Train Caught in Hostile Gunfire	1056
A French Observation Balloon	1057
German Winter Quarters	1088
Austrian Outpost in the Alps	1089
An Oasis in Egypt	1104
St. Peter's and the Vatican	1105

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARCH, 1917

THE BREAK WITH GERMANY

United States Severs Diplomatic Relations

THE United States severed diplomatic relations with the German Empire Feb. 3, 1917, by dismissing Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, giving him his passports, and recalling James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador at Berlin. This action was taken in consequence of a notice issued to the United States and all neutral countries by Germany on Jan. 31, 1917, announcing that, beginning on Feb. 1—the following day—merchant ships bound to or from allied ports would be sunk without warning. The notice stated that a "prohibited zone" had been mapped out by Germany, bordering Holland, England, and France, and including portions of the Mediterranean. In these areas of the high seas any vessels of any nation from any port would be sunk without warning by German submarines. In the note to the United States a "safety zone" consisting of a narrow lane leading to Falmouth, England, was designated, through which one American vessel a week, carrying passengers only, would be permitted to proceed unmolested; provided, however, that there were no contraband aboard, and that the vessel be striped and conspicuously marked with colors according to a design outlined by the German Admiralty.

The notice from the German Empire burst upon the nations with startling suddenness at the moment when the Chancelleries of the world were expecting further moves by President Wilson to bring about a conference of the belligerents which might lead to peace. It produced a prodigious sensation and was recognized everywhere as the most momentous development since the initial declarations of war thirty months before; also as indicating that the struggle was entering a new epoch of frightfulness. Moreover, while it denoted in the judgment of many sound observers the final phases of the world conflict, the duration of which no one could yet foresee, a fear was entertained by many that before the end practically all the nations of earth would become involved in hostilities.

Text of Germany's "Barred Sea Zone" Note

FOLLOWING is the full text of the German submarine note handed to Secretary of State Lansing by the German Ambassador on Jan. 31, 1917, at 4 o'clock P. M.:

Washington, D. C., Jan. 31, 1917.

Mr. Secretary of State:

Your Excellency was good enough to transmit to the Imperial Government a copy of the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the Senate on the 22d inst. The Imperial Government has given it the earnest consideration which the President's statements deserve, inspired, as they are, by a deep sentiment of responsibility.

It is highly gratifying to the Imperial Government to ascertain that the main tendencies of this important statement correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany. These principles especially include self-government and equality of rights for all nations. Germany would be sincerely glad if, in recognition of this principle, countries like Ireland and India, which do not enjoy the benefits of political independence, should now obtain their freedom.

The German people also repudiate all alliances which serve to force the countries into a competition for might and to involve them in a net of selfish intrigues. On the other hand, Germany will gladly co-operate in all efforts to prevent future wars.

The freedom of the seas, being a preliminary condition of the free existence of nations and the peaceful intercourse between them, as well as the open door for the commerce of all nations, has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political program. All the more the Imperial Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies, who are so entirely opposed to peace, makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals.

Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace, and had set down as basis the guarantee of existence, honor, and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note of Dec. 12, 1916, were not directed toward the destruction or annihilation of their enemies and were, according to their conviction, perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations. As to Belgium, for which such warm and cordial sympathy is felt in the United States, the Chancellor had declared only a few weeks previously that its annexation had never formed part of Germany's intentions. The peace to be signed with Belgium was to provide for such conditions in that country, with which Germany desires to maintain friendly neighborly relations, that Belgium should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues. Such precautionary measures are all the more necessary, as Germany's enemies have repeatedly stated, not only in speeches delivered by their leading men, but also in the statutes of the Economical Conference in Paris, that it is their intention not to treat Germany as an equal, even after peace has been restored, but to continue their hostile attitude, and especially to wage a systematical economic war against her.

The attempt of the four allied powers to bring about peace has failed, owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretense of following the principle of nationality, our enemies have disclosed their real aims in this way, viz., to dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end.

A new situation has thus been created which forces Germany to new decisions. Since two years and a half England is using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation. In brutal contempt of international law, the group of powers led by England not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents, but they also, by ruthless pressure, compel neutral countries either to altogether forego every trade not agreeable to the Entente Powers, or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees.

The American Government knows the steps which have been taken to cause England and her allies to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas. The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged, to suffer for their country pains and privations which endanger the vitality of the nation. Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world, indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the lives of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people, and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States, the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Since the attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente Powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government—in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

Sincerely trusting that the people and the Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality, and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life.

Inclosing two memoranda regarding the details of the contemplated military measures at sea, I remain, &c.,

J. BERNSTORFF.

Explanatory Memoranda Outlining the Prohibited Zones

Following is the text of the two memoranda accompanying the German note presented to the State Department by Count von Bernstorff:

From Feb. 1, 1917, sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in the following blockade zones ["barred zones," according to a version received via Sayville] around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean:

In the north:

[The Sayville version says: "In the North Sea, the district around England and France, which is limited by a line twenty nautical miles."]

The zone is confined by a line at a distance of twenty sea miles along the Dutch coast to Terschelling Lightship, the meridian of longitude from Terschelling Lightship to Udsire; a line from there across the point 62 degrees north, 0 degrees longitude, to 62 degrees north, 5 degrees west; further to a point three sea miles south of the southern point of the Faroe Islands; from there across a point 62 degrees north, 10 degrees west, to 61 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then 57 degrees north, 20 degrees west, to 47 degrees north, 20 degrees west; further, to 43 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then along the parallel of latitude 43 degrees north to twenty sea miles from Cape Finisterre, and at a distance of twenty sea miles along the north coast of Spain to the French boundary.

In the South—The Mediterranean:

For neutral ships, remains open the sea west of the line Pt. Des Espiquettes to 38 degrees 20 minutes north and 6 degrees east; also north and west of a zone sixty sea miles wide along the North African Coast, beginning at 2 degrees longitude west. For the connection of this sea zone with Greece there is provided a zone of a width of twenty sea miles north and east of the following line: 38 degrees north and 6 degrees east to 38 degrees north and 10 degrees west, to 37 degrees north and 11 degrees 30 minutes east, to 34 degrees north and 22 degrees 30 minutes east.

From there leads a zone twenty sea miles wide, west of 22 degrees 30 minutes eastern longitude, into Greek territorial waters.

Neutral ships navigating these blockade zones do so at their own risk. Although care has been taken that neutral ships which are on their way toward ports of the blockade zones on Feb. 1, 1917, and have come in the vicinity of the latter, will be spared during a sufficiently long period, it is strongly advised to warn them with all available means in order to cause their return.

Neutral ships which on Feb. 1 are in ports of the blockade zones can with the same safety leave them.

The instructions given to the commanders of German submarines provide for a sufficiently long period during which the safety of passengers on unarmed enemy passenger ships is guaranteed.

Americans en route to the blockade zone on enemy freight steamers are not endangered, as the enemy shipping firms can prevent such ships in time from entering the zone.

Sailing of regular American passenger steamers may continue undisturbed after Feb. 1, 1917, if

(A) The port of destination is Falmouth.

(B) Sailing to or coming from that port course is taken via the Scilly Islands and a point 50 degrees north, 20 degrees west.

["Along this route," says the Sayville version, "no German mines will be laid."]

(C) The steamers are marked in the following way, which must not be allowed to other vessels in American ports: On ship's hull and superstructure three vertical stripes one meter wide, each to be painted alternately white and red. Each mast should show a large flag checkered white and red, and the stern the American national flag. Care should be taken that, during dark, national flag and painted marks are easily recognizable from a distance, and that the boats are well lighted throughout.

(D) One steamer a week sails in each direction with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

(E) United States Government guarantees that no contraband (according to German contraband list) is carried by those steamers.

["Two copies of maps on which the barred zones are outlined are added," says the version received via Sayville.]

A second memorandum delivered with the German note, and made public late on Feb. 1 by the State Department, differs in some respects from the substance of the note itself. The understanding is that it was prepared at the German Embassy on instructions from Berlin prior to President Wilson's peace address to the Senate, and withheld then on account of the address. When Count von Bernstorff received the note and memorandum from Berlin he decided to deliver with them the original document prepared by him. The memorandum reads:

After bluntly refusing Germany's peace offer, the Entente Powers stated in their note addressed to the American Government that they are determined to continue the war in order to deprive Germany of German provinces in the West and East, to destroy Austria-Hungary, and to annihilate Turkey. In waging war with such aims the Entente Allies are violating all rules of international law, as they prevent the legitimate trade of neutrals with the Central Powers and of the neutrals among themselves. Germany has so far not made unrestricted use of the weapon which she possesses in her submarines. Since the Entente Powers, however, have made it impossible to come to an understanding based upon equality of rights of all nations, as proposed by the Central Powers, and have instead declared only such a peace to be possible which shall be dictated by the Entente Allies and shall result in the destruction and the humiliation of the Central Powers, Germany is unable further to forego the full use of her submarines.

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation, thus

forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after Feb. 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigaton, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

The Imperial Government is confident that this measure will result in a speedy termination of the war and in the restoration of peace, which the Government of the United States has so much at heart. Like the Goverment of the United States, Germany and her allies had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Now that the war, through the fault of Germany's enemies, has to be continued, the Imperial Government feels sure that the Government of the United States will understand the necessity of adopting such measures as are destined to bring about a speedy end of the horrible and useless bloodshed. The Imperial Government hopes all the more for such an understanding of her position, as the neutrals have under the pressure of the Entente Powers suffered great losses, being forced by them either to give up their entire trade or to limit it according to conditions arbitarily determined by Germany's enemies in violation of international law.

On Feb. 3 a slight modification in the prohibited zone as previously formulated was announced from Berlin to this effect:

It is officially stated that the eastern frontier of the barred zone around England is changed in the following fashion: From a point 52 degrees 30 minutes north and 4 degrees east, to a point 56 degrees north and 4 degrees east, to a point 56 degrees north and 4 degrees 50 minutes east. For the west the frontier remains unchanged.

The change thus announced proved to be the addition of about 4,500 square miles of the North Sea to the area which Germany is to embrace in the submarine blockade of the British coast.

Description of the Prohibited Zone

THE prohibited zone within which German submarines are ordered to wage unlimited war against merchant ships of neutrals and belligerents alike is described by marine experts as follows:

Not only are the coasts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, France, and Italy included, but also all of the Mediterranean except the northern coast of Morocco, the coast of Spain and its group of Balearic Islands, and an outlet, twenty miles wide, connecting the waters around Spain with Grecian waters.

The Italian islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily are within the banned area, as are the coasts of Algeria, Tunis, Libya, and Egypt, these, on account of their French, Italian, and English affiliations.

The approximate length of the line confining the zone around the British Isles is about 4,700 miles. If 300 submarines were used along this line in the attempt to maintain the blockade it would be necessary to place them about fifteen miles apart.

The line starts at the mouth of the Scheldt and runs along the Dutch coast to the Terschelling Lightship, then northward to Udsir Lightship, about twenty miles off the coast of Norway. Then it swings northwesterly toward the Faroe Islands, bends below these islands, sweeps westerly as far as the 20th degree of west longitude, then southerly to the 43d parallel of latitude, then easterly to a point twenty miles from Cape Finisterre and extends along the northern coast of Spain to the French boundary.

The zone is so mapped as to permit no entrance to France for American passenger ships. It is understood to be the German position that Americans may get to France the best they can by going from Falmouth to London and thence by Channel steamers to France at their own risk in crossing the Channel, or by way of Spain or Portugal.

The northern coast of France is included in the blockade, and so is the southern, except a stretch from the Spanish frontier to a point west of Marseilles, about one hundred miles long. There is no important port on this coast. Cette, which is on this stretch, is the only point with rail connection on either coast of France that is not included in the blockade.

Point de l'Espiquette, mentioned in the German note, had to be located by hydrographic experts. It is at the intersection of the meridian 4 degrees 10 minutes west longitude with the French coast, and is opposite the Aigues Mortes Lightship, about twenty-two miles east of Cette, and about sixty miles west of Marseilles.

From the Aigues Mortes Lightship, (or

SHADED AREAS INDICATE THE "PROHIBITED ZONES" FORBIDDEN TO NEUTRAL AS WELL AS BELLIGERENT SHIPS BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE ORDER OF FEB. 1, 1917, ON PAIN OF BEING SUNK WITHOUT WARNING

Point de l'Espiquette,) a line is drawn to the point marking the intersection of 38 degrees 20 minutes north latitude with 6 degrees east longitude. West of this line the Mediterranean is open.

The Morocco coast is left open from the Strait of Gibraltar all the way around to Cape Kelas at 2 degrees west longitude, about fifteen miles east of the boundary between Morocco and Algeria. It is evident from the plotting of the zone that it was the purpose to exclude the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, which is under Spanish influence, from the blockade zone.

From 2 degrees west longitude a blockade zone, sixty-one sea miles wide, extends along the North African coast to 6 degrees east longitude. North of this zone is a strip of water open for traffic.

East of 6 degrees east longitude, the entire

Mediterranean is a blockade zone, except for a strip of water twenty miles wide which extends along the coasts of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli to Greek territorial waters. This strip does not adjoin the coast, but is marked off in such a manner as to bar access to it.

It is thought significant that the German Government manifests solicitude for the Greek Government in providing an open route to Greece through an otherwise barred sea.

The northern coast of Egypt is blockaded. This means that any vessels emerging from the Suez Canal will be sunk. No part of the Mediterranean east of 22 degrees 30 minutes east longitude is open to traffic under the German decree.

German Chancellor's Official Announcement of the New Policy

THE German Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, appeared before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 31 to give official confirmation to the new policy, timing his appearance so that it should occur at the very hour when the notice was handed to the neutral Governments. His statement follows:

On Dec. 12 last year I explained before the Reichstag the reasons which led to our peace offer. The reply of our opponents clearly and precisely said that they decline peace negotiations with us, and that they want to hear only of a peace which they dictate. By this the whole question of the guilt for the continuation of the war is decided. The guilt alone falls on our opponents. Just as definite stands our task.

The enemy's conditions we cannot discuss. They could only be accepted by a totally defeated people. It therefore means fight. President Wilson's message to Congress shows his sincere wish to restore peace to the world. Many of his maxims agree with our aims, namely, the freedom of the seas, the abolition of the system of balance of power, which is always bound to lead to new difficulties, equal rights for all nations, and the open door to trade.

But what are the peace conditions of the Entente? Germany's defensive force is to be destroyed, we are to lose Alsace-Lorraine and the eastern provinces of the Ostmarken, the Danube monarchy is to be dissolved, Bulgaria is again to be cheated of her national unity, and Turkey is to be pushed out of Europe and smashed in Asia. The destructive designs of our opponents cannot be expressed more strongly. We have been challenged to fight to the end. We accept the challenge. We stake everything, and we shall be victorious.

By this development of the situation the decision concerning submarine warfare has been forced into its last acute stage. The question of the U-boat war, as the gentlemen of the Reichstag will remember, has occupied us three times in this committee, namely, in March, May, and September last year. On each occasion, in an exhaustive statement, I expounded points for and against in this question. I emphasized on each occasion that I was speaking pro tempore, and not as a supporter in principle or an opponent in principle of the unrestricted employment of the U-boats, but in consideration of the military, political, and economic situation as a whole.

I always proceeded from the standpoint as to whether an unrestricted U-boat war would bring us nearer to a victorious peace or not. Every means, I said in March, that is calculated to shorten the war is the humanest policy to follow. When the most ruthless methods are considered as the best calculated to lead us to a victory and to a swift victory, I said at that time, then they must be employed.

The Chancellor proceeded to explain why in March and May last year he opposed an unrestricted U-boat war; why again in September, according to the unanimous judgment of the political and military authorities, the question was not considered ripe for decision. In this connection the Chancellor repeated his previous utterance that as soon as he, in agreement with the supreme army command, reached the conviction that a ruthless U-boat war would bring Germany nearer to a victorious peace, then a U-boat war would be started. Continuing, he said:

This moment has now arrived. Last Autumn the time was not yet ripe, but today the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake this enterprise. We must, therefore, not wait any longer. Where has there been a change?

In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has very considerably increased as compared with last Spring, and thereby a firm basis has been created for success. The second co-decisive reason is the bad wheat harvest of the world. This fact now already confronts

England, France, and Italy with serious difficulties. We firmly hope to bring these difficulties by means of an unrestricted U-boat war to the point of unbearableness.

The coal question, too, is a vital question in war. Already it is critical, as you know, in Italy and France. Our submarines will render it still more critical. To this must be added, especially as regards England, the supply of ore for the production of munitions in the widest sense, and of timber for coal mines. Our enemy's difficulties are rendered still further acute by the increased lack of enemy cargo space. In this respect time and the U-boat and cruiser warfare have prepared the ground for a decisive blow. The Entente suffers in all its members owing to lack of cargo space. It makes itself felt in Italy and France not less than in England. If we may now venture to estimate the positive advantages of an unrestricted U-boat war at a very much higher value than last Spring, the dangers which arise for us from the U-boat war have correspondingly decreased since that time.

The Chancellor then discussed in detail the political situation, and continued:

A few days ago Marshal von Hindenburg described to me the situation as follows: "Our front stands firm on all sides. We have everywhere the requisite reserves. The spirit of the troops is good and confident. The military situation, as a whole, permits us to accept all consequences which an unrestricted U-boat war may bring about, and as this U-boat war in all circumstances is the means to injure our enemies most grievously, it must be begun."

The Admiralty Staff and the High Seas Fleet entertain the firm conviction—a conviction which has its practical support in the experience gained in the U-boat cruiser warfare—that Great Britain will be brought to peace by arms. Our allies agree with our views. Austria-Hungary adheres to our procedure also in practice. Just as we lay a blockaded area (Sperrgebiet) around Great Britain and the west coast of France, within which we will try to prevent all shipping traffic to enemy countries, Austria-Hungary declares a blockaded area around Italy. To all neutral countries a free path for mutual intercourse is left outside the blockaded area. To America we offer, as we did in 1915, safe passenger traffic under definite conditions. Even with Great Britain.

The Chancellor then read the note to the United States, and added that corresponding notes had been sent to the remaining neutral States. He concluded with the following words:

No one among us will close his eyes to the seriousness of the step which we are taking. That our existence is at stake every one has known since August, 1914, and this has been brutally *(blutig)* emphasized by the rejection of our peace offer. When in 1914 we had to seize and have recourse to the sword against the Russian general mobilization, we did so with the deepest sense of responsibility toward our people, and conscious of the resolute strength which says, "We must, and, therefore, we can."

Endless streams of blood have since been shed, but they have not washed away the "must" and the "can." In now deciding to employ the best and sharpest weapon we are guided solely by a sober consideration of all the circumstances that come into question, and by a firm determination to help our people out of the distress and disgrace which our enemies contemplate for them. Success lies in a higher Hand, but, as regards all that human strength can do to enforce success for the Fatherland, you may be assured, gentlemen, that nothing has been neglected. Everything in this respect will be done.

Diplomatic Break Between the United States and Germany

THE fact that Germany had decided upon unrestricted submarine warfare was hinted at for several days prior to the announcement, and it is stated that it was known to the Entente Alliance several days before intimations had been received previously at Washington from Ambassador Gerard that the step was under discussion, and it was known that German official circles and the public generally were seriously divided on the issue. It was regarded as possible that the answer of the Allies to the German peace proposals would definitely bring a decision in favor of unrestricted submarine warfare. It is now believed that Secretary Lansing's declaration, on Dec. 20, 1916, to the effect that we were "on the verge of war," which precipitated a panic in the stock market, was made in the light of his information that German submarine pledges to the United States were likely to be recalled. Nevertheless, President Wilson was profoundly moved when he received news that the step actually

had been taken, and the country at large was thrown into a tense state of excitement.

As soon as Secretary Lansing delivered the note to President Wilson, the President telegraphed to New York for Colonel E. M. House, who is his confidential adviser in moments of extreme crisis, and the latter reached the White House at midnight on the 31st. On Thursday, Feb. 1, there was no indication in official circles of what course would be followed. President Wilson conferred at length with the Secretary of State, but no announcement was made; no Cabinet officers were summoned, nor were members of Congress consulted. All sorts of rumors were afloat, but there were no demonstrations, though a profound agitation in anticipation of momentous events swept the country.

On Friday, the 2d, it was known that the President had determined on a definite step, but just what form it would take was not divulged. The Cabinet was summoned Friday morning, and the session lasted more than two hours. It is understood that the President's official advisers unqualifiedly held to the opinion that he could do nothing less than stand on the warning he had given Germany after the sinking of the steamship Sussex.

After the Cabinet session President Wilson proceeded to the Capitol. He reached there at 5 o'clock, and went to the office of the Foreign Relations Committee. The Senate had adjourned, but pages were sent about the Capitol to summon any Senators who could be found. Sixteen Democratic Senators were gathered together, and were in conference with the President some time. President Wilson was told by most of the Senators that the German declaration was an affront to the United States and the civilized world, and that any other course than an immediate rupture of diplomatic relations would be "viewed by the world as cowardice."

Some, however, urged that Germany be notified of a definite time at which diplomatic relations would be severed, and a few others urged that nothing be done until Germany, by some overt act, demonstrated her deliberate determination to affront the United States. That no Republican Senators conferred with the President was due entirely to the fact that the President did not reach the Capitol until the Senate had taken a recess.

The President told the Senators he had come to feel the pulse of the Senate, and thereby the pulse of the people; that he wished each man to speak his mind frankly with the welfare of the nation and civilization at heart.

At the conclusion each Senator shook the President's hand and assured him that whatever course he took, whether in accord with their own views or not, he would be sustained by a unanimous Senate.

After the conference the President indicated that even then he had not definitely decided just what his next step would be. His decision was not reached until early Saturday morning, Feb. 3, when he announced that he would address both houses of Congress.

It was about 10:50 o'clock that morning that the President sent for Secretary Lansing and told him that he had determined that diplomatic relations with Germany should be broken at once. He then arranged for addressing Congress at 2 o'clock. Secretary Lansing went back to the State Department to make the necessary arrangements for dismissing Ambassador von Bernstorff and recalling Ambassador Gerard.

The scene when President Wilson appeared at the House at 2 o'clock was dramatic. Reports had been in circulation that he had ordered a break with Germany, but comparatively few persons in that large audience were certain as to what attitude he had decided to adopt. Floor and galleries were packed when the President entered the chamber. He got a cordial reception. In the thirty minutes that he stood at the rostrum facing that breathless, eager gathering of men and women, only twice did his hearers become really demonstrative. He had received a round of handclapping and a cheer or two when he appeared. Then the audience listened attentively to the President's words as he read from little printed pages.

Text of President Wilson's Address

THE President's address to the joint session of Congress on Feb. 3 was as follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

The Imperial German Government on the 31st day of January announced to this Government and to the Governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the 1st day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas, to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-channel steamship Sussex by a German submarine without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government, in which it made the following declaration:

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

"The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes now, as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

"But," it added, "neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated."

To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurance given, but adding:

"The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th inst. might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government, affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint, absolute, not relative."

To this note of the 8th of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On the 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contained the following statement:

"The Imperial Government therefore does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the

Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

"Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after Feb. 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within the zone will be sunk."

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have therefore directed the Secretary of State to announce to his Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador to Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded: if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

Dismissal and Departure of the German Ambassador

COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF, the German Ambassador, received his dismissal at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon, Feb. 3, the precise moment when the President began his address to Congress. The note handed to him with his passports begins as follows:

The Secretary of State, to the German Ambassador.

Department of State, Feb. 3, 1917.

Excellency:

In acknowledging the note with accompanying memoranda, which you delivered into my hands on the afternoon of Jan. 31, and which announced the purpose of your Government as to the future conduct of submarine warfare, I would direct your attention to the following statements appearing in the correspondence which has passed between the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government in regard to submarine warfare.

Then follow the quotations used by the President in addressing Congress—that from the Sussex note giving notification of a severance of diplomatic rela-

tions, unless Germany's submarine warfare is brought within international law; that from the German reply giving new pledges, but reserving liberty of action should the allied blockade continue unmodified; that from the American rejoinder saying the United States could not predicate Germany's compliance with international law upon the conduct of another belligerent, and, lastly, that from a memorandum accompanying the German note of Jan. 31, giving notice of unrestricted naval warfare. The note to the Ambassador concludes:

> In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1915, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.
>
> The President has therefore directed me to announce to your Excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your Excellency your passports. I have the honor to be, your Excellency's obedient servant,
>
> (Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

As soon as he received his dismissal Count von Bernstorff sent for Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, and asked him to take over the German Embassy affairs in the United States. The Swiss Government granted the permission, and the formal transfer of the records and papers of the embassy at once followed.

Sailing of Diplomatic Staff

Meanwhile Count von Bernstorff, now without official standing, remained quietly at his residence in Washington, awaiting a guarantee of safe conduct out of the country. The State Department took immediate steps to procure this, and within forty-eight hours a safe conduct to him and his suite was readily granted by Great Britain and France. The Scandinavian-American liner Frederik VIII. was selected with his approval; the Danish Government consented, and the shipowners accepted the guarantee that the vessel would not be molested on its homeward voyage, though it would be required to put in at Halifax for examination for contraband.

All preliminaries were speedily arranged; the German Consuls and their families from St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver, Seattle, New Orleans, St. Paul, and Porto Rico joined the Ambassador and his staff at Washington. There were sixty members of the party; these, together with the Consuls and their families and other officials who joined them, brought the total to 149 persons. Among the prominent Germans in the party, besides the embassy and consular staff, were the following: Dr. Heinrich F. Albert, who was known as financial adviser to Dr. Dernburg, the first chief German propagandist in this country after war was declared; Wolf von Igel, who was secretary to Captain von Papen, the former German Military Attaché, dismissed from this country for conspiracy, and who is himself under indictment on the same charge and under $25,000 bail; Baroness Zwiedenek, wife of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington; Dr. Karl Fuehr and family, and Dr. Mechlenburg, the latter formerly German Consul at Tokio, and both in charge, until their departure, of the German Publicity Bureau in the United States.

Count von Bernstorff was escorted from Washington by officials representing the State Department, and was carefully guarded from intrusion or any violence by a special detail of Secret Service agents. This precaution proved unnecessary, as he was accorded the fullest respect and consideration by every one from the moment he received his dismissal, and nothing of an unpleasant character occurred to mar the tranquillity of his departure. The Frederik VIII. sailed from the Port of New York at 4 P. M. Wednesday, Feb. 14.

On sailing the ex-Ambassador expressed his regret over the severance of relations, his warm thanks to the American people for the cordiality of their treatment, and his hope that war might

yet be averted. His wife, who was born in America of German parents, and his entire family accompanied him. He had filled the post at Washington for eight years. The Iron Cross of the White Ribbon was conferred upon him by the German Emperor on Feb. 5 for services rendered in time of war.

The American Ambassador's Detention in Berlin

THE departure from Berlin of the United States Ambassador, James W. Gerard, was preceded by action on the part of the German Government resembling an attempt to detain him as a hostage. American citizens who wanted to get away also encountered trouble in obtaining the necessary passes, while the delay in releasing seventy-two American sailors who had been captured by a German sea raider and brought in on the Yarrowdale aggravated the situation.

The news that the United States had broken off relations with Germany became known in Berlin on Feb. 4, through newspaper dispatches, but owing to delays the formal instructions from the State Department at Washington did not reach Mr. Gerard till Feb. 5, when he at once asked the German Foreign Office for passports and arranged to turn over the American Embassy—which thereupon was no longer the American Embassy—to departments of the Spanish Embassy and the Dutch Legation.

As soon as the news was officially confirmed hundreds of Americans, who were still in Berlin, anxiously hastened to the embassy to obtain the renewal of their passports and, above all, advice on their future course and possible routes back to America. According to information in the possession of the State Department there were before the break about two thousand Americans in the German Empire. This figure was arrived at by a census taken some time previously by Consuls and compiled at the embassy in Berlin, where the names were registered. A certain number of Americans decided to remain in Germany under the guarantees of the Prussian-American treaty of 1799, which was renewed by the amended treaty of 1828. The United States regarded this old treaty as obsolete until Germany suddenly invoked it when called upon to settle for the sinking of the American sailing ship William P. Frye early in the war.

An attempt was made by the German Government before Mr. Gerard's departure to secure reaffirmation of the old treaty for the purpose of saving the German ships now in American waters, which the German press alleged had been seized and confiscated. "The anxiety about these ships," said Oscar King Davis in a dispatch, "was such that a proposition was tentatively submitted to Mr. Gerard looking to his making efforts to have Washington undertake to obtain French and British safe conduct for their return to German waters. Mr. Gerard flatly refused to have anything to do with such a proposition. When it was delicately intimated that Mr. Gerard's friendly assistance in this matter might facilitate matters regarding the departure of Americans, Mr. Gerard retorted that he would sit there until Christmas before he would help such a plan."

Delay in Issuing Passports

The German Foreign Office was dilatory in dealing with the passports of Americans wishing to leave Germany. The excuse given was that the clerical staff was shorthanded. Even after Mr. Gerard finally got away there were still a number of Americans who were not able to leave. But it was the treatment accorded to the American Ambassador himself that for a time created a very bad impression. That he was actually treated as a prisoner is not acknowledged, but from the day that he asked for his passports he was unable to communicate with the American Consuls or to send telegrams in cipher. The embassy mail was not delivered, and the telephone, though restored before his departure, was cut off. Police were stationed in front of the embassy, the reason given by the Ger-

man authorities being that they were there in case of an outbreak of hostile feeling among the populace.

Besides anxiety for German ships in American ports, another alleged motive behind the treatment accorded the American Ambassador was to make sure of "the fate" of the German Ambassador in America. In fact, it was openly said in Berlin that Mr. Gerard was being held by the German Government until arrangements had been made for the departure of Count von Bernstorff and his suite, and until "the fate" of the German crews from the captured German ships in American waters had been decided.

Ambassador Gerard eventually left Berlin on the evening of Feb. 10 after a cordial leave-taking with representatives of the German Foreign Office and neutral diplomats. His party included 110 Americans in addition to his family and the embassy staff. The special train, which had been provided by the German Government, reached the Swiss frontier the following afternoon, where the party was met by Swiss high officials; the same evening the party arrived at Berne, and on the 15th reached Paris. Mr. Gerard took special care to issue a statement that he would grant no interviews, and his own version of recent events will remain unknown until he has officially reported to President Wilson, but it is asserted by those who are nearest to him that he bitterly resents the manner in which he was treated before his departure was permitted.

The Yarrowdale Prisoners

Closely connected with the line of conduct adopted toward Mr. Gerard was the attitude of the German Government regarding the continued detention of the seventy-two American sailors taken to Germany on Dec. 31, 1916, as prisoners on the prize ship Yarrowdale. On Feb. 12 Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, who is now acting on behalf of the German Government at Washington, formally notified the State Department that the American sailors would be held until Berlin had definite assurance that German crews in American harbors would not be held or imprisoned. Secretary of State Lansing replied on Feb. 13 that there was no just reason for the continued detention of the Yarrowdale crew, and insisted on their immediate release.

The German pretext for holding the men was that they had taken pay on armed enemy vessels. The American view was that according to international law they should not be treated as "prisoners of war" unless they had committed hostile acts. The German Government did not allege that the American sailors had done anything hostile.

The men were released on Feb. 15, just as our Government was preparing to issue a peremptory demand for them. It is stated that this demand will, nevertheless, be communicated to Germany to give expression to our Government's opinion of their detention.

Demanding a Treaty

Oscar King Davis, the staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, who was with the Ambassador on his journey from Berlin to Berne, wrote on Feb. 14 regarding the German demands on Mr. Gerard:

I am in a position to make certain positive statements regarding Germany's proposition. She submitted to Mr. Gerard the draft of an agreement containing nine articles, ostensibly covering the specific reaffirmation of the Prussian treaty with slight emendations. The first article made it specifically applicable to the German Empire instead of merely to Prussia, and also specifically applicable in the event that war should now break out between the contracting parties.

Subsequent articles provided that Germans should be permitted not only to reside and travel but also to continue business in the United States during the war.

Article 6 began by making The Hague Conventions regarding the treatment of ships specifically applicable in the event of war between the contracting parties. This was merely a reaffirmation of present international law. This is the part which the German Government seems to have been emphasizing through its newspaper friends in America.

But the next paragraph of this article, which Germany seems to have avoided emphasizing, contains the astounding proposition that in the event of the outbreak of war between the contracting parties the ships of one lying in the ports of the other should not only have the right to leave when they pleased but also should have a contract,

binding upon all enemy sea powers, giving them safe conduct to a home port.

This was the precious document Germany sought to induce Mr. Gerard to sign on behalf of his Government, despite the fact that he had presented his recall orders.

It is utterly idle for Germany or any of her newspaper or other defenders to attempt to deny that in the endeavor to induce Mr. Gerard to sign this agreement Germany employed means smacking suspiciously of duress. It is utterly idle to attempt to say that Mr. Gerard was not held in Berlin.

He was held there against his will from Monday until Saturday, most of that time practically incommunicado in his house. His mail was withheld and he was unable to communicate confidentially with other officials of his Government or to transmit to American Consular officials in Germany the orders of his Government regarding their action under the circumstances. The telephone connection with Mr. Gerard's residence and the embassy was cut by the direction of German officials.

When this treatment began to show an unfavorable effect a minor official of the Foreign Office denounced it with vehemence as an outrage and explained that it was the unauthorized work of a subordinate police official. This explanation was laughable. Any one who knows anything of German life knows that such a thing is impossible, and the excuse is fantastic nonsense. The action was deliberate because the German Government hoped it might tend to drive Mr. Gerard into helping negotiate that agreement.

Mr. Davis asserts also that Germany is intentionally allowing matters to drag so that the submarine warfare may be thoroughly tested before there is a hostile break with the United States, and in the event the submarines do not bring Great Britain to submission, Germany will then agree to the American demands, and desist from these measures in order to have the assistance of the United States in forcing an early peace.

Indignities to Americans

Details concerning the past action of German officials in searching American Consuls and their wives at the frontier were made public by the State Department at Washington a few days later. Women as well as men had been subjected to humiliating indignities. It was further disclosed that while the practice of stripping and searching persons crossing the frontier was adopted with respect to all private individuals, no other Consuls save those representing the United States were so treated.

Vigorous protests against these indignities, it was learned, was filed by the State Department with the German Government shortly before the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The explanation given at the time is one which has since been offered in connection with the detention of Ambassador Gerard, namely, that it was the work of subordinate officials acting on their own responsibility.

The State Department's records show three specific cases of American Consular officers and their wives who were either subjected to indignities on the frontier, or were threatened with such affronts. For the obvious reason of not wishing further to humiliate the women concerned, the department refuses to make public their names or the names of their husbands.

The last case reported, and that which drew forth the formal protest from the United States, concerned an American Consul General and his wife who were held up by the German frontier guards at Warnemunde, a German town on the boundary between Germany and Denmark. Both of the other incidents occurred at the same town.

Persons crossing into Denmark at this point are ferried across a bay. When the Consul General and his wife arrived at Warnemunde their baggage was first taken from them and carefully searched. They were then required to turn over all their papers, including their passports. These papers were subjected to microscopic examination and other tests to determine whether they contained any invisible ink writing disclosing information of military or other character.

Following these measures, which failed to disclose anything suspicious, the husband and wife were separated. The Consul General was first taken into a room, where he was ordered to strip off every particle of clothing, each piece being carefully examined. Various chemical solutions were then applied to his body to ascertain whether any invisible ink markings had been written on his skin. Semi-medical inspectors then took him in hand and subjected him to many

COUNT VON BERNSTORFF

The Late German Ambassador to the United States, Whose Difficult Task Came to an End on Feb. 3, 1917, When Diplomatic Relations Were Broken.

(© G. V. Buck, from Underwood & Underwood.)

AMBASSADOR JAMES W. GERARD AND HIS EMBASSY STAFF

The United States Ambassador at Berlin Was Recalled with His Entire Staff When the Break Came with Germany. In the Group, Seated Left to Right, Are: Major G. B. Langhorne. Ambassador Gerard, Lieut. Commander W. R. Gherardi. Standing: L. H. Hoite, C. W. Dyer, A. B. Ruddock, Willing Spencer, L. L. Winslow, W. Knoth, and J. C. Grew.

(Photo Bain News Service.)

indecencies in order to see whether any written information was concealed in his mouth or throat.

After the examination of the husband, the wife was taken in hand by women inspectors, who put her through the same processes. She was compelled to submit to the most intimate searching, even being required to unbraid her hair in order that the inspectors could make certain that no slips of paper were concealed in the coils.

The previous case reported was that of another Consul who was put through the same indignities. This man, however, was not accompanied by his wife.

The third incident reported was that of an American Consul and his wife who were returning to the consulate in Germany from Denmark. When the Consul learned of the search to which he and his wife were to be subjected he refused to give up his papers, and returned to England.

Attempt at Compromise Refused

ON Feb. 10 and 11 rumors were afloat in Washington that the German Government had approached the United States Government through the Swiss Minister with a suggestion that the submarine order might be modified to avoid war. Whereupon the following official announcements were made by Secretary Lansing on the 12th:

Department of State, Feb. 12, 1917.

In view of the appearance in the newspapers of Feb. 11 of a report that Germany was initiating negotiations with the United States in regard to submarine warfare, the Department of State makes the following statement:

A suggestion was made orally to the Department of State late Saturday afternoon by the Minister of Switzerland that the German Government is willing to negotiate with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England would not be interfered with. At the request of the Secretary of State this suggestion was made in writing and presented to him by the Swiss Minister Sunday night. The communication is as follows:

"MEMORANDUM

"The Swiss Government has been requested by the German Government to say that the latter is now, as before, willing to negotiate, formally or informally, with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England will not be broken thereby.

"(Signed) P. RITTER."

The memorandum received immediate consideration, and the following reply was dispatched today:

"*My Dear Mr. Minister:*

"I am requested by the President to say to you, in acknowledging the memorandum which you were kind enough to send me on the 11th inst., that the Government of the United States would gladly discuss with the German Government any questions it might propose for discussion were it to withdraw its proclamation of the 31st of January, in which, suddenly and without previous intimation of any kind, it canceled the assurances which it had given this Government on the 4th of May last, but that it does not feel that it can enter into any discussion with the German Government concerning the policy of submarine warfare against neutrals which it is now pursuing unless and until the German Government renews its assurances of the 4th of May and acts upon the assurance. I am, my dear Mr. Minister, &c.,

"ROBERT LANSING.

"His Excellency, Dr. Paul Ritter, Minister of Switzerland."

No other interchange on this subject has taken place between this Government and any other Government or person.

The German Version

This statement was replied to by the German Government, which gave the following version of the matter:

A telegram from the Swiss Minister in Washington was transmitted to Germany by Switzerland in which the Minister offered, if Germany was agreeable, to mediate in negotiations with the American Government about the declaration of prohibited areas, as thereby the danger of war between Germany and the United States might be diminished.

The Swiss Government was then requested to inform its Minister at Washington that Germany, as before, was ready to negotiate with America in case the commerce barrier against our enemies remained untouched. As is obvious, Germany could only have entered into such negotiations on condition that, firstly, diplomatic relations between America and Germany should be restored, and, secondly, that the object of the negotiations could only be certain concessions respecting American passenger ships.

The interdiction of overseas imports, pro-

claimed against our enemies through unrestricted submarine warfare, would thus, even if diplomatic relations with America were restored, be in no circumstances relaxed.

The reply to the Swiss Minister at Washington expressed very clearly that in the resolute carrying out of our U-boat war against the entire overseas imports of our enemies there is for us no turning back.

An Amsterdam dispatch to Reuter's stated that an obviously inspired article had been published in a majority of the German papers, dealing with the convoy of neutral ships through the barred zone. The article said that, convoyed or not, merchantmen in the restricted region would be exposed to all the possibilities of intensified submarine warfare. It added that submarines would not attack neutral war vessels acting as convoys, but that such vessels would enter the prohibited zone at their own risk, in view of the danger from mines.

The same day an official German notice was issued from Berlin, referring to reports from abroad to the effect that the marine barrier against Great Britain maintained with submarines and mines had been or would be weakened out of regard for the United States, or for other reasons. It went on to say:

Regard for neutrals prompts the clearest declaration that unrestricted war against all sea traffic in the announced barred zones is now in full swing and will under no circumstances be restricted.

The Crisis in American Ports

THE Port of New York was sealed on the night of Jan. 31 by Collector of the Port Malone to prevent any craft from leaving in the night. This was not on orders from Washington, but was not disapproved. The restrictions were removed the next morning.

Shipping in American ports was affected by the breaking off of diplomatic relations in several ways. One of the first questions that arose concerned the German and Austrian vessels which took refuge in the ports of the United States and the insular possessions in August, 1914, and have remained there ever since. The German crews of these ships at once disabled or damaged their own vessels—with few exceptions—so as to make them useless without extensive repairs.

Ninety-one German vessels, totaling 594,696 gross tons, took refuge in American ports at the outbreak of the war and have voluntarily remained there. The thirty-one Teutonic steamers in New York Harbor alone are valued at $29,000,000.

There is evidence to show that some hours at least before the publication of the German note announcing the resumption of unrestricted warfare instructions were received to damage the German and Austrian ships in all ports of the United States and its dependencies, and that these instructions were carried out during the three days, Jan. 31-Feb. 2. The method adopted was either to remove or destroy parts of the engines. So thoroughly was the work done that it is believed that in some cases new engines will be required before the ships can be navigated again. In other cases the ships may have to remain tied up till the new parts can be sent from Germany.

The damage to the Kronprinzessin Cecilie, a steamer that cost $4,500,000 to build, is a leading example. After inspecting the vessel at Boston on Feb. 6, Captain John B. Coyle, an engineer of the United States Coast Guard Service, reported that it had been rendered useless for months by the disabling of the engines, and that his investigation showed a deliberate attempt to cripple the liner. The Kronprinzessin Cecilie, through civil suits against her owners, which are pending in the Federal courts, was in nominal custody of the United States Marshal from November, 1914, when she was taken to Boston from Bar Harbor, Me., until the night of Feb. 3, 1917, when the Marshal took physical possession of her on demand of the New York banking institutions which were the libelants. The German crew was removed and the ship manned by agents of the United States Marshal.

Secretary Baker's Statement

The sinking of the German freighter Liebenfels, (2,830 tons gross,) in the harbor at Charleston, S. C., took place on Feb. 1. The circumstances indicated that the vessel had been scuttled. Fear lest there might be a general plan to sink German-owned ships in American ports led the United States Government to seize those at anchorage in the Panama Canal Zone and in the Philippines. Explaining this step, Secretary of War Baker, whose department administers the Canal Zone and the Philippines, made the following statement on Feb. 7:

In the harbors of Manila and elsewhere in the Philippine Islands, and at Colon, Panama, the German merchant vessels were discovered to have certain parts of their machinery removed, and in some instances evidences of preparation for the sinking of these vessels had been made.

Solely for the purpose of protecting the several harbors and other shipping and property therein, steps have been taken to prevent damage, but none of the ships has been seized by the Government of the United States, and in all cases the commanders and crews have been informed that the Government of the United States has made no seizures, claims no rights to the vessels, and does not deny the right of the commander and crew to dismantle the vessel if they see fit, so long as the destruction is accomplished in a way which will not obstruct navigable port waters or injure or endanger other shipping or property.

The breach of diplomatic relations between the Governments of the United States and Germany has not changed the relation of these ships and their crews to the Government of the United States or forfeited their rights to our hospitality, and the steps taken are limited to necessary police regulations to prevent injury to the property of others or the obstruction of harbor waters.

In reply to an inquiry Secretary Baker said the War Department had no evidence that it was the purpose to sink any of these vessels in ship channels or to sink them anywhere except where the vessels were moored. Subsequent information received by the War Department indicated that the boarding of the four German ships at Cristobal on Feb. 3 was necessitated by evidence that an attempt was about to be made to sink the ships at the entrance of the Panama Canal. The damage to the German ships has been general. Reports from the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, and elsewhere have all been to the same effect. At Honolulu the crew of the interned German gunboat Geier set the vessel on fire.

Problem of Interned Sailors

The Navy Department has also been busy, but mainly with interned auxiliary cruisers. Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in instructions issued on Feb. 3 to officers in command of navy yards, ordered them to take measures for the safety of interned warships. The crews of the German auxiliary cruisers Kronprinz Wilhelm and Prinz Eitel Friedrich, both at Philadelphia, were accordingly removed and placed in isolation barracks. Lieutenant Hans Berg and his German prize crew were on the same day removed from the liner Appam at Newport News, Va., by coast guard cutters directed by a United States Marshal. Like the Kronprinzessin Cecilie, the Appam is now under the control of the Department of Justice because of proceedings in the United States courts, there being an appeal pending against a decision awarding the Appam to her English owners. Lieutenant Berg had been allowed to retain possession under a bond given by the German Government.

Other German and Austrian ships in United States ports were placed under guard by the police, and "neutrality squads" stationed at all piers where the ships are berthed. In New York Harbor there are thirty-one such ships requiring surveillance. The guards are not on the ships, and no official can go aboard without the owners' or the Captain's permission so long as there is no violation of the law, because merchant ships are not interned and are private property. Nevertheless, so persistent were the rumors of impending American seizure of the German merchant ships that on Feb. 4 the United States Government authorized a statement that seizure was not even being considered. All the Government is concerned about is that there be nothing done to interfere with or imperil navigation. Almost immediately after the diplomatic break the crews of the German merchant ships who had been living aboard began seeking lodgings on shore. Steps were taken to prevent their doing so in violation of the immigration laws,

and, as guarantees have been given that they will not take advantage of the permission to spend their leisure ashore, the rule prohibiting them from leaving their ships has been relaxed.

A Virtual Embargo

American vessels plying to ports which can only be reached by traversing the danger zone have almost all been held up, thus causing serious delays in the forwarding of cargo and mails and the conveyance of passengers. Interest has chiefly centred in the American Line's difficulties. After five days' waiting and uncertainty, P. A. S. Franklin, President of the International Mercantile Marine Company, announced on Feb. 7 that the dates of departure from New York of the St. Louis and other American liners had been indefinitely postponed. This decision was reached after the Directors of the company received the following message from the Secretary of State:

> The Government cannot give advice to private persons as to whether their merchant vessels should sail on a voyage to European ports by which they would be compelled to pass through the waters delineated in the declaration issued by the German Government on Jan. 31, 1917.
>
> It, however, asserts that the rights of American vessels to traverse all parts of the high seas are the same now as they were prior to the issuance of the German declaration, and that a neutral merchant vessel may, if its owners believe that it is liable to be unlawfully attacked, take any measures to prevent or resist such attacks.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey recalled by wireless those of its vessels which were bound for the danger zone at the time of the break with Germany. "Other shipowners," said the manager of the company's foreign shipping department, "have adopted the same policy. We had been trying for some time to reach our ships by wireless, and we have been able to bring back two of them to New York." The company has a fleet of about forty ships, twelve of which are in the Atlantic service.

It was stated by American Line officials that they were considering whether to sail their ships without protection or to provide guns, if they could be obtained, and gunners on their own account. As the American Line provides a regular mail service between America and England, no mail was sent from New York to Liverpool after the departure of the Philadelphia on Jan. 27 until the sailing of the White Star liner Cedric on Feb. 12. The Cedric took the sacks which should have gone by the St. Louis on Feb. 3. The American Line, however, was still sending its vessels from England as usual. The company's office in London said it was booking passages for the Philadelphia, due to leave Liverpool on Feb. 10, and the Finland, due to leave the same port on Feb. 15. These ships would have British naval protection in the danger zone.

The State Department on Feb. 7 announced that no convoys would be provided for ships intending to traverse the danger zone, the Government policy apparently being that shipowners should do what they thought fit and that the armed forces of the nation would intervene only in case of an "overt act" by German submarine commanders. At the present writing the American liners are waiting until they can obtain guns and gunners. After the presentation of the German note on Jan. 31 only five American freighters had left American territorial waters and faced the danger zone up to Feb. 19. The Dochra, bound for Genoa, Italy, was the first to go, and on Feb. 11 the Rochester and the Orleans, both armed, sailed for Bordeaux, France. The Oswego for Genoa and the City of Puebla bound for Havre followed a few days later.

The agents in America for British, French, and Italian steamship lines state that their plans are unchanged, and their vessels are sailing as usual when loaded and ready for sea. Up to date the derangement of ocean transportation has affected only neutral shipping through the fear that no vessel is safe in the danger zone.

Public Sentiment and Defense Measures

THE severance of relations with Germany met with a burst of approval from all parts of the country. The Governors of every State—also every State Legislature that was in session—expressed approval and a willingness to stand by the President in any further course he might pursue. The newspapers of the country with practical unanimity indorsed the President's action. The United States Senate, after a spirited debate, passed by a vote of 78 to 5 the following resolution:

Whereas, The President has, for the reasons stated in his address delivered to the Congress in joint session on Feb. 3, 1917, severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government by the recall of the American Ambassador at Berlin and handing his passports to the German Ambassador at Washington; and

Whereas, Notwithstanding this severance of diplomatic intercourse, the President has expressed his desire to avoid conflict with the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas, The President declared in his said address that, if in his judgment occasion should arise for further action in the premises on the part of the Government of the United States, he would submit the matter to the Congress and ask the authority of the Congress to use such means as he might deem necessary for the protection of American seamen and people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate approves the action taken by the President, as set forth in his address delivered before the joint session of the Congress, as above stated.

Forty-three Democrats and thirty-five Republicans voted for the resolution; two Democrats, Kirby of Arkansas and Vardaman of Mississippi, and three Republicans, Gronna of South Dakota, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Works of California, voted nay.

When the German note was first received there was a sharp decline in stocks and the markets were nervous and soft for two days thereafter; but as soon as the severance of relations was announced there was immediate recovery, and the markets grew strong and firm, with substantial advances, which continued uniformly for several days.

The response from naturalized Germans was one of immediate and fervent loyalty to the United States. The Directors of the German-American National Alliance, of which Dr. Charles J. Hexamer is President, a body said to have a membership representing 3,000,000 persons, adopted resolutions indorsing the President's action, offering their services and declaring that the funds which they are collecting for the German Red Cross and German widows and orphans, in case of war with Germany, will be employed for the benefit of German-American widows and orphans. Many other influential German-American Societies throughout the country took similar action, pledging loyalty and willingness to stand by the President. The German-American press, with no notable exceptions, commented on the severance with marked restraint, expressing deep regret, but affirming that German-Americans would stand by their adopted country.

As soon as the action of the President was known offers began to pour into the various departments from leading industries which placed their plants at the command of the Government if needed. The National Defense Council met on Feb. 12 at Washington and took preliminary measures to mobilize American industries and all resources in case of hostilities.

First Military Precautions

As soon as the German Ambassador received his dismissal the navy yards and Government buildings were closed to the public, the wireless stations were taken in charge by the Government, announcements of movements of naval vessels ceased, guards were placed at important arsenals and Government plants and the State authorities placed National Guardsmen on watch at important bridges, subway entrances, aqueducts, and water supply reservoirs. Units of the National Guard of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey were called out for such duties, and the police authorities of many cities were given similar orders. A watch

was established at all seaports, to prevent any obstruction to the channels; the Panama Canal was carefully guarded, and similar precautions were taken at all American ports. The New York Legislature appropriated $1,000,000 for preliminary measures to guard New York property. The United States Government commenced the erection of a new fort at Rockaway Point, the eastern extremity of Long Island, for the emplacement of two or more sixteen-inch guns and four six-inch siege guns, as an additional protection to the Harbor of New York and the contiguous coasts.

Large Naval Appropriation

The House on Feb. 12, by a vote of 353 to 23 passed the Naval Appropriation bill, the largest in the history of the Government. The bill appropriates $368,553,388.07, about $55,000,000 in excess of the bill of last session. In former years a naval budget of $125,000,000 was considered large.

While thus appropriating hundreds of millions for preparedness, the House paused to adopt an amendment which reaffirms this nation's belief in a policy of arbitration in international disputes. This amendment, offered by Mr. Mann, the minority leader, and adopted without debate and by a unanimous viva voce vote, reads:

> It is hereby reaffirmed to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration to the end that war may be honorably avoided.

The House included in the bill the Administration amendments empowering the President to commandeer shipyards and munitions factories in time of war or national emergency. It also approved the Administration amendment to appropriate $1,000,000 to acquire basic patents to an airplane suitable for Government uses. These amendments were approved informally during the debate, and when the measure was put on its final passage no demand was made for a rollcall upon them.

The building program carried in the bill calls for three battleships, one battle cruiser, three scout cruisers, fifteen destroyers, one destroyer tender, one submarine tender, and eighteen submarines. The bill also provides that the limit of cost for the four battle cruisers authorized last session shall be increased to $19,000,000 each, and the limit of cost for the three scout cruisers heretofore authorized to $6,000,000 each, exclusive of armor and armament.

As reported by Chairman Padgett, the bill appropriated approximately $351,000,000, but $17,100,143 was added during consideration of the measure in the House. These additions were by committee amendments which had the approval of the Navy Department.

Having given the President blanket authority to commandeer shipyards and munition plants "in time of war or national emergency," the House, because of a conflict in committee jurisdiction, left to the Senate the question of whether there shall be included in the present bill an appropriation of $150,000,000 for the more expeditious construction of any naval vessels which the President may regard as necessary. The original House amendment included provision for a bond issue of $150,000,000 to meet this emergency allowance, but the House Rules Committee did not feel justified in reporting a special rule for a bond issue which had not been considered by the Ways and Means Committee.

Protests of Other Neutrals Against Germany's Submarine Order

PRESIDENT WILSON, in notifying the other neutral nations of the break between the United States and Germany, expressed the hope that they might find it possible to take similar action. The following communication was sent by the State Department on Feb. 4 to American diplomatic representatives in neutral countries:

> You will immediately notify the Government

to which you are accredited that the United States, because of the German Government's recent announcement of its intention to renew unrestricted submarine warfare, has no choice but to follow the course laid down in its note of April 18, 1916, (the Sussex note.)

It has, therefore, recalled the American Ambassador to Berlin and has delivered passports to the German Ambassador to the United States.

Say also that the President is reluctant to believe Germany actually will carry out her threat against neutral commerce, but if it be done the President will ask Congress to authorize use of the national power to protect American citizens engaged in their peaceful and lawful errands on the seas.

The course taken is, in the President's view, entirely in conformity with the principles he enunciated in his address to the Senate Jan. 12. (The address proposing a world league for peace.)

He believes it will make for the peace of the world if other neutral powers can find it possible to take similar action.

Report fully and immediately on the reception of this announcement and upon the suggestion as to similar action.

No other nation followed the example of the United States to the extent of breaking off relations with Germany; the Russian semi-official press even warned the small European neutrals against any move that would give Germany a chance to crush them and lengthen the lines to be defended by the Allies. But all these nations sent protesting notes to Germany. The South American republics and China also made vigorous protests, indicating that they stood with the United States on the subject.

Spain's Reply to Germany

The Spanish Government's answer to Germany's submarine war zone note was handed to the German Ambassador at Madrid on Feb. 6. The text is as follows:

His Majesty's Government has attentively examined the note which your Serene Highness was good enough to remit to me Jan. 31, in which is set forth the German Government's resolute intention to interrupt as from the following day all sea traffic, without further notice, and by no matter what arm, around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean.

I must say that the note caused a very painful impression on the Spanish Government. The attitude of strict neutrality which Spain adopted from the beginning and has maintained with loyalty and unshakable firmness gives her the right to expect that the lives of her subjects engaged in sea trade should not be placed in such grave peril. It also gives her the right to expect that that trade should not be troubled nor diminished by such an increase in the extent of the zones in which the Imperial Government insists that, in order to attain its ends, it must use all weapons and suppress all limitations which it has hitherto imposed upon its methods of naval warfare.

Even before the Imperial Government had set aside these restrictions his Majesty's Government had protested, holding them insufficient to comply with the prescriptions of national maritime law. But the methods of war announced by Germany are being carried to such an unexpected and unprecedented extreme that the Spanish Government, considering its rights and the requirements of its neutrality, must with still more reason protest calmly but firmly to the Imperial Government, and must make at the same time the necessary reserves, imposed by the legitimate presumption of ineluctable responsibility, which the Imperial Government assumes, principally in view of the loss of life which its attitude may cause.

His Majesty's Government bases its protest on the fact that the decision to close completely the road to certain seas by substituting for the indisputable right of capture in certain cases a pretended right of destruction in all cases is outside the legal principles of international life. Above all and beyond all it considers that the extension, in the form announced, of this pretended right of destruction to the lives of noncombatants and the subjects of neutral nations such as Spain is contrary to the principles observed by all nations even in moments of the greatest violence.

If the German Government, as it says, expects that the Spanish people and Government will not close their ears to the reasons which have caused its decision, and hopes that they will co-operate to avoid further calamities and sacrifices of human life, it will also understand that the Spanish Government, while disposed to lend at the proper time its initiative and support to everything that could contribute to the advent of a peace, more and more wished for, cannot admit the legality of exceptional methods in warfare. These methods, indeed, notwithstanding Spain's right as a neutral and her scrupulous fulfillment of the duties incumbent on her as such, make more difficult and even stop altogether her sea trade, compromising her economic life and threatening with grave dangers the lives of her subjects.

His Majesty's Government, supported more firmly than ever by the justice of its position, does not doubt that the Imperial Government, inspired by the sentiments of friendship which unite the two countries, will find, notwithstanding the severe exigencies of this terrible war, means of giving satisfaction to Spain's claims. These claims are based on the inexorable duty which binds a Government to protect the lives of its subjects and maintain the integrity of its sovereignty so that the

course of national existence be not interrupted. For the reasons set out his Majesty's Government feels itself fully sustained in its position by reason and law.

Holland's Attitude

When Mr. Langhorne, the American Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague, formally communicated President Wilson's message to the Dutch Government, he received the reply from Dr. Loudon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that Holland was not inclined to support America's action. In the Second Chamber of Parliament Premier Vandenlinden made an address on Feb. 8 in which he said:

There is now no more reason for the Government to change its international policy than on the occasion of previous violations of international law. The Government remains resolutely attached to the policy of strict impartiality, and maintains its resolve to offer armed resistance to any violation of our territory or sovereign rights by any power whatsoever. The Government hopes by determination and tact to overcome the difficulties resulting from the international situation.

At the same time the Dutch Government sent a note of protest to Germany, dated Feb. 7, in which it pointed out that the zone proclaimed as dangerous in the Mediterranean completely blocked the passage between Port Said and the channel from Gibraltar to Greece, so that the Indian route, which is essential and of importance to the commerce of Holland as a colonial power, is cut off. The Dutch Government recalled its earlier protests against the British and German measures relating to the proclamation of war zones in the North Sea, and continued:

With all the more reason the Government is obliged to object with extreme energy against the régime now announced, which not only applies to much vaster areas, but also includes attacks on neutral ships, whatever their cargo or destination, and without discriminating as to whether their presence in said zone is voluntary or not.

It further pointed out that even had Germany qualified the new measure as a blockade, the merciless destruction of neutral ships would be contrary to international law, which only permits the confiscation, and not the destruction, of blockade runners. The note continues:

Germany does not use the term blockade, and rightly so, because it cannot be applied to such vast areas and because, by the rules of international law, it can only be directed against traffic with hostile ports, and in no wise against direct navigation between two neutral countries. Now, the German warships are ordered to destroy ships irrespective of their trafficking with enemy ports or between neutral ports.

Faithful to the principle which has always been observed in this war, the Queen's Government can only see in such destruction of neutral ships violation of the rights of nations, to say nothing of an attack upon the laws of humanity, if this happened regardless of the security of the persons aboard. The responsibility in the event of the destruction of Dutch ships and loss of life will fall on the German Government, and all the more heavily in the foreseeable event of Dutch ships being forced to enter the danger zone by constraint of adversary warships exercising the right of search.

Protest of Switzerland

The Swiss Federal Council answered the German note with an energetic protest against the proposed submarine action. The text, made public Feb. 11, says in part:

The Imperial Government cannot fail to recognize that the measures announced by this memoire constitute an attack upon the right of peaceful commerce which in conformity with the principles of international law belongs to Switzerland, in its character as a neutral State. In fact, the blockade of nearly all ports susceptible of being utilized by Switzerland presents a serious danger in the matter of our provisionment in food products and in raw materials as well as with respect to our exportations over the sea.

Even if by friendly agreement with the French Government the utilization of the Port of Cette, exempted from the blockade, is rendered possible, maritime transport would be restrained to a degree which would cause sensible injury to our national economy.

The maritime blockade by the Government of the German Empire follows a series of measures taken during the war by both parties of belligerents in opposition to the law of nations and international agreement, by which our liberty of action in economic matters is already restricted and against which we have vainly raised our voice.

In such circumstances this blockade is all the more pressing and more weighty with consequences. The Federal Council sees itself, therefore, obliged to protest energetically and to make all reservations against the blockade announced by the Imperial Government and against its realization so far as it violates the rights of neutrals recognized by the general principles of international law, in particular where the effective application of the blockade appears incomplete.

The Federal Council gives notice in advance of all legal reservations if it happens that the means put into effect by Germany and her allies are applied to the destruction of Swiss

interests or property. The Federal Council, however, does not doubt that the Government of the empire will do all that is necessary to assure in the measure possible the security of Swiss interests and spare the painful consequences which could arise from the blockade for the economic life of the Swiss.

The same note was addressed to the Government of Austria-Hungary.

Brazil's Warning to Germany

All the South American republics, while declining to break with Germany at present, sent protests to the Berlin Government. Brazil warned that Government that it would be held responsible for acts against Brazilian citizens or ships. The text of Brazil's note, sent on Feb. 6 by Lauro Muller, the Foreign Minister, is as follows:

I have transmitted to my Government by telegraph your letter of Feb. 3, in which your Excellency informed me of the resolution of the German Imperial Government to blockade Great Britain, its islands, the littoral of France and Italy, and the Eastern Mediterranean by submarines which would commence operations on Feb. 1. Your letter stated that the submarines would prevent all maritime traffic in the zones above mentioned, abandoning all restrictions observed up to the present in the employment of means for sea fighting, and would use every military resource capable of the destruction of ships.

The letter of your Excellency said further that the German Government, having confidence that the Government of Brazil would appreciate the reasons for the methods of war which Germany was forced to take on account of the actual circumstances, hoped that Brazilian ships would be warned of the danger they ran if they navigated the interdicted zones, the same as passengers or merchandise on board any other ship of commerce, neutral or otherwise.

I have just been directed to inform your Excellency that the Federal Government has the greatest desire not to see modified the actual situation, as long as the war lasts, a situation in which Brazil has imposed upon itself the rigorous observance of the laws of neutrality since the commencement of hostilities between nations with whom she has had friendly relations. My Government has always observed this neutrality while reserving to itself the right, which belong to it and which it has always been accustomed to exercise, of action in those cases where Brazilian interests are at stake. The unexpected communication we have just received announcing a blockade of wide extent of countries with which Brazil is continually in economic relations by foreign and Brazilian shipping has produced a justified and profound impression through the imminent menace which it contains of the unjust sacrifice of lives, the destruction of property, and the wholesale disturbance of commercial transactions.

In such circumstances, and while observing always and invariably the same principles, the Brazilian Government, after having examined the tenor of the German note, declares that it cannot accept as effective the blockade which has just been suddenly decreed by the Imperial Government. Because of the means employed to realize this blockade, the extent of the interdicted zones, the absence of all restrictions, including the failure of warning for even neutral menaced ships, and the announced intention of using every military means of destruction of no matter what character, such a blockade would neither be regular nor effective and would be contrary to the principles of law and the conventional rules established for military operations of this nature.

For these reasons the Brazilian Government, in spite of its sincere and keen desire to avoid any disagreement with the nations at war, with whom it is on friendly terms, believes it to be its duty to protest against this blockade and consequently to leave entirely with the Imperial German Government the responsibility for all acts which will involve Brazilian citizens, merchandise, or ships and which are proven to have been committeed in disregard of the recognized principles of international law and of the conventions signed by Brazil and Germany.

Chile and Peru

Peru demanded reparation and indemnity for the sinking of the Lorton. Chile flatly rejected Germany's pretensions in the "prohibited zone" and reserved liberty of action to protect her rights and her citizens. Uruguay, Bolivia, Panama, and Cuba took similar action. Argentina's reply to the German submarine note declared that she would conform her conduct at sea to her fundamental rights under established international law.

The reply of the Chilean Government, made public on Feb. 7, is as follows:

The Chilean Government has taken cognizance of the note sent to it by his Majesty the German Emperor, in which Chile is informed that Germany has fixed the limits of a blockade area around the coasts of England, France, and Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean. It has been informed also that within said limits Germany will resort to hostile acts against whatever ship is encountered, even if it belongs to a neutral power.

Such a measure, in the opinion of the Chilean Government, amounts to a restriction of the rights of neutrals, to which restriction Chile cannot agree because it is contrary to

the principles that have been long established in favor of neutral nations.

The acceptance by Chile of the measures adopted by Germany would, moreover, divert her from the line of strict neutrality which has been followed during the European conflict.

Chile consequently reserves liberty of action to protect all of her rights in the event of any hostile acts against her ships.

The reply of the Peruvian Government, made public on Feb. 9, declares that it reserves all rights for the protection of Peruvian citizens, ships, and cargoes to which neutrals are entitled under international law. The note continues:

However deplorable may be the extremes to which the belligerents are carrying hostilities now, under new threats to neutral trade, the Peruvian Government must declare that it cannot admit the resolution of which your Government has given notification, because the Peruvian Government considers it opposed to international law and the legal rights of neutrals.

The recent odious case of the vessel Lorton, which resulted in a claim being made by my Government, proves the error and injustice of the submarine campaign, now generalized in an unacceptable form by the closure of enormous zones of free seas, with serious danger to the lives and interests of neutral countries.

The Peruvian Foreign Minister, Enrique de la Riva Aguero, in replying to the American Minister respecting President Wilson's suggestion that other neutral nations take the same position as the United States on the German submarine campaign, said:

In reply to your Excellency's note of Feb. 9, it gives me pleasure to say that my Government fully appreciates the principles and intentions that guide your Excellency in the present emergency, which are in complete conformity with your note of April 18, and which uphold the defense of the rights of all neutral nations, seriously threatened by the new methods of maritime war now attempted to be established.

My Government trusts that some modification can still be obtained, speeding the way to sentiments of justice and concord which will prevent the bringing upon America the horrors of a war without parallel in history.

The Scandinavian Protest

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark answered Germany in an identic note, agreed upon after a joint consultation in Stockholm lasting a whole week. The following official summary of it was made public by the Swedish Government:

On Tuesday, the 13th inst., the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Governments handed to the German Ministers in their respective capitals notes identical in tenor protesting against the barring of certain sea zones announced by Germany and Austria.

The note begins by recalling the fact that during the war the Governments have several times found themselves obliged to formulate formal protests against serious infringements of the rights of neutrals involved by measures of various belligerent powers. It then emphasizes the fact that the Governments, whose actions on these various occasions were, as always, inspired by the spirit of the most perfect loyal impartiality, confined themselves to defending the imprescriptable rights of neutrals.

After pointing out that the Governments have on previous occasions protested against measures of belligerents tending to restrict the free use of the seas by neutrals, the note proceeds to emphasize that the Governments on this occasion are all the more bound to maintain, in taking the same point of view, that the obstacles placed in the way of neutral navigation are now more considerable, in both extent and gravity.

The note draws attention to the fact that the only rules of international law which might be invoked in support of measures having as their object the prevention of all commerce and all navigation with the enemy are those relating to a naval blockade. The note affirms that no belligerent has the right to prohibit peaceful navigation through zones the limits of which are very distant from enemy coasts which could be blockaded only in legitimate manner.

The Governments recall the universally recognized law on naval blockade, namely, that a neutral ship cannot be captured if it is not making any attempt to violate the blockade, and that in the event of a ship being captured it must be brought before a prize court in conformity with the general regulations.

The Governments declare their anxiety in regard to the measures which have been announced is aggravated further by the fact that the zones declared dangerous will, it appears, be watched exclusively by submarines, whose activity involves great danger for neutrals' subjects, as has been shown by experience on various occasions in the course of the war.

Finally, the note points out that the measures announced will be all the more contrary to the principles of international law if, as the tenor of the communications of the Imperial Governments seems to indicate, they are to be applied without distinction to all ships entering the zones described, and consequently to those not bound for enemy ports, but on the way from one neutral port to another.

On the ground of the considerations set forth above, the Governments formally protest against the measures taken by Germany

and Austria-Hungary, and make all reservations with regard to the loss of human lives and to material damage which may result from them.

The note handed to the German Minister at Peking by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated an intention to follow the lead of the United States in case the latter should enter a state of war with Germany. Observers in Peking have long noted what they believed to be a desire on the part of the Chinese Government to enter the war on the side of the Entente. A dispatch from Tokio on Feb. 11 stated that the Japanese Government would offer no interference with whatever course China might decide to follow. The text of the Chinese note, made public on Feb. 11, is as follows:

The new measures of submarine warfare inaugurated by Germany are imperiling the lives and property of Chinese citizens even more than the measures previously taken, which have already cost China many lives and constitute a violation of international law. The toleration of their application would introduce into international law arbitrary principles incompatible with legitimate intercourse between neutrals and between neutrals and belligerents.

China, therefore, protests energetically to Germany against the measures proclaimed on Feb. 1, and sincerely hopes that the rights of neutral States will be respected and that the said measures will not be carried out. If contrary to expectation this protest be ineffective China will be constrained, to its profound regret, to sever diplomatic relations. It is unnecessary to add that China's action is dictated by a desire for further peace and the maintenance of international law.

A communication explanatory of China's action was also handed to Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, American Minister to China. It follows:

China, like the President of the United States, is reluctant to believe that the German Government will actually execute measures which imperil the lives and property of the citizens of neutral States and jeopardize legitimate commerce, and which tend, if allowed to be enforced without opposition, to introduce new principles into international law. China, being in accord with the principles set forth in your Excellency's note and firmly associating itself with the United States, has taken similar action by protesting energetically to Germany against the new blockade measures. China also proposes to take such other action in the future as will be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the principles of international law.

Eighteen Days of Ruthless Submarining

A SUFFICIENT time has now elapsed since the inception of unrestricted submarine warfare in accordance with the German announcement of Jan. 31 for us to formulate certain general conclusions. In the first place, it should be remembered that the restriction, which has now been removed, did not check the sinking of ships; it only limited the sinking of ships without previous warning. The present method does not, therefore, necessarily mean the destruction of greater tonnage; it means primarily a greater destruction of life. This would seem to show that the large tonnage destroyed on certain days in February is due, not to the removal of restrictions, not to the omission of warning, (after which the ship would have been sunk in any case,) but rather to the employment of larger numbers of submarines, and also, perhaps, of newer and larger types of submarines.

So far, the losses announced during the month of February, 1917, are as follows:

	Ships Sunk.	Tonnage.
Feb. 1	10	13,039
Feb. 2	8	7,337
Feb. 3	6	10,159
Feb. 4	2	2,623
Feb. 5	5	8,729
Feb. 6	14	44,457
Feb. 7	13	30,352
Feb. 8	10	21,504
Feb. 9	6	10,424
Feb. 10	7	22,271
Feb. 11	2	1,725
Feb. 12	5	8,361
Feb. 13	4	*14,896
Feb. 14	5	†12,287
Feb. 15	6	7,750
Feb. 16	7	9,736
Feb. 17	4	7,483
Feb. 18	3	12,008

*Including the Afric, 11,999 tons.
†Including Lyman M. Law, (Amer.)

This makes a total of 117 ships sunk, with a tonnage of 245,140 during the first eighteen days of February; computation at the same average rate gives 200 ships of 408,905 tons for one month, as against the total of 1,000,000 tons a month which is said to be the estimate of the German Admiralty.

The world's total mercantile tonnage is said to be about 48,000,000, of which about 20,000,000 tons are British. Complete destruction of the world's commercial navies, at the average monthly rate given above, would, therefore, require 120 months; or, if we include British tonnage alone, fifty months.

This estimate is based on the supposition that no new ships are built. In reality, new ships are being built almost as fast as ships are sunk. We may illustrate this by the figures for 1915, the year of the Lusitania, when submarine warfare was largely unrestricted and before Britain had made large inroads on the German subsea fleet. The figures are:

1915.	New British Tonnage.	Number of New Ships.
Steam	1,461,816	655
Sailing	61,934	152
1915.	**British Losses. Tonnage.**	**British Ships Lost.**
Steam	1,452,679	741
Sailing	82,222	334

So that there was an actual net gain in British steam tonnage in the year 1915, and a small net loss in sailing tonnage.

Great Britain's total mercantile tonnage in December, 1915, was:

	Number of Ships.	Tonnage.
Steam	12,776	19,154,277
Sailing	8,021	844,391

While announcements have been made that Great Britain has for months been making intensive efforts to increase the number of ships built and has simplified and standardized building plans with this end in view, the actual figures do not appear to be available. The fact that since the battle of Jutland—that is, during nine months—Great Britain's losses in warships have been almost negligible has released large energies for the building of new mercantile tonnage that would otherwise have been employed in building new warships to replace losses. On Feb. 14 a high Admiralty official was quoted as saying:

"More ships have entered and left English ports in the last few days than for months past. On Feb. 13 more ships arrived and departed than on any day for six months. The average loss since Friday (Feb. 9) was one ship out of every thirty-five. In the English Channel, at a period when a greater number of ships than ever before are plying between British and French ports, the losses in the last two weeks (Feb. 1-14) have been extraordinarily small."

The submarine campaign has had almost as slight an effect on shipping entering and leaving French ports, according to Marcel Hutin, editor of the Echo de Paris. On Feb. 12, M. Hutin says, 112 French and neutral vessels entered French ports—little less than before the unrestricted submarine campaign. These conclusions seem to be supported by the arrival at the Port of New York of considerable groups of British and French ships of large tonnage. It has not been announced whether, or in what way, they were convoyed through the forbidden zone or across the ocean.

Anti-Submarine Defenses

Estimates of the numbers of German submarines in action vary from 100 to 300. No trustworthy figures are obtainable, but the number must be considerable. The question, therefore, arises: How have the Entente naval Powers been able to keep the losses down to the very moderate figures above recorded?

One answer comes from Italy, from Signor Paolo Giordani: "The invention of nets against submarines is due to the British Admiralty, which, not long ago, after several months of toilful silence, celebrated the certain sinking of the one hundredth enemy submarine snared in the toils. These nets are most ingenious and formidable."

The nets are towed through the water by small steam fishing boats known as drifters. Great Britain has already mobilized more than 100,000 fishermen,

with at least 3,000 ships. Some hundreds of these "drifters" have been loaned to Italy. Each drifter drags out and places a section of the net some 1,000 yards long, for which it is responsible. A submarine strikes a piece of net like some blind night-flying beetle. The nearest "drifters" wait a certain time to see if the submarine is prepared to come to the surface and surrender. If not, a bomb is dropped into the water. There is a muffled report, a commotion in the waves, and then all is still. Submarine and net have disappeared, and the returning "drifter" hoists the black flag to indicate successful fishing. Every "drifter" is further armed with a small gun fore and aft, with wireless apparatus and with a megaphone to communicate with its neighbors.

Armed and Armored Boats

Next to this netting process come the armed motor boats. These speedy boats have the advantages of rapidity and vision over the submarines. They draw so little water that it is almost impossible to torpedo them. Back and forth, day and night, in calm or storm, these small boats skim in search of submarines. The first motor boats used in this way were pleasure boats impressed into service; recently special boats have been built, larger, faster, more comfortable, more seaworthy; they are painted leaden gray and carry quick-firing guns, machine guns, torpedoes, and sometimes bombs. And next, in ascending order, come torpedo boats, destroyers, cruisers, all of which aid in hunting for submarines. And, further, hydroplanes, armed with bombs which explode thirty or forty feet under water, do good service, not only in sighting submarines but often in destroying them. Every day, especially in the more confined waters of the Mediterranean, squads of airmen fly out over the waves on regular patrol duty.

There remains yet another method which is perhaps the most effective of all. It is described in a communication published on Feb. 10 and accredited to a British expert, who said:

> I know personally that as many as two or three submarines have been bagged in one day by light guns in the hands of trained gunners, mounted on merchant ships. A submarine commander looking through his periscope has a range of vision of about three miles, but he must get his target broadside on to have a reasonable chance of making a torpedo hit what it is aimed at, and as torpedoes are very expensive missiles he cannot afford to take many chances on a miss. A periscope above the water at a distance of 200 or 300 yards makes a fair mark for a gunner working from the deck of a ship thirty or forty feet above the surface of the sea. One shot hitting the mark is all that is needed, as the submarines are of light construction, easily penetrated, and a hole anywhere in the shell spells their doom. It is seldom that a torpedo is fired when a threatened ship can so manoeuvre as to show only her stern for a mark, and in most of the cases of this nature so far reported the submersibles have come to the surface and resorted to gunfire from the deck. In this kind of a fight a gun mounted on a steamship has a great advantage, for the platform offered by a submarine is an unsteady thing to fire from, and despite the smaller target offered the gunners on ships have the better of it. Careful observations made during the last year (1916) of steamers mounting defense guns show that they are in a measure immune from attack—unless it is without warning, as in the case of the California. The number of U-boats that the Germans have lost has made them chary about showing themselves within range of ships on which they see guns, or which they have learned are defensively armed. Other methods of catching submarines, such as nets, bombs, and devices that are Admiralty secrets, are still being used, but the deck gun on steamers in the hands of good marksmen is leading all others in results.

Two conclusions seem to follow from these facts. The figures of losses during the first three weeks of unrestricted submarining show that the average tonnage of ships lost is low, apparently under 2,000 tons per ship. If we deduct the larger ships, like the Afric and the California, the average of ships sunk is considerably under 2,000 tons. It is probable that these small ships are often unarmed. Their large numbers would make this almost necessary. There are over 12,000 British steamships in commission; with one gun each, this would mean over 12,000 guns, with gun crews; with a gun fore and aft, it would mean 24,000 guns, with crews, to say nothing of the needed structural alterations to support the guns. Here is a large practical difficulty; also, perhaps, the explanation of the fact that the larger steamships seem

nearly immune; they are well armed. The second conclusion is this: So far, only belligerents have armed their ships. Norway, which has lost very heavily, is, as a neutral, debarred, not from putting guns on her ships, so much as from using them. To fire on a duly commissioned war vessel is an act of war, and hitherto this has debarred neutrals from defending themselves. The net result of this situation is to give belligerents a very large and valuable advantage, as against neutrals, throughout the whole field of war commerce.

According to the Board of Trade Journal of London the first week of the unrestricted warfare by submarines did not affect England's food importations. In the week ended Feb. 10, the first full week of the intensified submarine activities, the amount of wheat imported into the United Kingdom was 2,766,200 cwt. The figures for the corresponding weeks in the three preceding years are: 1916, 1,111,800 cwt.; 1915, 1,839,700 cwt., and 1914, 1,474,400 cwt. The totals of corn, grain, meal and flour imported in the same weeks are: 1917, 4,265,810 cwt.; 1916, 2,456,440 cwt.; 1915, 4,050,044 cwt., and 1914, 2,972,910 cwt.

Two Hundred Americans Lost in Submarine Attacks

At least 200 Americans, and probably more, went to their deaths through German and Austrian submarine operations up to Feb. 1, 1917. Most of the Americans lost were traveling on unarmed merchant ships. More than 2,000 citizens of other nationalities lost their lives in the attacks which cost the lives of Americans, but they comprise only part of the toll of life taken by submarine warfare.

The cases which involve the United States and Germany are primarily those in which American life was lost or endangered. The first American of whom there is record to lose his life in submarine attack was Leon Chester Thresher, a passenger on the British liner Falaba, bound from Liverpool for West Africa, which was torpedoed and sunk March 28, 1915, off Milford, England. The Falaba, after a hopeless attempt to escape, stopped and while boats were being lowered and passengers still were aboard, the submarine drove a torpedo into her side, and she went down in ten minutes. Of 242 persons, 136 were saved. Thresher was among the lost.

The first American ship attacked by submarines was the Gulflight, an oil tanker, from Port Arthur, Texas, for Rouen, France, torpedoed without warning off the Scilly Islands May 1, 1915. Two men jumped overboard and were drowned; her Captain died of heart failure. The Gulflight did not sink, and was towed to port by British patrols. The German Government acknowledged the attack as an accident, expressed its regrets, and promised to pay damages.

The Lusitania Tragedy

The next attack shocked the civilized world and brought the United States and Germany for the first time to the verge of war. It was the destruction of the Lusitania on May 7, 1915. Unarmed, with 1,257 passengers, of whom 159 were Americans, and a crew of 702, she was torpedoed without warning and sank in twenty-three minutes off Old Head of Kinsale, as she was nearing Liverpool. In all, 1,198 lives were lost, of which 124 were Americans, many of them men of national prominence. The case passed into diplomatic negotiations, which never took final form.

While the Lusitania case was still fresh in the public mind a German submarine torpedoed another American ship, the Nebraskan, without warning, on May 25, 1915, south of Fastnet Rock. The Nebraskan's name was painted on her sides in letters six feet high, but her American

flag had been hauled down at dark, as is the custom at sea. Like the Gulflight, the Nebraskan owed her safety to her seaworthiness, and she reached port, damaged, under her own steam, and no one was injured. The German Government again expressed its regret for a mistake and promised to pay damages.

Twenty American negro muleteers on the Leyland liner Armenian were killed June 28, 1915, by shellfire and drowning when the Armenian failed to escape with her cargo of army mules from a submersible near the Cornwall coast. The Armenian was warned and invited her destruction by flight.

Case of the Orduna

The next submarine attack in which Americans were endangered was unsuccessful, but only because the Cunard liner Orduna was too speedy for her pursuer. After sending a torpedo just under the Orduna's stern, the submarine rained shells after the fleeing liner without hitting the mark, and then gave up the chase. A score or more of Americans were on the ship, and the attack, coming close on the assurances for the safety of passenger liners during the course of the Lusitania negotiations, aroused American public opinion to a high pitch. Germany explained that the submarine commander had failed to observe his orders and that more explicit instructions had been issued.

Three Americans were endangered when the Russian steamer Leo was torpedoed without warning on her way from Philadelphia to Manchester on July 9, 1915. An American bark, the Normandy, which had just been permitted to go on her way by a German submarine, picked up the survivors. Fourteen were lost, but none was American.

On July 25, 1915, came the first complete destruction of an American ship by a submarine. It was the Leelanaw of New York, bound from Archangel to Belfast with flax, which is contraband. The American sailing ship William P. Frye had been previously sunk in the war, but under different circumstances.

The Leelanaw, which was caught off the Orkney Islands, attempted to escape. She finally stopped, as the German submarine was firing at her, and sent her papers to the submersible by a small boat. The German commander, evidently proceeding on the theory that he could not take the contraband cargo into port, decided to destroy it by sinking the ship. He not only gave the Leelanaw crew all the time they required to take to their boats, but after sinking their ship by shot and torpedo took the crew on board the submarine and towed their boats toward the Orkney mainland. Eight miles from land a strange steamer appeared, and he set the crew in their boats and disappeared beneath the surface. The men reached Kirkwall the next morning.

Nicosian and Baralong

On Aug. 19, 1915, came the case of the Leyland liner Nicosian and the British patrol boat Baralong. The Nicosian, with mules from New Orleans to Avonmouth, was stopped by a submarine off Ireland, and her crew, including thirty-six Americans, took to the boats.

While the submarine was making ready to destroy the Nicosian, the Baralong appeared and destroyed the submarine by gunfire, took on the Nicosian's crew, and towed the ship to safety. The German Government charged that the British commander ordered his men to take no prisoners among the Germans on the submarine, and that many were deliberately murdered. No Americans were hurt.

The next crisis came on Aug. 19, 1915, when the White Star liner Arabic from Liverpool to New York was torpedoed without warning near the Lusitania's grave, and sunk in about ten minutes. Out of 375 passengers and crew, forty-eight were lost. Thirty Americans were on board and all but two were saved. The German Government contended that the submarine commander thought the Arabic was about to ram him and fired in self-defense, but disavowed the act, expressed regret, and gave additional assurances for the future safety of passenger ships, supplementing those previously given in the Lusitania case.

One American of the crew of the Allan liner Hesperian was lost on Sept. 4, 1915, when the ship, returning from Liverpool to Montreal, was torpedoed and sunk without warning off the southern coast of Ireland. The German Admiralty contended that no German submarine was in that vicinity, but a piece of a German torpedo was picked up on the Hesperian's deck.

Sinking of the Ancona

Austria's first submarine operations of consequence, and those which brought Germany's closest ally into the situation, began with the destruction of the Italian liner Ancona in the Mediterranean on Nov. 7, 1915. With hundreds of passengers, many of them women and children, bound from Naples to New York, the Ancona was chased and stopped by an Austrian submarine. Twelve Americans were on board and nine were lost.

Italian official figures say that 308 persons were lost out of 507 on board. Some of the American survivors swore that the Austrian submarine even shelled the lifeboats as the passengers were getting into them. The United States made representations, and the Austrian Government, after some parley, gave assurances which prevented a break.

On Dec. 3, 1915, a submarine, presumably Austrian, fired on the American oil steamer Communipaw, sailing from Portici, Italy, to Alexandria, Egypt. No damage was done to the Communipaw and no one was hurt.

The same submarine, presumably, attacked the American oil steamer Petrolite two days later off the coast of Tripoli. A sailor was injured by a shot into the Petrolite's engine room, and the submarine continued firing after the Petrolite had swung broadside so that the submarine commander could see her name painted on her side and the American flag flying between her masts. The submarine commander finally permitted the Petrolite to proceed after he had taken some of her stores. The American Government made representations to Vienna, which replied with a dispute over the facts. Diplomatic negotiations over the case are still unfinished.

The sinking of the Japanese liner Yasaka Maru, without warning, in the Mediterranean, on Dec. 21, 1915, threatened to involve the United States because Walter James Leigh, of "American parentage," was on board. His American citizenship has never been formally established. No lives were lost, but the incident was notable as the first action of the war involving Japan outside of the Far East.

Attack on the Persia

A new crisis was developed by the destruction of the British liner Persia, on Dec. 30, 1915, southeast of Crete, while on her way to the Orient. American Consul McNeeley, on his way to his post at Aden, was among the 335 persons who lost their lives, of which two or more were Americans. The wake of a torpedo was seen, but no submarine was visible.

Germany, Austria, and Turkey denied responsibility. The United States again made representations and assurances were given for what Germany termed "cruiser warfare," which involved a promise not to sink any peaceful ships without warning or providing for the safety of those aboard.

With the passing of Winter Germany declared a new policy of sinking without warning any merchant ship carrying any armament whatever, and on March 1 the submarine campaign was resumed with renewed vigor.

Promptly on the first day of the new campaign the French liner Patria, carrying no armament, sailing from Naples to New York, was attacked without warning by a submarine north of Tunis. Passengers and crew saw the torpedoes pass under the Patria's stern and some saw a periscope. The Patria put on full speed and escaped further attack, but had another narrow escape in the same way the next month. Americans were on board in both instances.

On March 9, 1916, the Norwegian bark Silius, while lying at anchor in Havre Roads, was torpedoed and sunk without warning. A survivor of the French steamer Louisiane, torpedoed fifteen minutes previously, 500 yards away, swore that he saw the submarine. There were seven Americans in the crew of the Silius and one was injured. Three men, not Americans, lost their lives. Germany disclaimed responsibility.

The next great passenger ship destroyed was the Dutch liner Tubantia. While she was in the North Sea, bound for Rio de Janeiro, an explosion rent the ship asunder, and she sank. Three Americans were passengers. All persons on board were saved except one Russian. Germany disclaimed responsibility for its submarines, torpedo boats, or mines. The Dutch Government made an investigation which indicated a submarine attack, and members of the Tubantia's crew testified to seeing the wake of a torpedo, but did not see a submarine.

On March 18, 1916, the British steamer Berwindvale, with four Americans on board, was torpedoed without warning off Bantry, Ireland, but no lives were lost.

On March 24, 1916, a German submarine chased the Dominion liner Englishman, bound from Avonmouth for Portland, Me., and while the crew was attempting to abandon the ship, shot away her starboard lifeboats. After more firing, as the crew was leaving the ship, the submarine torpedoed and sank her. One American of the crew was among the ten men lost. Many other Americans were aboard, having signed as Canadians. One of the rescued Americans testified that the submarine was the U-19.

The Crucial Sussex Case

On the same day came the culmination of a long list of submarine outrages, which caused President Wilson to lay the situation before Congress. This was the destruction of the French Channel steamer Sussex between Folkestone and Dieppe. All the evidence went to prove that the ship was torpedoed without warning, and, although Germany at first disclaimed responsibility, the statements which the Berlin Foreign Office made in its disclaimer went to prove that a submarine destroyed the ship. With bows shot away, the Sussex, kept afloat by her watertight bulkheads, was towed to Boulogne. Among her wreckage were found parts of a torpedo which, when compared with captured German torpedoes at the French naval station at Toulon, were pronounced by British, French, and American naval officers to be parts of the "warhead" of the German Schwartzkopf torpedo.

On March 27, 1910, the British ship Manchester Engineer, outbound from Philadel-

UNITED STATES NAVAL COMMANDERS

Admiral Henry T. Mayo
Commander in Chief
(© *Harris & Ewing.*)

Admiral William B. Caperton
Commanding Pacific Fleet

Rear Adm. Frank E. Fletcher
Navy General Board

Admiral W. S. Benson
Chief of Naval Operations

UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICERS

Major General Hugh L. Scott
Chief of General Staff
(© *Harris & Ewing.*)

Brig. Gen. Erasmus M. Weaver
Chief of Coast Artillery
(© *Harris & Ewing.*)

Major General Leonard Wood
Commanding Dept. of East
(© *Underwood & Underwood.*)

Major General Tasker H. Bliss
Army General Staff
(© *American Press Assn.*)

phia, was torpedoed and sunk without warning thirteen miles south of Waterford, and the crew saw the periscope of a submarine for ten minutes. Two American negroes were in the crew of thirty-three. All on board were rescued.

The next day the British steamer Eagle Point was shelled by a German submarine 130 miles south of Queenstown. The Eagle Point gave up her attempt to escape, and her crew of forty-two, which included one American, took to the boats in a heavy swell and a stormy wind. All were saved. The submarine came up and sank the ship with a torpedo.

After Germany gave her promise as the result of the Sussex notes there was a temporary lull in submarine warfare, but within a few weeks it began again. By Oct. 1, 1916, the British Government has stated, 262 vessels had been destroyed by German submarines, following the Sussex case, and at least fifteen had been sunk without the warning Germany had promised she would give. The American State Department compiled reports on all the cases through diplomatic and Consular agencies, and about Oct. 1, 1916, it was stated officially that nothing had been found in any which could be taken as proof of a violation of Germany's promises.

Visit of the U-53

The next development came when Germany carried the submarine war to the American side of the Atlantic. On Saturday, Oct. 7, 1916, the German war submarine U-53 entered Newport Harbor unannounced, delivered a package of mail for the German Embassy, and departed as swiftly, as silently, as she had come. Within forty-eight hours afterward she sank five ships within sight of the American coast—three British, one Dutch, and one Norwegian. With the assistance of American destroyers, which witnessed the operations, all lives were saved. In each case the submarine commander gave legal warning and permitted the escape of passengers and crew.

Nothing was developed to show any breach of faith on Germany's part, although there was some discussion of whether the operation did not constitute an offense to the United States and, in fact, a pacific blockade of the American coast. There was some talk of asking Germany to keep her ships away from American ports, as had been done in the case of Great Britain's cruisers early in the war. But as the U-53 disappeared without sinking more ships, the matter did not reach a head.

In the meantime, however, the United States declined to accede to the view of the Allies that neutrals should bar their ports to submarines of all kinds, whether war or merchant.

On Oct. 26, 1916, the British merchant ship Rowanmore was attacked by a German submarine. She fled, but was overhauled and destroyed by gunfire. There was no loss of life, although two Americans and five Filipinos, (naturalized Americans,) the only Americans on board, stated that the submarine shelled the lifeboats as they were leaving the ship.

On Oct. 30 the British ship Marina, bound for the United States, was torpedoed and six of the fifty Americans on board were lost. Survivors said that two submarines torpedoed the ship without warning, and that the boats were compelled to leave her more than 100 miles from land in a heavy sea.

Investigation was ordered, and the German Government was asked for its version of the affair. It developed that the Marina had a 4.7-inch gun mounted astern, but survivors said no attempt was made nor opportunity had to use it. It was the first case of loss of American life since the Sussex case.

Then followed the attack on the American steamer Chemung, the loss of seventeen Americans on the steamer Russian, and, finally, on Jan. 31, a notice that a campaign of ruthlessness was to begin on Feb. 1, irrespective of the consequences.

A Net to Protect New York Harbor

AN ingenious contrivance to protect New York Harbor from submarines has been constructed, consisting of a heavy steel wire net stretched between Sandy Hook and Rockaway Point, crossing the three channels—the Swash, the old Main Ship Channel, and the Ambrose Channel.

During daylight, when torpedo boat destroyers, airplanes, and a mosquito fleet, which will be created for the purpose, are sufficient to make it impossible for any undersea craft to approach the harbor undetected, the net will be lowered so as to permit vessels to pass through the channels. From sunset to sunrise the net will be raised to bar all ingress for submarines at any depth. Similar steps are also being taken for the protection of other harbors on the Atlantic Coast; a net to protect the Norfolk Channel at Hampton Roads was in position by Feb. 20.

Netting is the first and most obvious

method for the defense of a harbor at night and in heavy fogs. It has proved so successful that no submarine has yet been able to operate successfully in any English or French harbor. Hundreds of miles of heavy netting are in use in English waters, and outside of the German coast nets have been stretched for the entanglement and capture of submarines.

Though the Germans say that they have perfected a device for cutting nets which enables their submarines to escape from wire meshes of the weight used by the British during the first two years of the war, no submarine equipped to hack itself through netting has invaded British harbors, and it is concluded that they avoid encounters with nets whenever possible, even if they are sometimes able to extricate themselves.

No details have been made public about the weight of the netting used by the Navy Department or about the size of the meshes, but it is said that the net is strong enough to bar entrance to the harbor to undersea boats of any type yet known.

The Navy Department has kept closely in touch with the methods of defense against submarines which have been used by the British and French to make vessels safe while resting at anchor. One device which is in general use to give warning of the approach of a submarine to a harbor is a detectaphone which reproduces sounds in the water and indicates the presence of a submarine when the motion of a propeller is caught in water which is not used for ordinary shipping.

The Ambrose Channel, which is the principal entrance to New York Harbor, is 2,000 feet wide and 40 feet deep. The old Main Ship Channel used prior to the Summer of 1913 has a width of 1,000 feet and a depth of 30 feet.

Entente Shipbuilding vs. U-Boats

THE announcement by Berlin of unrestricted U-boat warfare finds the balance even between loss due to war causes and new construction, in the tonnage of allied merchantmen. Slightly more than 3,000,000 tons of merchant shipping was the toll exacted by submarines up to Feb. 1, while new construction since the declaration of war in shipyards of England and her allies, France, Russia, Italy and Japan, has totaled 2,800,000 tons to Feb. 1, 1917. Portugal, the newest ally, added about 150,000 tons of confiscated German shipping, while recent purchases from Greece and other neutral nations have swelled the ranks of Entente shipping to a total higher than the losses.

According to Lloyd's Register the merchant tonnage built in England, France, Russia, Italy and Japan in 1913 was 1,450,908. In 1914 it amounted to 2,198,765 tons, of which 900,000 was launched after the outbreak of war. The 1915 total fell to 836,946. Last year saw an increase of 965,499.

How nearly the Entente shipping stands at par after two years of the war is shown by Lloyd's figures comparing the tonnage owned in July, 1914, with that of July, 1916, for the five nations. England was the chief sufferer, her tonnage in 1914 being 21,045,049, and two years later 20,901,999, a net loss of only 143,000 tons. Italy shows the greatest gain, owing to her late entrance into hostilities, from 1,668,296 to 1,896,534 tons, a net gain of 228,238 tons. The Entente nations as a whole registered a slight gain of 136,000 tons for this period.

Since last Summer the U-boat campaign has become more severe. Figures compiled by the Federal Bureau of Navigation from reliable sources give the loss from war causes for 1916 as 2,082,683 tons, as against a total of new construction for the year of 1,899,943 tons. According to another trustworthy estimate* the Entente nations lost 2,000,000 tons during 1916, England losing 1,600,000 as against new construction of 600,000 for the year; France lost 200,000 tons, as

*Journal of Commerce Statistics.

against only 39,000 launched; Japan put in commission 246,000 tons, against a debit of 16,000.

Lloyd's Register gives the allied shipping at the outbreak of war as 27,794,000 tons, (exclusive of Belgium.) Of this total 10.8 per cent. has been lost by war causes. New construction and confiscation of enemy shipping has made good completely the depreciation. Even in 1916, when the U-boat campaign was at its worst, the loss on the basis of sailings was slightly more than one-half of 1 per cent. For every 180 merchant vessels that left the allied ports one was sunk by mines or submarines.

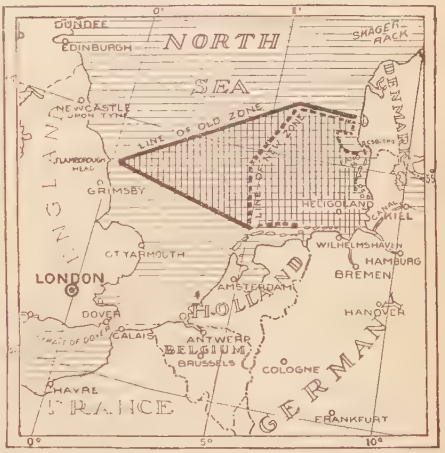
New British Blockade in the North Sea

THE British Admiralty announced on Jan. 27 that the mined area in the North Sea had been enlarged. The previous district banned as dangerous on account of mines was a rectangular area extending from the mouth of the Scheldt River opposite Flushing to the Kentish Knock Lightship and Goodwin Sands Lightship, opposite the entrance to the Thames. This field was established to bar the entry of German naval forces into the Strait of Dover and the English Channel. The new area is designed to serve as a bulwark against the egress of the German Fleet from the Kiel Canal and its various bases on the North Sea coast of Germany.

By this action the British Government barred to merchant shipping practically all the area of the North Sea east of the Dogger Banks, between a point high on the Danish coast to a point where the Dutch coast makes its wide bend eastward, the Danish and Dutch territorial waters being excluded.

The Admiralty on Feb. 13 announced a modification of this area, designating new limitations "in view of unrestricted warfare carried on by Germany." The new zone makes important concessions to neutrals. The zone, laid out in the proclamation of Jan. 27, extended in a fan-like shape from off Flamborough Head on the east coast of England to the Dutch and Danish coasts, and covered the entire North Sea coast of Germany.

After this vast area had been proclaimed by England as dangerous, Germany established its submarine blockade, the eastern boundary of which in the North Sea extended along the line of 4 degrees 50 minutes east longitude from Terschelling Lightship to Udsire Lightship on the Norwegian coast. Later Germany moved part of the eastern boundary of its North Sea danger



GREAT BRITAIN'S NEW "ZONE OF DANGER"

area to the line marked by 4 degrees east longtitude.

The original British danger area, which was established so as to extend much further west of 4 degrees east longitude, has been changed so that all of it is east of 4 degrees 30 minutes east longitude.

There has thus been established, by England's action as well as by Germany's recent modification, an irregular lane, the narrowest neck of which is thirty miles wide, through which shipping may pass between the Danish, Norwegian, and Holland coasts without skirting their respective coasts. This newly established lane restores an open sea route to and from Holland through an irregularly shaped zone, which lies between the German danger area on the west and the British danger area on the east.

The German Submarine Record

Details of Chief Vessels Sunk, With Diplomatic Developments

GERMAN methods of submarine warfare, which have at last caused the breaking of friendly relations between the United States and Germany, have a record extending from October, 1914, to the present time. According to a statement published by the German Admiralty, 1,303 merchant vessels had been sunk by the Teutonic allies up to June 30, 1916. A later statement, issued officially at Berlin, claimed a total of 4,000,000 tons of Entente shipping destroyed up to the beginning of 1917, including 3,000,000 tons under the British flag. These figures, however, are believed to be in excess of the facts. According to Lloyd's Register, the total to Feb. 1 was a little more than 3,000,000 tons.

According to Germany's official claims, the month of December, 1916, brought the destruction of 152 merchant ships of the Entente Powers and 65 neutral vessels, "sunk because of their tranportation of contraband to the enemy," making 415,000 tonnage destroyed in that month alone. The record for January was on a similar scale. That for the first two weeks of February—under the policy of "intensified warfare"—was 101 ships of 208,010 tonnage sunk.

A valuable summary of the leading cases of this kind from the beginning of the war to the end of last October, with dates, details, and diplomatic developments, recently appeared in the semi-official Nouvelles de France, from which it is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. All direct quotations from diplomatic notes have been verified from the official text:

Period Preceding the Lusitania Case

Oct. 26, 1914—The French steamship Amiral Ganteaume is torpedoed without warning while transporting from Calais to La Pallice 2,500 refugees from the North of Belgium. Thirty sailors and passengers are killed or drowned; the others are saved, thanks to the proximity of the coast and the swiftness of the aid furnished.

Jan. 29, 1915—The French Government addresses to the neutral powers a memorandum protesting against the torpedoing of the Amiral Ganteaume. This memorandum states the facts ascertained after a careful investigation. "The attack upon the French steamer and its passengers," it says, "was committed by a vessel of the Imperial German Navy: (1) Without daring to show its colors; (2) without visit, order, or warning; (3) upon a defenseless passenger ship loaded with women, children, and old men; (4) without any military, strategic, or naval utility, and without any other possible result than the murder of inoffensive persons and the destruction of a merchant vessel outside of all possibility of capture and subsequent judgment in a prize court." The Government of the republic brings these facts to the knowledge of the powers which at the second peace conference (session of Oct. 9, 1907) had received, as the memorandum recalls, from Baron Marshal von Bieberstein, first German plenipotentiary, the following declaration: "The officers of the German Navy, I say it emphatically, will always fulfill in the strictest manner the duties based on the unwritten law of humanity and civilization."

Jan. 30, 1915—Torpedoing by German submarines of the English steamships Take Maru and Icaria in the North Sea, and of the English steamships Linda Blanche and Ben Cruachen in the Irish Sea. The two former were torpedoed without the required warning; the others after an examination of papers and a notice to the crews to leave the ships.

Jan. 31, 1915—Protest of the French Minister of Marine against these acts.

Feb. 1, 1915—A German submarine fires a torpedo at the English hospital ship Asturias without hitting it.

Feb. 3, 1915—Note from the French Minister of Marine protesting against the attack on the Asturias and invoking the immunity guaranteed to hospital ships by Convention X., signed at The Hague on Oct. 18, 1907.

Feb. 3, 1915—Memorandum from Germany to the neutral powers declaring "all the waters around Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, a war zone," and announcing that on and after Feb. 18 Germany "will attempt to destroy every enemy ship found in that war zone, without its being always possible to

avoid the danger that will thus threaten neutral persons and ships." Germany gives warning that "it cannot be responsible hereafter for the safety of crews, passengers, and cargoes of such ships," and it furthermore "calls the attention of neutrals to the fact that it would be well for their ships to avoid entering this zone, for, although the German naval forces are instructed to avoid all violence to neutral ships, in so far as these can be recognized, the order given by the British Government to hoist neutral flags and the contingencies of naval warfare might be the cause of these ships becoming the victims of an attack directed against the vessels of the enemy."

The War Zone Controversy

Feb. 10, 1915—American note in reply to the German memorandum. It states that the American Government views the possibilities referred to in this memorandum "with such grave concern, that it feels it to be its privilege, and, indeed, its duty, in the circumstances to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relation between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens. * * * To declare and exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible."

After stating that the destruction of American ships or American lives on the high seas would be difficult to reconcile with the friendly relations existing between the two Governments, the note adds that the United States "would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

Feb. 15, 1915—Note from the German Admiralty indicating that after Feb. 18 Germany will make war by all the means in her power against the British merchant marine in the war zone, and warning neutrals not to enter that zone because they would expose themselves to the same risks "as if they sailed through the midst of naval battles"—risks "for which Germany disowns all responsibility."

Feb. 17, 1915—Germany answers the American note. She holds that the creation of a war zone is a reply to the war methods of England, which are contrary to the law of nations, and that it is a means for hindering the importation of war materials into England and the allied countries. She asks the American Government to advise merchant ships of that nationality to avoid the war zone.

Attempt at Modus Vivendi

Feb. 22, 1915—American note containing certain suggestions for the establishment of a modus vivendi among the belligerents; one of the articles of this modus vivendi proposes that no Government should use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search; on the other hand, England should allow foodstuffs to pass through to the German civil population.

Feb. 28, 1915—Germany replies to the preceding note. She declares herself favorable to the establishment of a modus vivendi, but with modifications. She subordinates the observance of general rules of international law by submarines to the condition that merchant ships shall not be armed; she exacts, besides, that Germany be permitted to import articles of prime necessity indicated in the free list of the Declaration of London, (cotton, rubber, ores, &c.;) she suggests, likewise, that the importation of war munitions from neutral to belligerent countries be forbidden.

March 1, 1915—Declaration of France and England criticising as contrary to international law the German policy of torpedoing at sight, in the war zone, every merchant ship under every flag, without regard for the safety of the crew and passengers. The declaration announces the purpose of the Allies to employ methods of reprisal consistent with the principles of humanity, and consisting in the interception of merchandise destined for Germany or proceeding from Germany.

March 10, 1915—Declaration from the German Ambassador at Washington attributing to an error the attack on the hospital ship Asturias.

March 13, 1915—British memorandum to the United States. It indicates that, as the Germans refuse to renounce the use of mines for offensive purposes, and are not disposed to discontinue their attacks on merchant ships, it is useless to examine the terms of the proposed modus vivendi.

March 13, 1915—Torpedoing of the Hanna, a Swedish vessel; six victims.

March 28, 1915—Torpedoing of the British steamer Falaba by a German submarine. The torpedoes are fired while the crew and passengers are entering the small boats. More than 100 persons, including Mr. Thrasher, an American citizen, perish with the ship.

April 8, 1915—A German submarine torpedoes the steamer Harplyce, in the service of the American Commission for the Aid of Belgium, and provided with a safe conduct issued by the German Minister at The Hague; fifteen victims.

May 1, 1915—American steamer Gulflight torpedoed by a German submarine, entailing the death of two Americans.

May 1, 1915—Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador, publishes in the American newspapers a notice informing the public that allied vessels entering the war zone are liable to destruction, and that neutral passengers traveling on such vessels will do so at their own risk.

Sinking of the Lusitania

May 7, 1915—The British passenger steamer Lusitania is torpedoed without warning by a German submarine; 1,198 victims, of whom 124 were American citizens.

May 13, 1915—Note from Secretary of State Bryan to Germany. The American Government declares itself unable to believe that such acts as the destruction of the Falaba, the Gulflight, and the Lusitania, "acts so absolutely contrary to the rules, practice, and spirit of modern warfare," can have the sanction of the German Government. The adoption of measures of reprisal so far exceeding ordinary methods of maritime warfare, the warning against the danger of traversing a so-called zone of war, cannot limit the rights of commanders of American vessels or of American citizens traveling legally as passengers on commercial vessels of belligerent nationality. The American Government cannot believe that the German Government questions these rights.

"It assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag."

The note goes on to point out the practical impossibility of employing submarines for the destruction of commerce without "disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats." In the cases cited the necessary time was not allowed for taking the most elementary measures of safety, and in at least two of them no warning was given. The notice published in the newspapers, and supposed to come from the German Embassy, cannot be accepted as an excuse. The American Government wishes to believe that the German submarines have disobeyed orders, and that the German Government will disavow the acts in question, make reparation for them, and take immediate measures to prevent their repetition. The note concludes:

"Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks. The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens, and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

May 25, 1915—American steamship Nebraskan attacked by a German submarine, which fires a torpedo without warning.

May 28, 1915—Foreign Secretary von Jagow replies. The attack on the Gulflight is explained as an error due to the fact that English ships use the American flag. The Falaba had been allowed only a brief time for the escape of passengers and crew because that vessel had tried to escape. As to the Lusitania, it was an auxiliary cruiser; it had guns hidden under the deck; it was transporting Canadian troops and munitions of war; the rapidity with which it sank was due to an explosion of munitions caused by the torpedo, "otherwise, in all human probability, the passengers of the Lusitania would have been saved." The German Government submits all these facts to the American Government and reserves its final decision until it shall have received a reply.

June 1, 1915—Note from von Jagow declaring that the torpedoing of the Gulflight is the result of an error, for which the marine commander was not to blame, and offering to pay an indemnity.

June 2, 1915—Count von Bernstorff proposes to President Wilson: (1) The cessation of submarine warfare if the United States insist on obtaining from England the freedom of Germany to import foodstuffs, cotton, and materials of prime necessity; (2) immunity of vessels and passengers coming from American ports if the United States will guarantee that these vessels are not carrying contraband of war. President Wilson rejects these suggestions and holds to the terms of his note of May 13.

Reply in Lusitania Case

June 9, 1915—American reply to the German notes of May 28 and June 1. As regards the case of the Falaba, the United States Government is surprised to find the German Government holding that an effort on the part of a merchant ship to escape can modify the obligation to safeguard the lives of those on board. "Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives

of her passengers or crew." The German Government is misinformed when it asserts that the Lusitania was carrying troops or was armed for offense.

"Whatever be the other facts regarding the Lusitania, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls that had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. * * * The Government of the United States, therefore, deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done."

[Remark.—The foregoing note does not radically condemn the use of submarines against commercial vessels, as did the note of May 13. It limits itself to requiring that this use shall be combined with respect for neutral ships and for the lives of noncombatants.]

July 8, 1915—Germany replies to the American note of June 9. She asserts that all the evil is due to Germany's enemies, who have paralyzed commerce between Germany and neutral countries contrary to international law, and that this obliges Germany to make submarine war upon commerce. In the fight for existence which has been imposed upon Germany by her adversaries it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. The case of the Lusitania "shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads." * * * The German Government declares itself "ready to do all it can during the present war also to prevent the jeopardizing of lives of American citizens. In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries, German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance." * * * The note remarks in closing that with such an arrangement there would be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in vessels carrying an enemy flag in time of war, and that "in particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board."

[Remark.—Germany here proposes the establishment of a modus vivendi comprising, on the one hand, immunity for American vessels on condition that the Federal Government prevent their carrying contraband, and, on the other hand, the torpedoing of merchant ships of belligerents without regard to neutral passengers.]

July 9, 1915—The English passenger steamer Orduna, plying from Liverpool to New York, with 227 passengers, of whom 21 are Americans, is attacked without warning by a German submarine, which fires a torpedo, followed by several shells, without hitting the vessel.

July 12, 1915—Germany sends a memorandum stating that the attack on the Nebraskan was a "regrettable accident," due to an error, for which the commander of the submarine was not to blame. The German Government expresses its regrets, and declares itself ready to repair the damages suffered by American citizens.

July 21, 1915—America replies to the German note of July 8. The note is declared "very unsatisfactory," because it fails to indicate the way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied to the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles. It is vain for the German Government to seek to justify its acts by representing them as reprisals against illegal acts by England. On the one hand, the United States cannot discuss the policy of England save with the British Government itself, and, on the other hand, reprisals directed against the enemy ought not to harm the lives or property of neutrals. The American Government is ready to take into account the new aspects of naval warfare, but cannot assent to the diminution of any essential or fundamental right of its citizens. "The rights of neutrals in time of war are based on principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable." The American Government cannot accept the suggestion that "certain vessels shall be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack, and would be a curtailment and, therefore, an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends, and which in times of calmer council every nation would concede as of course." The American Government concludes by declaring that "repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of these rights must be regarded by the Government of the United

States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

Aug. 19, 1915—The British steamer Arabic, bound from Liverpool to New York, is torpedoed without warning at the moment when it is approaching the English steamship Dulsley, just struck by a torpedo, in order to rescue the crew. Sixteen victims, including two Americans.

Aug. 24, 1915—Count von Bernstorff communicates to the State Department the instructions he has received in regard to the Arabic. After making all reserves as to the facts, the note says that the loss of American lives is contrary to the intention of the German Government, and is deeply regretted.

Germany's Promise to Reform

Sept. 1, 1915—A letter from Count von Bernstorff informs Mr. Lansing that his instructions contain the following passage: "Passenger liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without taking measures to secure the safety of the lives of noncombatants, on condition that the steamers shall not try to escape or offer resistance."

Sept. 4, 1915—The English passenger steamer Hesperian, bound from Liverpool to Montreal, is torpedoed without warning; twenty-five deaths, including one American, and twenty persons injured. The English inquest establishes the fact that this vessel was torpedoed; the German view, however, is that it struck a mine. The American Government, considering the case doubtful, merely places the incident on file.

Sept. 7, 1915—The German Government hands a communication to the American Ambassador. It states that the Arabic was torpedoed without warning because the submarine commander was convinced that the vessel intended to attack and ram him. The German Government regards itself as under no obligation to pay an indemnity, even if the commander of the submarine was mistaken as to the intentions of the Arabic.

Sept. 9, 1915—German memorandum to the United States, declaring that "the attack on the Orduna by means of a torpedo was not in accord with existing instructions, which stipulate that large passenger steamers can be torpedoed only after due warning and after the passengers and crew have been placed in safety"; the error will not occur again, as more precise instructions have been given.

Sept. 12, 1915—Mr. Lansing communicates to Count von Bernstorff the unanimous testimony of the survivors of the Arabic that the vessel was peacefully pursuing its course when it was unexpectedly torpedoed.

Sept. 21, 1915—The newspapers publish a communication from Foreign Secretary von Jagow declaring that enemy ships carrying passengers will not be attacked without warning or without taking precautions to safeguard the lives of the passengers and crews; that, moreover, merchant ships will have nothing to fear from submarines if they do not carry contraband of war.

September, 1915—About the end of this month England, in concert with Russia, organizes submarine cruises in the Baltic against merchant vessels. These cruisers are conducted in conformity with the rules of international law regarding visit and search, and the safeguarding of the lives of noncombatants.

Oct. 5, 1915—A letter from Count von Bernstorff to Mr. Lansing disavowing in the name of his Government the torpedoing of the Arabic; the German Government expresses regrets and promises an indemnity. The letter adds that orders given to submarines have been made so rigorous that the recurrence of such incidents is considered impossible.

Torpedoing of the Ancona

Nov. 8, 1915—The Italian passenger steamer Ancona, bound from Italy to America, is fired upon without warning, torpedoed, and sunk between Sardinia and the coast of Tunisia by a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag; the fire is directed in part against the lifeboats; more than 200 victims, including twenty Americans. (This act was committed outside of the war zone proclaimed on Feb. 4, 1915; it was in September, 1915, that German and Austrian submarines began to attack merchant ships in the Mediterranean.)

November, 1915—Protest of the Italian Government to the neutral nations against the destruction of the Ancona in violation of the fundamental laws of humanity and of the right which requires the belligerents to do all in their power, whatever the circumstances, to save the lives of noncombatants.

Dec. 5, 1915—Attack on the Petrolite, an American oil tank steamer, by an Austrian submarine that fires on it without warning, and continues to fire, wounding one man, after the vessel has stopped; in the end the submarine exacts a tribute of provisions from this vessel. The United States demands apology and reparation. Austria alleges that the submarine had mistaken the Petrolite for an enemy in disguise. The United States replies, (note of June 26, 1916,) that such a fear was without valid grounds, and that the conduct of the submarine commander showed an absolute lack of judgment and presence of mind, or else a well-matured intention equivalent to complete contempt for the rights of neutrals.

Dec. 9, 1915—A note from the United States to Austria-Hungary on the destruction of the Ancona. The American Government, referring to the views it had expressed in its correspondence with Austria's ally considers that the commander of the submarine "violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the Ancona before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel"; this was "a wanton slaughter of defenseless noncombatants." It refuses to believe that the Austro-Hungarian Government sanctions such acts; it thinks that the sub

marine commander acted in violation of his instructions, and it therefore "demands that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished, and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel."

Dec. 14, 1915—Baron von Burian hands an answer to the American Ambassador. It is a document of a dilatory nature. It states that the American note does not contain enough material proofs, that it does not give the names of the American victims on the Ancona, that it does not enunciate the judicial principles adopted by the Federal Government, but refers to a correspondence with another Government, with which the Government at Vienna has no authentic relation. Consequently it demands of the United States a more precise statement of rights and of facts.

Dec. 21, 1915—A second American note on the Ancona. It refers to the fact that the report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty states that the engines were stopped and the passengers still on board when the steamer was torpedoed. This is enough to show that there was a violation of the universally established rules of international law; the evidence is so clear that the Government of the United States has no need to discuss it, and does not understand that the Austro-Hungarian Government doubts it. It therefore renews its former demands.

Dec. 29, 1915—Austria replies on the subject of the Ancona. She communicates the result of an investigation and takes her stand upon this to impute the loss of human lives to the bad conduct of the crew of the Ancona. Nevertheless, she announces that the commander of the submarine has been punished for not obeying his instructions. The Austro-Hungarian Government promises, with slight reservations, to indemnify the victims. It reserves the right, however, to discuss later the difficult international questions arising out of submarine warfare.

Dec. 30, 1915—The Clan MacFarlane, a British vessel sailing from England to Bombay, is torpedoed without warning amid a violent storm in the Mediterranean. Fifty of the men cannot be saved.

The British passenger liner Persia is sunk in the Mediterranean; 335 victims, including several Americans. No submarine having been seen, Germany and Austria-Hungary declare that, according to the reports of their naval officers, this destruction was not caused by any of their submarines.

Jan. 7, 1916—The German Embassy at Washington issues a memorandum indicating that the submarines have received orders to conform to the general principles of international law in their operations against commerce in the Mediterranean; the measures of reprisal used in the war zone around the British Isles are not to apply in the Mediterranean. German submarines will not destroy enemy merchant ships that do not try to escape or to resist until after having assured the safety of the passengers and crews.

Question of Armed Merchantmen

Jan. 18, 1916—Secretary Lansing writes a letter to the diplomatic representatives of England, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan at Washington, suggesting the establishment of a modus vivendi by the Allies on the following basis: Submarines will not attack enemy merchantmen without warning and will not sink them until after having placed passengers and crews in safety; the merchantmen will carry no armament.

Feb. 8, 1916—Germany sends a memorandum to the neutral powers announcing that armed merchant vessels of Germany's enemies will be treated as warships and attacked as such; the neutral powers are asked to warn their citizens not to intrust their lives or property to such ships.

Feb. 10, 1916—Austria-Hungary sends a memorandum to the neutral powers on the same subject.

Feb. 15, 1916—Secretary Lansing tells representatives of the American press that by international law commercial vessels have the right to carry arms in self-defense.

Feb. 24, 1916—President Wilson writes a letter to Mr. Stone, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the Senate. He refuses to advise American citizens not to travel on armed merchant ships belonging to Germany's enemies, because this would be to renounce the inalienable rights of Americans based on principles established by all nations to lessen the horror and sufferings of war. It would be "an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere," and an "abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right."

March 3, 1916—The American Senate tables the Gore resolution, in which it had been intended to warn Americans not to travel on armed vessels of belligerents.

March 7, 1916—The House of Representatives takes similar action.

March 8, 1916—The German Ambassador to the United States communicates a memorandum regarding the naval measures adopted by the belligerents. It states that Germany in February, 1915, was compelled by her enemies to resort to "a new weapon, the use of which had not yet been regulated by international law, and in doing so could not, and did not, violate any existing rules, but only took into account the peculiarity of this new weapon, the submarine boat"; furthermore, this action was one of retaliation against the deeds of England.

The Tubantia and Palembang

March 15-16, 1916—During the night and in a wild sea the Dutch steamer Tubantia, carrying passengers, is torpedoed without warn-

ing. The German press pretends that the ship struck a mine, and even intimates that it may have been torpedoed by an English submarine. The British Admiralty issues a denial of this rumor, and adds that no mine was laid by the English fleet in the region where the sinking occurred. On the other hand, the German Legation assures the press of Holland that no German submarine or torpedo boat caused the loss of the Tubantia, and that the Germans have not planted mines in that locality. A Dutch investigation establishes the fact that the explosion was caused by a Schwartzkopf torpedo of bronze, (No. 2,033, verdict of the Dutch Navigation Council, April 11;) now, this kind of torpedo is used only by the German Navy. The German Admiralty then asserts that the torpedo in question was fired on March 6 at an English destroyer, that it missed the ship and traveled to the shore, and that the Tubantia there ran into it by accident, (declaration of June 9.) On Sept. 25 the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs announces that he has proposed to submit the examination into the causes of the Tubantia's destruction to an international commission of inquiry, and that the German Government has accepted, with the proviso that the commission shall not act until after the conclusion of peace; Holland has given its assent.

March 18, 1916—The Dutch steamship Palembang is sunk in the North Sea; the crew is saved, but nine men are wounded. An investigation made in Holland shows that there were three explosions, the first possibly produced by a mine, the others producible only by torpedoes; at the time of the last explosion the ship was not moving. The torpedo causing the second explosion might have been intended for an English destroyer lying near by, but the last could have been aimed only at the Palembang. The German Government affirms, on the contrary, that this vessel was not torpedoed, because, it says, no German warship was near the Palembang at the moment of the accident.

March 22 and 23, 1916—The Ambassadors of the allied powers at Washington present a note and memorandum in answer to Mr. Lansing's letter of Jan. 18. They remind the United States that the arming of merchant ships is the exercise of a recognized right, and that this protection against illegal attacks cannot be renounced save upon receipt of guarantees against a renewal of such attacks. As Germany has greatly extended her submarine war methods on lines contrary to international law, the authors of these acts would be encouraged by being left to go unpunished. Mr. Lansing's proposition is therefore rejected.

Torpedoing of the Sussex

March 24, 1916—The French passenger steamer Sussex, on its way from Folkestone to Dieppe, is torpedoed without warning. This vessel was not armed, and was not following the route of the military transports. About eighty passengers, including American citizens, were killed or wounded; a Spanish composer, Granados, is among the victims.

March 29, 1916—The Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs announces that he has received from the German Minister at The Hague the following declaration: "The principles laid down by the Imperial Government in regard to submarine warfare, in the form in which they were communicated to the neutral Governments, have not been modified, except that the instructions concerning armed commercial vessels have been more clearly defined. The German naval forces have the strictest orders to abstain from all attacks upon neutral ships unless they try to flee or resist search."

April 5, 1916—The English steamer Zent is torpedoed without warning by a submarine and sinks in a few minutes; 49 victims.

April 6, 1916—The Reichstag passes a resolution offered by its Budget Committee, holding that as the submarine has shown itself to be the most effective weapon against the attempts of England to starve Germany, it is desirable to use the submarine, as well as all other military means, in such a way as to guarantee to Germany her future and a sure peace, and to safeguard Germany's interests on the seas—in her negotiations with foreign States—by the maintenance of the necessary liberty to employ this weapon, while at the same time not losing sight of the legitimate interests of neutral States.

April 7, 1916—The Dutch steamer Eemdijk, bound from Baltimore to Rotterdam, and displaying the Dutch flag and other visible signs of its nationality, is struck by a torpedo fired by a German submarine, as shown by an investigation made in England after the vessel has taken refuge there.

The Sussex Negotiations

April 10, 1916—Von Jagow delivers a note to the United States Ambassador at Berlin. A German submarine, he states, did indeed sink a long, black vessel in the English Channel, but according to sketches made by the Captain it could not have been the Sussex, but rather a warship or an English mine layer. The Sussex probably must have struck a British mine.

April 18, 1916—The Danish press tells of the sufferings endured by the crew of the Danish sailing vessel Proven, who spent three days and two nights in open boats after their vessel, which was carrying salt from Portugal to Sweden, had been sunk by a German submarine.

April 18, 1916—Secretary Lansing sends a note in reply to the German note of April 10. After proving that the Sussex was sunk without warning by a German torpedo, the note expresses regret at perceiving that the German Government does not understand the gravity of the situation resulting not only from the attack on the Sussex, but from the whole German method of submarine warfare, comprising the destruction of merchant ships

without distinction of nationality or destination. It recalls the fact that the United States has protested against submarine warfare as contrary to the principles of humanity recognized by all civilized nations. Germany has promised to respect passenger ships, but the commanders of her submarines have not kept that promise, and the list of Americans who have thus lost their lives has grown longer from month to month, until it now has reached 100. The United States Government has been very patient, but now "it has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed, and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants." The note ends with the statement that if it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare, the American Government will have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

April 24, 1916—The Dutch steamer Berkelstroom, on its way to England, is shelled by a German submarine without warning. The vessel, having stopped, is sunk, though the contraband found on board amounts to only one-third of the cargo, and despite the offer to throw this overboard; to a remark of the Captain on this subject the commander of the submarine replies: "Everything that goes to England is contraband."

May 4, 1916—Von Jagow answers the American note. The Sussex affair is reserved for later treatment; if a German submarine sank that ship Germany will asume the consequences. The note protests against the American criticism of submarine warfare. "The German naval forces are under orders to conduct submarine warfare in conformity with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain." Errors have occurred: they are inevitable in all wars. The note contends that the German submarine warfare is only a reply to the British violation of international law in condemning millions of women and children to starvation. The German Government announces that the German naval forces have received the following order:

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

In consequence of these new orders the German Government "does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war," rules which the United States has invoked in its notes to the British Government. "Should steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all the belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

May 10, 1916—Secretary Lansing replies to the German note of May 4. This response is very brief. It takes cognizance of the intention to make German naval officers observe the rules of international law. The American Government assumes that, despite certain passages of the German note, Germany does not intend to make the fulfillment of her promises depend upon the negotiations between the United States and any other belligerent Government. The note concludes: "In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

June 2, 1916—The Norwegian steamers Bure and Orkedal are torpedoed without warning by an unknown submarine which is seen by some of the sailors; in the crew of the Bure one man is killed and two are wounded.

Submarines in Neutral Ports

June 21, 1916—The German submarine U-35 enters the Spanish port of Carthagena and is there treated as an ordinary warship, its stay being limited to twenty-four hours.

July 9, 1916—The German commercial submarine Deutschland enters the American port of Norfolk and proceeds to Baltimore. It is considered a merchant ship and treated as such.

July 10, 1916—The Dutch sloop Geertruida, though displaying its flag and other marks of its nationality, (the national colors painted on its sides, with the word "Holland" in large letters,) is fired upon without warning by a German submarine; it sinks in three minutes. When the master of the ship expresses his contempt for such methods the commander of the submarine replies: "It's war. Germany will pay well for everything."

July 19, 1916—A Swedish law forbids for-

eign war submarines to enter Swedish waters under peril of being attacked without warning. An exception is made in cases where submarines are forced by stress of weather to put into port.

July 27, 1916—Captain Fryatt is condemned to death by a German court-martial and shot. Commanding an English vessel that was summoned to stop by the German U-53, he had tried to sink the latter by heading his ship toward it at full speed. This had occurred on March 28, 1915.

Aug. 9. 1916—According to press dispatches, the Bundesrat approves the rejection by the Chancellor of the unrestricted submarine warfare urged by the Pan-German radicals.

Aug. 29, 1916—The French boat François Joseph is torpedoed in the Mediterranean, fifty miles from the Balearic Islands. The seven men of the crew remain in an open boat through a violent storm until the 31st.

August, 1916—Memorandum from the Entente Allies to the neutral powers contends that the characteristics of submarines are an obstacle to allowing them the ordinary privileges of international law in neutral ports. By their ability to dive they can evade control; it is impossible to identify them, to ascertain their nationality, their character as neutral or belligerent, or as warship or merchant ship; every place at a distance from its base where the submarine can stay and obtain supplies becomes for it a base of naval operations. Consequently the Allies are of the opinion that submarines belonging to belligerents ought not to be admitted to neutral waters and that every belligerent submarine entering a neutral port should be interned.

To this memorandum the Government of the United States replies (Aug. 31) that it is not "at present aware of any circumstances concerning the use of war or merchant submarines which would render the existing rules of international law inapplicable to them," and that in consequence it will reserve its liberty of action. It adds that it is the duty of belligerent powers to distinguish between submarines of neutral and belligerent nationality.

Oct. 7, 1916—The German submarine U-53 arrives at Newport, R. I., and remains there a few hours.

Oct. 8, 1916—German submarines sink five British and neutral vessels in proximity to American waters. Among the latter is the Dutch steamer Blommersdijk. The Netherlands Government protests, holding that the cargo was destined for Holland. It receives assurance that "the commanders of submarines have strict orders not to sink neutral ships without fully observing the stipulations of the German code for maritime prizes," and that if these orders have not been executed the German Government will indemnify Holland. (Communiqué of the Netherlands Government, published Oct. 14.)

Oct. 11, 1916—A note from Norway to Germany protests against the fact that Norwegian vessels have been sunk recently without sufficient provision for the safety of the lives of the crews, a course contrary to the law of nations. It holds that the Convention of London does not authorize the destruction of neutral ships except in special cases, and that the German practice is making a rule of the exception.

Oct. 13, 1916—A Norwegian decree forbids naval submarines of the belligerent powers to enter Norwegian waters under pain of being attacked without warning. Exception is made in case of forced refuge. The interdiction does not extend to naval submarines of neutrals, nor to any commercial submarines.

[Remark—The German press, which approved the similar Swedish decree of July 19, freely condemns that of Norway.]

Oct. 14, 1916—Holland replies to the allied memorandum of August. The Netherlands Government declares that when it forbade all warships to enter its territorial waters, war submarines were included in that interdiction; as for commercial submarines entering Dutch ports, no rule of international law authorizes their internment.

Oct. 18, 1916—A communiqué from the German Legation to the Norwegian press gives an answer to the note of the 11th. It assures Norway that the German naval forces destroy neutral vessels only when they cannot do otherwise. It adds that in such cases the German commanders take the greatest care to bring the Norwegian vessels as near to the shore as possible.

Oct. 20, 1916—A German note to Norway places on record certain reservations which the Imperial Government makes in regard to the Norwegian decree of Oct. 13.

Statistical Data

March 30, 1916—Mr. Nelson communicates to the United States Senate a list of 136 Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch ships sunk by submarines.

April 18, 1916—Mr. Runciman informs the House of Commons that from Aug. 4, 1914, to April 15, 1916, 3,117 persons (1,754 sailors, 188 fishermen, and 1,175 passengers) lost their lives on British ships by acts of the enemy.

May 11, 1916—The British Government communicates to the House of Commons a list of 37 English and 22 neutral vessels that were torpedoed without warning from May 7, 1915, to May 10, 1916.

Oct. 10, 1916—Norway has lost to date 171 vessels, totaling 235,000 tonnage; 140 Norwegian sailors have perished.

Nov. 18, 1916—The Paris edition of The London Daily Mail cites a response of Lord Grey to the effect that from June 1 to Sept. 30, 1916, German submarines have sunk, not counting warships, 714 British vessels, 314 vessels belonging to England's allies, and 281 neutral merchantmen, of which 160 were Norwegian.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Military Operations of the Month

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung .

ACCURATE judgment of the present war situation from the military standpoint and a discussion of the whole development of the politico-military conditions during the period ending about the middle of February must be based upon consideration of the grand offensives predicted for the approaching Spring which are expected to decide the conflict.

Even the outstanding military event of the past month, the declaration by Germany of unrestricted U-boat warfare, which led to the rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, and which at the present moment threatens to develop into armed conflict between the two nations, must be divested of its political garb and viewed from the standpoint of its effect upon the shaping of the war situation.

The cause and the purpose of unrestricted warfare in the barred zone around the British Isles and in the Mediterranean was fully explained by the German Chancellor in his speech at the session of the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 31, published elsewhere in these pages.

The German U-boat "blockade" has a dual purpose. England is to be forced by lack of supplies to consider peace, and the forthcoming allied offensive in the west is to be hampered, and, if possible, frustrated by the blocking of the sources of supply. The Allies are to be incapacitated to draw upon new men, new munitions, and new supplies at a time when they will most sorely need them.

The situation on the principal fighting fronts has again degenerated to trench activity, but considerable mobility marks the areas behind the fronts. Each nation is sharpening its weapons for the Spring campaign. These preparations cannot be overshadowed even by the U-boat war. Just as storming attacks are prepared by artillery, so the operations of the submarines are to be valued merely as preliminary actions.

The lull on the various battle fronts has been dictated chiefly by the adverse weather conditions of the season. All the livelier is the activity behind the fronts. Everywhere there is ceaseless hustle and bustle. Every factory, every munitions plant, every arsenal, and every shipyard is working at full blast. Preparations are made for the grave hour of the decision which Spring is expected to bring.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg in reporting to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg shortly before the declaration of unrestricted U-boat warfare, stated that all fronts are firmly intact and that all necessary reserves are at hand.

The Month's Military Activities

A detailed review of the operations of the month past follows:

1. WEST FRONT—After a period of comparative calm marked by artillery duels, reconnoitring "feelers" along the German front as far as the Swiss mountains, and minor scout actions, the British are of late displaying a lively activity along the Ancre-Somme front. This British front now extends as far as the area south of the Somme where the British have taken over the positions formerly held by the French. General Sir Douglas Haig is making strenuous efforts to "build up" his lines in this area. He was partly successful in this during the last few days in the northern sector, on both banks of the Ancre and in the direction of Bapaume. The Germans have evacuated Grandcourt, thus enabling the British to straighten out their northern front line, which had been

German Lines *in* Moldavia, Feb. 20, 1917.

SCENE OF LATEST ACTIVITIES ON THE RUMANIAN FRONT

hitherto a source of danger because of its salient form.

This front lies directly west of Bapaume, the immediate object of the last grand offensive of the joint French and British forces. It may be safely assumed that it is against this sector that a new allied offensive will be directed. But in the meantime military conditions have changed. The value of the possession of Bapaume has been decreased in proportion to the new defense fronts established during the last few months by the Germans behind the Bapaume-Péronne highway. Today it is known that the German high command was seriously considering the abandonment of Péronne during the Entente offensive on the Somme; that the French, who advanced to the very gates of this stronghold, failed to occupy it, is cause for much astonishment. Thus, the evacuation of Bapaume would scarcely form an important military event as the situation stands today. The entire terrain in front of the city has been literally battered to pieces, while the newly established lines in the rear have been strongly fortified for an efficacious defense. Through the evacuation of Grandcourt and Serre the Germans have now gained closer coherence with their new lines.

Only the future developments of the situation can show whether the six sharp attacks launched in quick succession by the British on Feb. 1 were the beginning of a new offensive. It would seem that weather conditions at present would scarcely permit this, but the lively activity which is marking the situation on the entire west front indicates that the phase of preparation is approaching its end.

At Verdun the army of the German Crown Prince made an important advance on the west bank of the Meuse, storming French trenches east of Hill 304 on a front of 1,600 meters. Simultaneous attacks on Dead Man's Hill and

to the northeast of Avocourt brought the desired success.

Offensive actions also took place on the Woevre plain. These, however, assumed no important proportions, though it should be recalled here that a prominent French military expert long ago made the prediction that upon this plain the fate of Verdun would one day be decided.

At the moment of writing comes official news from Berlin of a substantial success achieved by the Crown Prince's right wing in the Champagne, where his storming columns smashed through four lines of strongly defended French positions on Hill 185 and the Maison de Champagne, south of Ripont. More than 800 prisoners were taken, including 28 officers. This unusual ratio between officers and men captured indicates heavy losses on the part of the defenders, as does the large booty reported by the Berlin War Office. Curiously enough, this action has been thus far completely ignored by the French official communiqués. The assumption is justified that no reference to it will be made until the French have succeeded in regaining at least part of the ground lost.

This German success in the Champagne is the most important infantry action reported this year from the west front. Any further successes in this region will necessarily influence the situation at Verdun, since the scene of this latest German offensive movement is only some nine miles from the Paris-Verdun railway. Astonishingly little attention has been paid by allied and neutral military observers to the obvious connection between the Champagne and Verdun positions. Penetration on a large scale of the French Champagne lines and subsequent cutting of the Paris-Verdun railway east of Rheims would mean the isolation of France's Verdun army and of the whole southern chain of French fortresses. For this reason the situation in the Champagne bears particularly attentive watching.

The Situation of Russia

2. RUSSIAN FRONT—The Russian offensive on the Riga front after small successes won in the initial onrush has been stifled in blood and mud amid the frozen swamps of the Aa River. The Muscovite attacks were directed chiefly against the Village of Kalnzem, which is nearest the important German base at Mitau, and, incidentally, nearest to the East Prussian frontier. On Jan. 23 the German counterthrusts set in. They resulted in the expulsion of the enemy from the greater part of the river terrain. All subsequent Russian attempts to regain the lost ground failed under the heaviest losses, according to Berlin. The bitterness of the battles in this region may be seen in the fact that it is impossible in the ice-covered swamp region to dig new trenches, so that the fighting takes place virtually without cover.

Bloody battles are still under way on the Dwina front, midway between Dwinsk and the Narotch Lake, near Driswiaty Lake, as well as north of Kisilim, in Volhynia, and on the Halicz-Stanislau sector, in East Galicia. On these fronts the Teutonic forces have undertaken a series of strong advances which were met by stubborn resistance on the part of the Russians.

Once more the adequacy of the military strength and the resources of Russia have taken the foreground in the discussion of the future conduct of the Entente war, the subject being revived by the mission of General Castelnau, who recently arrived in Petrograd. The assertion has been frequently made of late that the Central Powers with their proclamation of an independent kingdom of Poland "spoiled Russia's peace soup."

In judging the present war situation the question of Russia's preparedness for a continuation of the struggle and her necessity for peace must be considered. Russia's necessity for peace is determined by her dependency upon her allies for munitions and money.

Armed conflict between the United States and Germany would primarily benefit Russia, for all the U-boats of the Central Powers would be unable to prevent wholesale shipments of munitions from America to Russia.

The lively aerial activity along the whole Russian front proves that there, too, preparations for a Spring campaign are under way.

Balkan and Italian Fronts

3. RUMANIAN CAMPAIGN — King Frost is holding back the armies of the Central Powers, having made impossible a continuation of their victorious advance after the Sereth River was reached. During the final stages of mobile warfare on that front Russian resistance had become considerably stiffened, particularly in the battle for Galatz.

In the region of the "three countries' corner," in the northern sector of the wooded Carpathian front, the troops of the Central Powers have lately made a series of successful advances. The battles in the Meste-Canesti sector, on the Jacobeny-Kimpolung railway, may signify the beginning of a renewed offensive in the Rumanian campaign. At present that front runs as follows: West of Polgyes Pass and Gyimes Pass, east of the wooded Carpathians, as far as the region west of Tergu Okna, along the railway running north from Focsani, east of Oitutz Pass to the Putna west of Panciu, then along the Putna to east of Focsani, to the bridgehead Fundeni, Nemoloasa, to the Sereth, along that river as far as Braila, and further across the Danube into the Dobrudja. This line is held by the following armies of the Central Powers: (1) Army of General von Gerok, (right wing of army group Kovess.) (2) Army group Arz von Straussenburg. (3) Army of General Krafft von Delmensingen. (4) Army of General von Morgen, (Falkenhayn's Ninth Army.) (5) Army Koch, (Danube Army.) (6) Army Nezerow, (Dobrudja Army.)

4. ITALIAN FRONT—The Isonzo front is no exception to the sudden flare-up of preparatory activity which is marking all other chief battle lines. Austro-Hungarian troops have attacked the Italian on the Carso Plateau, on the heights to the east and southeast of Goritzia, thus taking the initiative in a reopening of mobile operations. Fighting also has been resumed around Tolmein. Even Italian military experts had predicted that after the conclusion of the Rumanian campaign the forces released on the German side would be sent against Italy.

5. MACEDONIAN FRONT—At the great war council of the Allies in Rome at the beginning of the year, which was attended by Lloyd George and Briand, Italy's backbone was to be stiffened. Particularly, she was to be induced to participate in the fighting in Macedonia. Military necessity had made it imperative for the Entente to render the Greek Army armless, thus removing the menace of a possible enemy in the rear of the Saloniki expedition. Italy has from the outset disapproved of the Entente's policy toward Greece. Rome never trusted the ambitions and aims of Venizelos, and Italy as far as she could stood off from the military events in Macedonia. Since the Rome war council Italian forces have appeared in greater strength on the Macedonian theatre, without, however, relieving the stagnation of the military situation on that front. Here, too, renewed mobility of action has been begun by the Central Powers. The storming of a height to the east of Paralovo defended by Italian troops signifies no exciting military event in itself. However, it gains interesting color by the fact that the attackers were Germans. It had been a long time since German participation in operations on the Macedonian front had been heard of.

6. TIGRIS FRONT—Of the extra European theatres of war the Mesopotamian front has again come into the forefront of war news of late. The British expeditionary army has resumed its advance against Kut-el-Amara, on the road to Bagdad. As far as the military situation in this region can be judged at this time, it appears that the Turks have been driven off from the southern banks of the Tigris. It is more than probable, however, that only advance positions have been abandoned, since the Turkish main forces are concentrated on the northern banks. But these battles undoubtedly will play an important rôle in connection with the expected decisive combats looked for in the coming Spring, since for England success or failure in Mesopotamia means security or menace to the Persian Gulf.

NEUTRAL DIPLOMATS FACING CRISIS

Nils Claus Ihlen
Foreign Minister of Norway
(Bain News Service.)

C. Th. Zahle
Prime Minister of Denmark
(Bain News Service.)

Knut Hammarskjold
Prime Minister of Sweden

Jonkheer J. Loudon
Foreign Minister of Holland
(Bain News Service.)

NEW RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

N. N. Pokrovsky, Who Succeeds M. Sturmer in the Foreign Office at Petrograd. His First Notable Utterance Was Against Germany's Peace Proposals.

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

[American View]

The Month's Strategic Developments

From January 15 to February 15, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE prevalence of extreme Winter temperature on all the battle fronts negatived to a great extent all fighting during the last month. Local actions of an unimportant character have been the only indications of activity. The Russian move against the Riga lines, which was just beginning as last month's review was being written, was followed by a heavy countermove on the part of the Germans. Both the Russian and the German efforts, however, proved abortive and soon died out, leaving the situation exactly as it was at the outset. From Riga to the Rumanian front there has been no change in the general situation.

On Feb. 15 the Germans officially reported taking two important heights in Rumania, but the fact remains that the forces confronting each other on that front are at present without essential advantage to either side. There was for a time some sharp fighting along the southern Sereth, where the Russians had retreated across the river and had taken up a position in front of the fortified post of Galatz. Evidently the Russians had reached the line which was intended by the High Command to be held, for the Germans were able to make no headway.

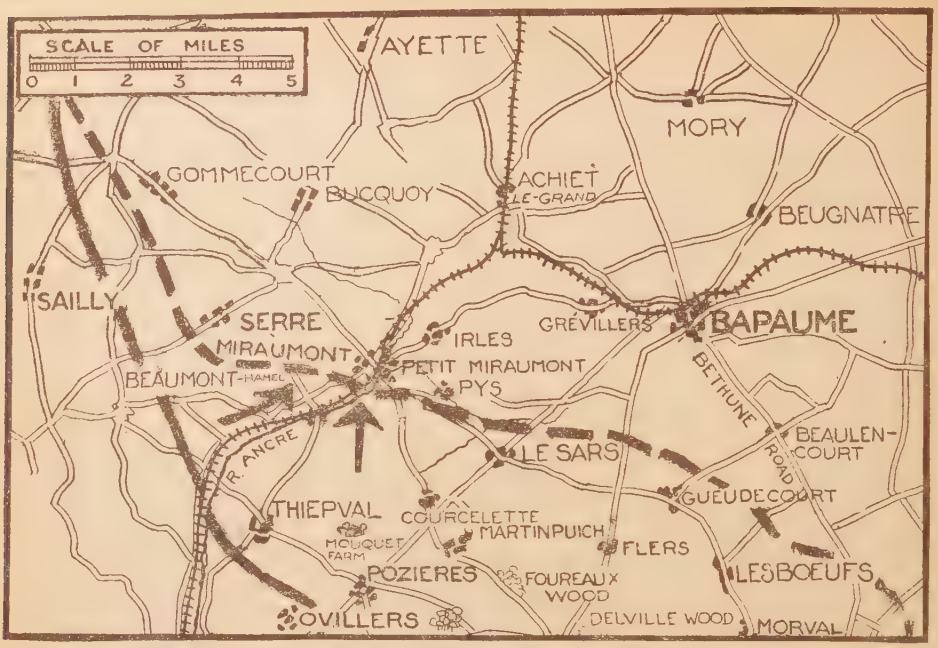
Checked in the south, they turned their attention to the passage through the mountains at Oituz. This is the most important point on the entire Transylvanian frontier at the present time, as through it alone can the positions along the Trotus River, which positions are a northern extension of the Sereth line, be attacked. The mountains are entirely closed north of the Oituz Pass, and between it and the crossing of the Trotus there is not a single passage. If the way through this pass were cleared, therefore, the Germans would be in an excellent position to carry their lines across the Putna to the Trotus and middle Sereth and force this smaller stream, thus flanking the entire line of defense.

Here also, however, the Germans met with a distinct check. The Russians were assisted at what appeared to be a critical time by heavy snows and extreme cold. These, combined with the natural strength of the Russian defenses, finally caused cessation of fighting, so that the long line from Riga to the Danube settled down to do nothing until the weather became more propitious.

British Fighting on the Ancre

On the western front the British alone have been active. Trench raids have been frequent on all sides, but these are for purposes of reconnoissance and involve little fighting. All the fighting that has been done has been along the Ancre in the Somme district. It has been presumed that the battle of the Somme had ended, the presumption being entirely on the part of the Germans. Arguing from their own experience at Verdun they came to the conclusion that the cessation of the fighting there last November meant an allied defeat and a German victory. The two battles, however, have little in common.

Verdun was lost in April. At least by April it was evident that the Germans had been checked and that whatever they had hoped to accomplish had escaped from them. The battle ceased to be fought in July. From July to the end of October is the best fighting weather of the year. Had the Germans not been defeated, had they not seen the futility of carrying the battle further, and, above all, had they not been furnished with an excellent excuse for crying quits by the combined allied attack, the battle could have gone on without hindrance. But they



ANCRE REGION, SCENE OF RECENT BRITISH ADVANCES IN FRANCE

were defeated, and, seeing the opportunity of stopping the attack because of the worldwide distraction caused by the allied offensive, judged that the chance to withdraw was too good to lose.

The situation at the battle of the Somme is in no way to be compared with this situation. In the first place, the Allies had no one objective. There was no strongly fortified point in their front toward which their military aspirations led them. Bapaume was there, also Péronne, but neither of these is of sufficient importance either from a military or a sentimental viewpoint to be considered the final objective of such a titanic effort. And when the fighting ended it was not because the advance of the Allies was checked. On the contrary, the rate of advance with each successive major attack was greater in the final days of the fighting than it was at the beginning. The question was decided for the time being by weather conditions. The whole front had been turned into a sea by heavy rains. The Ancre, instead of being, as in normal times, a stream scarcely larger than a brook, was a wide river, a no man's land between the rival trenches passable only in boats. There was nothing for the Allies to do but suspend operations until the ground would permit the passage of infantry and artillery.

During the last month excessive cold prevailed on the Somme front during almost the entire period. The ground was frozen, as was also the stream itself. This afforded the British an opportunity to continue where they left off last Fall.

It will be remembered that the last effort made on the Somme was a British attack along the Ancre, which resulted in an advance on both sides of the stream and the occupation of Beaucourt and Beaumont Hamel. It was in an extension of this section of the front that the British effort was exerted. Taking first a trench on the south bank of the river, then one on the north bank, the British gradually extended their lines until the town of Grandcourt was almost surrounded. The Germans were placed in a desperate position, and, lest their line of retreat be closed altogether and they be forced back against the stream, they evacuated the town without making a fight to defend it.

The British since Grandcourt fell have been conducting the same sort of operation against Serre. There has been no attempt to break the line, no grand effort such as marked the Fall operations

in this region. It has been nothing more than a steady but uninterrupted creep forward, trench by trench, until a favorable moment for a more definite attack occurs. The result is that while the changes in position are too small to appear on any but a large-scale map, the German position is getting more and more difficult to retain.

The line of advance up the Ancre is the most dangerous that the British could adopt. It draws the noose tighter about the Germans in what still remains of the old salient, and if it continues will throw the British so far in the rear of the German positions south of Hebuterne that a retreat will become necessary. In fact, not a great many more blows will have to be delivered before the Germans are pinched out of the entire salient and the line drawn straight from Arras to Péronne.

Germany's Serious Plight

The most important development of the month, however, has been the action of Germany in what in reality amounts to a declaration of war against all neutrals in issuing her submarine notification. What can be the necessity that forced Germany to this step?

In the first place, German efficiency as exemplified in this war has been misunderstood and in a way misnamed. It was not so much efficiency as preparedness, made with an understanding more acute perhaps than that of the Entente Powers of what the war would mean. But the degree of preparedness which the Germans had reached has now been exceeded by the Allies. In trained and well drilled men they are greatly superior. In guns and shell production they also have the decided advantage.

England today is manufacturing more shells than she and her allies can use. The importance of shells may be readily seen when the various steps in a battle are understood. The first step is the heavy gunfire with high explosive shells. The function of this is to destroy the wire entanglements and demolish the trenches. It does not, however, as a general thing reach the dugouts where the German machine guns are located. As soon as the heavy guns have done their work, the barrage fire is started, usually with shrapnel, the object being the old trenches and the purpose to keep the German gunners in their dugouts until the infantry is upon them. This barrage, or curtain of fire, is kept up until the infantry is not more than twenty-five or fifty yards from the trench, when it is lifted and the infantry go down into the dugouts, hoping to cover the distance before the machine guns can come into play.

While this is going on, the air scouts are busy trying to locate the enemy's artillery. If this cannot be done the chances of winning are much reduced. But, given superiority in shell and ascendency in the air, the end is inescapable. Not only are the Allies superior in shell, but they also control the air. There are actually more men in the British Royal Flying Corps today than there were men in the regular British Army when the war broke out. With these advantages the Germans will have a hard time this Spring in keeping the Allies from shattering their lines and driving them out of France.

But this is only a part. The German people are running very short of other things. Whether it is of food or not, no one knows. It would seem that, in spite of the blockade, it is impossible to force Germany into defeat by hunger. But to starve it in other things besides food is entirely another thing. War demands certain raw materials which Germany does not possess within her own confines nor those of her allies. These can be obtained only through importation, and Germany cannot import. The amount she can get from Holland, Denmark, and Sweden is negligible. Among these supplies that are lacking are cotton for use in the manufacture of high explosives; copper for use in shell manufacture, wool for clothing her soldiers; rubber and fats. All these things Germany must bring into the country, and if her supply is nearing exhaustion, her plight is desperate. But desperation does not pardon her form of lawlessness.

A BRITISH REVIEW

Major Gen. F. B. Maurice of the British War Office stated on Feb. 15 that since the beginning of the new year the trench raids which the British forces have been carrying on have netted a gain in ground to an average depth of three-quarters of a mile over a front of 10,000 yards and the capture of 2,000 Germans, and also have greatly encouraged the British troops. On the debit side of the ledger, General Maurice said, the total losses of the British have not been as great as the number of German prisoners. He added the following:

"We are now capturing Germans of all ages, including both ends of the age limits, from 17 to 60 now being forced into the German Army. While it would not be safe to say that deterioration of the German Army has become general, it can be said that the prisoners show marked evidence of such decline, and the fact that they have abandoned villages without attempting to defend them confirms this impression."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From January 12, Up to and Including February 18, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

On Jan. 31—The United States Government received from Germany a note and memorandum in which she replied to President Wilson's address before the United States Senate on peace, denounced the Allies for their rejection of her peace overtures and for alleged violations of international law and announced that beginning Feb. 1 German submarines would sink without warning any merchant vessel entering a prescribed zone around the coasts of the allied countries, thus repudiating the pledges she had made in her note of May 4, 1916, in reply to a note from the United States on the Sussex case. Under certain conditions one American vessel was to be allowed to pass through the safety zone to and from Falmouth each week. Two days later the German Ambassador was authorized to extend this offer to include any American ship.

On Feb. 3—The United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany. Count von Bernstorff received his passports, Ambassador Gerard was recalled and President Wilson laid the situation before Congress and notified neutrals of the break, expressing the hope that they would find it possible to take similar action. American interests in Germany were put into the hands of the Spanish Minister and German interests in the United States were put into the hands of the Swiss Minister. Steps were taken immediately to protect the country against spies and conspirators, defense measures were rushed in Congress, railroads were prepared for emergencies and plans were made for the mobilization of the country's industries.

On the same day, the Housatonic, an American ship, was sunk by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands. She received full warning, however, and her entire crew was saved.

The American Government demanded the immediate release of the 72 American citizens held as prisoners of war in Germany after being brought to a German port on the Yarrowdale as captives from the crews of merchant ships sunk by a German raider. The German Government announced on Feb. 4 that these men would be released, but as she did not act on her promise Secretary Lansing, acting through the Swiss Minister, made a second demand that they be freed. On Feb. 15 a message from Berlin stated they had been released.

On Feb. 5—The British S. S. Eavestone was sunk without warning and an American negro seaman was killed as the boats which left the sinking vessel were shelled.

Official information was received from the American Minister at Copenhagen that Ambassador Gerard and all Americans, including consular officials, were being detained in Germany pending assurance of fair treatment of Ambassador Bernstorff and the crews of interned German ships. The German Foreign Office asked Ambassador Gerard to reaffirm the treaties of 1799 and 1828, but he refused to act and referred the German officials to Spanish and Swiss intermediaries. It is believed that Germany was influenced by alarmist dispatches concerning the treatment of

German subjects and property in the United States.

On Feb. 10—The Swedish Minister conveyed to the State Department an informal offer from Germany to revive negotiations for the safety of Americans at sea. At the request of Secretary Lansing the suggestion was put in writing. The State Department sent a reply to the Swiss Minister announcing that no discussion was possible until submarine warfare against neutrals was abandoned. Germany later repudiated this offer to negotiate.

Ambassador Gerard left Berlin in safety with his party on Feb. 10 and on Feb. 17 word was received that all American consular officials would be allowed to leave Germany.

The American sailing schooner Lyman M. Law was destroyed off the coast of Sardinia by a submarine, but whether by an Austrian or German boat has not been ascertained.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Between Jan. 13 and Jan. 31 twenty-four merchant ships were sunk in the war zone.

On Jan. 31 the German Government announced to neutral nations that beginning Feb. 1 German submarines would sink without warning any merchant vessel entering a prescribed zone extending from north of the British Isles around into the Mediterranean Sea. A prohibited zone was established for hospital ships on the ground of their alleged misuse by the Allies. Austria-Hungary issued a similar note. As a concession to Holland, the safety zone was later extended off the coast of the Netherlands.

Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, and Switzerland sent notes of protest and the Chinese Government indorsed the action of the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations.

From Feb. 1 to Feb. 18, 121 vessels of 245,437 tons were sunk in the danger zone. These included the S. S. California on which forty-one lives were lost, the Afric, two Belgian relief ships, the Euphrates, and the Lars Kruse, and two American vessels, the steamship Housatonic and the schooner Lyman M. Law.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Jan. 13—Germans on the Riga front attack Russian lines east of Kalnzem south of Lake Babit.

Jan. 23—German attacks in the Riga region north of Lake Kuggerion repulsed.

Jan. 25-Feb. 4—Indecisive battles on the Kalnzem-Chlok line.

Feb. 7—Russians repulse Teutons on the Beresina River.

Feb. 8—Russians attack Teuton positions near Kirlibaba and capture first-line trench.

Feb. 9—Teutons shell Stanislau.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 12—Teutons capture the town of Labur-tea in Rumania; Russians driven back toward the Sereth between Braila and Galatz.

Jan. 13—Bulgarian troops capture a monastery at the junction of the Buzeu and Sereth rivers; Rumanians throw Teutons back on the River Kasino and occupy their trenches.

Jan. 14—Teutonic forces capture the town of Vadeni, six miles southwest of Galatz.

Jan. 15—Bulgarian artillery shells the town of Galatz from the Dobrudja bank of the Danube; Russians repulse Teuton attacks north of Focsani; fighting renewed on the Macedonian front; Vardar bombarded.

Jan. 17—Russians retake Vadeni; Rumanians in the Trotus-Kasino region throw attacking Teuton forces back in disorder.

Jan. 19—Teutons bombard Ocna in Moldavia; Russian attacks north of the Suchitza Valley repulsed.

Jan. 20—Germans take Nanesti on the Sereth River.

Jan. 21—Russians retire across the Sereth River.

Jan. 22—Russians repulsed in attack on German advance lines in the Putna Valley.

Jan. 23—Teutons resume their advance in Dobrudja; Bulgarian forces cross the southern estuary of the Danube near Tultcha.

Jan. 27—Rumanians in Moldavia drive Teutons south of the Kasino and Suchitza Valleys.

Jan. 28—Russians assume the offensive against Austro-German fortified positions on both sides of the Kimpolung-Jacobeni road and break through the Teuton lines along a front of nearly two miles.

Jan. 31—Russians capture Austro-German fortifications east of Jacobeni.

Feb. 8—French occupy Ojani in Macedonia and reach Vestini.

Feb. 13—Teutonic troops take the offensive in the Cerna bend and take an Italian position east of Paralovo.

Feb. 14—Germans recapture two heights east of Jacobeni; Italians recapture greater part of trenches occupied by Germans at Hill 1,050, east of Paralovo.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Jan. 12—British make silght gains north of Beaumont.

Jan. 14—Germans repulsed by British near Guidecourt.

Jan. 15—British raid German lines east of Loos.

Jan. 17—British forces on the Ancre launch successful attack north of Beaucourt.

Jan. 22—Germans repulsed in two attacks on the right bank of the Meuse.

Jan. 23—British make successful raid northeast of Neuville-St. Vaast.

Jan. 26—French, in strong counterattack, drive Germans from positions near Hill 304.

Jan. 27—British on the Somme capture commanding position near Le Transloy; new French attack near Hill 304 repulsed.

Jan. 28—French launch successful attack against German positions between Les Eparges and the Calonne trench.

Jan. 31—French penetrate the first two lines of German trenches in Lorraine, south of Leintrey.

Feb. 2—British make successful raid near Guidecourt.

Feb. 4—British advance 500 yards east of Beaucourt.

Feb. 5—Germans fail in four counterattacks against the new British line east of Beaucourt.

Feb. 7—British force the Germans out of Grandcourt.

Feb. 8—British drive the Germans from a dominating height near Sailly-Saillisel and advance on both banks of the Ancre; French capture German patrol near Bonzee in the Verdun sector and take some prisoners in a surprise raid on the German trenches in the Argonne.

Feb. 12—British occupy 600 yards of German trenches north of Beaucourt.

Feb. 13—British penetrate several hundred yards into Teuton lines east of Souchez.

Feb. 14—British capture strong point southeast of Grandcourt and penetrate to German third line near Arras.

Feb. 16—Germans pierce the Champagne line and make gains south of Ripont.

Feb. 17—British troops on the Ancre capture German positions on a front of about a mile and a half on both sides of the river and carry an important German position north of Baillecourt.

Feb. 18—British capture slopes dominating the villages of Miraumont and Petit Miraumont.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 19—Austrians bombard Italian lines in the Oppachiasella sector on the Carso front.

Jan. 24—Italians repulse Austrian ski attacks in the Tenale district.

Feb. 12—Italians re-establish their lines east of Gorizia and expel Austrians from captured trenches.

ASIA MINOR

Jan. 15—British take a town on the Shatt-el-Hai River south of Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 23—British force Turks to evacuate a position east of Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 26—British consolidate gain of 1,000 yards of Turkish first-line trenches southwest of Kut-el-Amara and positions of Turkish second-line trenches in Mesopotamia.

Jan. 29—British take two and a half miles of Turkish trenches southwest of Kut-el-Amara.

Feb. 1—Turks advance in Persia; occupy Dizabad and approach Sultanabad.

Feb. 3—British advance east and west of Tigris-Hai junction.

Feb. 13—British establish a line across the Tigris bend west of Kut-el-Amara, completely hemming in the Turks.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Jan. 26—Germans retire in the direction of Utete and Utembe Lake.

AERIAL RECORD

Italian and French aviators raided Austrian seaplane bases at Trieste and the arsenal and harbor at Pola.

Turkish munitions factories at Bagdad were bombarded by the British.

On the western front French aviators dropped bombs on the military works at Lahr in Baden and on the railway station and barracks at Karlsruhe, and British airmen bombarded Bruges and Ghistelles. The Germans raided Amiens and Dunkirk.

NAVAL RECORD

A Russian squadron, in a raid off the Anatolian coast on Jan. 13, sank forty Turkish food ships.

Two Austrian submarines, the VC-12 and the VT-12, were captured by the Italians.

A German raider operating in the South Atlantic sank or captured twenty-five allied merchant ships. The Yarrowdale, which she armed, was taken into a German port with neutral sailors from the lost vessels on board. These men were detained in Germany as prisoners of war, a step which led to an issue with the United States Government.

On the night of Jan. 22-23 two battles were fought in the North Sea. In one a British torpedo boat was reported sunk. In the other a German destroyer was reported sunk and other torpedo craft scattered. The Germans, however, denied the loss of a ship.

The British auxiliary cruiser Laurentic was sunk by a mine off the coast of Ireland, Jan. 25.

On Jan. 27 the British Admiralty issued a statement declaring an enlarged area of the North Sea dangerous to shipping on account of belligerent operations.

A British cruiser gave battle to three German raiders off the coast of Brazil on Feb. 15. One raider was reported damaged, one probably beached, and the third escaped.

MISCELLANEOUS

Greece has accepted in their entirety the demands of the Allies.

Great Britain, in a note sent to the United States Jan. 13 supplementing the reply of the Entente to President Wilson's peace note, named the bases for a durable peace.

On Jan. 22 President Wilson, in an address before the United States Senate, laid down the principles which he thought should guide the United States in its participation in a peace league.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

Dismissal of the German Ambassador

AT four in the afternoon of St. Valentine's day, Feb. 14, 1917, the Scandinavian-American liner Frederik VIII. sailed from New York for Copenhagen, carrying Count Johann H. von Bernstorff and some 200 German diplomatic and consular agents. The departure of Count Bernstorff is a far more serious matter than was the earlier going of Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador. The charges made against the latter referred to him personally; he had ceased to be, in diplomatic language, persona grata to the Government of the United States. His departure made no breach between the United States and Austria-Hungary; his work at Washington was immediately put into the hands of Baron Zwiedinek, and Count Tarnowski von Tarnow was, in course of time, appointed as his successor and accepted by the Government of the United States, though conditions which have arisen since that acceptance have, so far, prevented the presentation of his credentials from the Emperor Charles.

But the departure of Count Bernstorff is a censure not of the person of the Ambassador, but of his Government; no Chargé d'Affaires takes his place. The German Embassy is closed. The cessation of direct relations is complete, though indirect relations are still possible through Dr. Ritter, the diplomatic representative of Switzerland. Yet, within the last two years, there has been sharp criticism of Count Bernstorff's personal methods. His official warning concerning the Lusitania might easily have caused a breach. The activities of the German military and naval attachés, who are technically independent of the embassy, since they report to the German War Office and Admiralty, not to the Foreign Minister, led to their own dismissal, and might easily have involved Count Bernstorff also. But the strongest feeling was, perhaps, aroused by the fact that he was able instantly to stop all outrages against munition plants.

On Feb. 17 Captain Polack of the German steamship Kronprincessin Cecilie testified in a Federal Court hearing for the sale of the vessel that the day the new German submarine order was promulgated and three days before the severance of relations he had been ordered by an official of the German Embassy to disable the steamship so that the United States Government could make no use of it in the event of hostilities. This is strong evidence that the German Ambassador expected the break and was not loath to impugn the fairness of our Government if war should ensue.

* * *

Cannons on Liners

THE question whether liners and merchant ships should carry guns for defense against unlawful attacks seems to have entered its modern phase when, on March 27, 1913, a year and four months before the beginning of the world war, Winston Churchill made a speech in the House of Commons upon the navy estimates, in which he announced that the British Admiralty proposed to encourage ship owners in the British Isles to provide for the defense of their vessels in time of war by lending them guns, furnishing them with ammunition and training crews for them, provided that the ship owners would pay for the necessary structural alterations in their ships. Winston Churchill's idea, which had the support of Mr. Asquith's Cabinet, was not, apparently, to arm merchant ships for aggressive action in time of war, but rather to enable the larger merchantmen to protect themselves against attacks by warships, whether surface craft or submarines. A very clear distinction must be drawn between purely defensive action of this kind and the creation of a volunteer fleet like that, for example, of Russia, where merchant ships are built with the intention of turning them into auxiliary cruisers in time of war, as was done with vessels of the American Line in the war between the United States and Spain, in 1898. Merchant ships commissioned as auxiliary

warships lose their immunities; but it is held by most maritime powers, including England and the United States, that this is not the case with liners and other ships armed solely for defensive purposes. The question what exactly constitutes defensive action has not, however, been definitely settled.

* * *

The Leak Investigation

WHEN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE went to press in February the Congressional investigation was in progress to ascertain whether any Government officials had given advance information to stock operators of the proposed peace proposals of President Wilson, the announcement of which caused a violent break in the stock markets. A number of hearings were held and much testimony adduced, but nothing at all was revealed to confirm the gossip spread by Thomas Lawson and others which reflected on high Government officials. The only fact adduced was that two newspaper correspondents at Washington, who had learned from other journalists that President Wilson intended to present a peace proposal, broke faith and communicated the fact to certain brokers who took advantage of the news to notify their customers, but there was nothing shown to indicate that any public official profited in any way thereby.

* * *

Parallel of 1917 and 1812

PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON on June 1, 1812, sent a special message to Congress which is of peculiar interest now because of its startling applicability to the situation between the United States and Germany when President Wilson dismissed the German Ambassador. In his message President Madison said:

> Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea, the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets, and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. * * *
>
> It might at least have been expected that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found its true interest alone a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas. * * *
>
> Other counsels have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence committed on the great common and high way of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations * * * whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

In summing up "these progressive usurpations and these accumulating wrongs," he said:

> We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Great Britain.

On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain.

* * *

American Troops Evacuate Mexico

GENERAL PERSHING and his 12,000 American regulars withdrew from Mexican territory in February after a stay of eleven months. The raid by Villa and his followers on Columbus, N. M., occurred March 9, 1916; American troops crossed the border in pursuit—over the protest of Carranza, the de facto President—on March 15, 1916. The expeditionary column was in command of General Pershing and pursued Villa's fleeing forces far into Mexico, making final camp near Parral, 300 miles south of the border. The announcement of the order for withdrawal was made public Jan. 28, 1917, and the final evacuation occurred on Feb. 5.

The withdrawal was made without any agreement with the Carranza de facto Government. On Jan. 30 the United States decided to grant Carranza full recognition and Ambassador Henry P. Fletcher was ordered to Mexico City at once; when his credentials are presented complete diplomatic intercourse between the two Governments, which was severed in 1914, will be restored. Ignacio Bonillas, Secretary of Communications in the Mexican Government, has been appointed

Mexican Ambassador to the United States in succession to the former Ambassador-designate, Eliseo Arredondo; Senora Bonillas is an American, the sister of former Governor Safford of Arizona.

A protocol was agreed upon at Atlantic City by the American-Mexican Joint Commission on Nov. 24, 1916, after several months of deliberation, but was rejected by General Carranza, leaving the border question still unsettled. Some irritation was caused on Feb. 12 by General Carranza's action in sending an identic note to all the neutrals on both American continents calling upon them to cease the shipment of munitions and contraband to the European belligerents —as an effective measure to bring about peace. It was thought at first that this was instigated by German intrigue to embarrass the United States, but it is now ascribed to a desire on Carranza's part to make himself conspicuous. The suggestion has not been seriously considered anywhere.

Mexican bandits resumed outlawry on the border on Feb. 16, and three Americans were murdered. The United States border cavalry patrol was ordered to prepare again to cross the lines to capture the murderers unless the Mexican authorities took effective measures to do so.

* * *

Revolt in Cuba

A SPORADIC revolt broke out in Cuba during the first ten days of February, a sequel to the inconclusive Presidential election which occurred in November, 1916.

The second balloting to determine the result of the election occurred in Santa Clara Province Feb. 14. Prior to this vote a conspiracy was instigated by certain Liberals, having for its aim the kidnapping or assassination of President Menocal, the Conservative President, who was seeking re-election. The purpose of the Liberals was to place Vice President Varona in the Presidential chair before the second balloting occurred; the Liberal candidate is Alfredo Zayas. There was some fighting at Havana and considerable at Santiago, the capital of Santa Clara Province. It was reported that the revolutionists had seized that city; a number of Liberal leaders were killed in the conflicts.

The Government of the United States, by the terms of the Platt amendment, has authority to intervene in the affairs of Cuba to preserve order. In accordance therewith the United States Government granted the request of President Menocal to sell Cuba 10,000 rifles and 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition, and on Feb. 14 caused official notice to be posted throughout the disturbed districts that no Government set up by revolution would be recognized by the United States. It was strongly intimated, besides, that the United States would intervene to crush the rebellion if the disorders continued. The effect of this notice was very disquieting to the rebel leaders, and the uprising was thought to be pretty well quelled a few days later. The vote in Santa Clara Province was said to favor the Conservative President, Menocal.

* * *

The Most Recent Airplane Activities

A SENTENCE just published in England has a very Olympian ring: "By the Summer (of 1916) we were more supreme aloft than we had ever been, and when the Somme offensive began we were practically able to do as we liked in the clouds." Jupiter could hardly say more. But there seems to be justification for the boast in the reports of air fighting from the lines in France, and especially in the description of what is practically a new method of warfare when, during infantry attacks, the men are in fact led not by their regimental and company commanders, but by an airman, generally a Lieutenant, in a rapid plane 1,000 feet up in the air. A new development of signaling makes this possible; and it is evident that at that height the air guide can easily watch the grouping of the enemy, point out weak and ill-defended trench sections, indicate ambushes, the emplacements of machine guns and the most advantageous line of approach.

All this means victory, but it obviously means extreme risk for the airman at such a low elevation; others, equally

self-devoted, must be ready instantly to take his place if he is brought down by enemy anti-aircraft guns. To meet this allied superiority in the air the Germans have developed new machines. Late last year they brought into action a small, single-seated Halberstadt biplane, with a 220 horse-power Benx engine and a speed of 120 miles an hour, or two miles a minute. This machine had a climbing power of 1,000 feet a minute, or a vertical mile in five minutes.

But even this has just been superseded by the new German Roland biplane, which is peculiar in having the fuselage —the shuttle-shaped body—completely inclosed, so that it looks exactly like a winged submarine. The pilot and gunner are seated within this chrysalis-like shell, the pilot in front, steering through windows cut in the sides, top and floor of the body, while the gunner-observer, also liberally supplied with windows, sits behind.

* * *

Song Birds and Gun Fire

AN astounding description of the presence and entire serenity of song birds on the battlefields of Flanders comes from Major Allan Brooks, who was so startled by the anomaly that he lapsed into a striking Hibernicism to express his wonder: "The effect of cannon fire on birds is amazing; almost without exception they absolutely disregard it." Oddly enough, the first birds he mentions are the symbols of peace; wood pigeons and turtle doves are abundant everywhere along the firing line, while thrushes, blackbirds, and larks are fairly common. These blackbirds are in reality thrushes, black velvet in plumage, with orange bills; in early Spring they began to sing in the trees that lined the Yser; on a sudden hundreds of guns of every calibre burst into a terrific and continuous cannonade; when, after three hours, there was a sudden and complete cessation of gunfire, the first thing that the reeling senses realized was that the blackbirds were still serenely fluting away; apparently, they had never ceased. On another occasion Major Brooks was listening to the rich gurglings and chucklings of a nightingale which he had located with his glasses, when the morning calm was shattered by a burst of rifle fire close by; the retiring and elusive bird paid no attention, nor did he seek a lower or less conspicuous perch. An unruffled cuckoo called continuously on some nearby willows and crested larks rose one after the other, sometimes from the close vicinity of a bursting shell, singing serenely in the azure, as if there were nothing to mar a perfect day. The only bird perturbed was a green sandpiper that was picking up a precarious living in the stagnant water of the shell craters. When shells burst too close to him he sprang into the air and circled about, but he always returned a minute or two later. From Saloniki comes a charming description of a stork that has made friends with the airplanes and invariably flies forth to greet and accompany them, when they return from a reconnoissance.

* * *

Financial Conditions in Germany

THE break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, with the consequent withdrawal of most of the correspondents of American newspapers from Germany, and the likelihood that for some time information regarding conditions there will be meagre, adds interest to the view of one correspondent, who left Berlin at the same time as the American Ambassador. This correspondent reports that Germany is now living under such abnormal conditions that business in the ordinary sense can hardly be said to exist. Practically all industries are dominated by the war.

The great German iron industry, for example, has become almost a department of the Government. Prices underwent a final sharp advance last Autumn, and were then fixed through an understanding with the Government, which is now almost the sole buyer. Private customers obtain little iron, and exports have been suspended for months. The coal trade is also made subservient to war purposes, so far as is possible, and private consumers are compelled to meet their requirements with minimum quantities, in order that war industries and

railroads may have ample supplies. Schools, theatres, and other public institutions in Berlin are temporarily closed for lack of coal.

Other industries, such as textiles and chemicals, are also largely dominated by the war. Entire branches have been shut down or sharply restricted, because they do not minister to the requirements of the war, but those which supply military needs are working to their utmost capacity. There is great activity in the shipyards, many of which are turning out submarines. The sixth war loan, due in March, has not yet been announced.

* * *

Greece, Italy, and Saloniki

IT is now clear that one of the main purposes of Entente pressure upon Greece was the wish to secure a land road for a part of the distance between Italian ports like Brindisi and Otranto and the allied lines at Saloniki to escape from the dangers of submarines known to be lurking off the capes of the Morea —the mulberry leaf-shaped peninsula of Southern Greece. And this route became the more important because of the cooperation of Italy, resulting from the recent conference at Rome. The acceptance of this plan has not been pleasant for Greece, since she and Italy are jealous rivals for the possession of Epirus —old Greek territory, but also old Roman territory—which Italy seeks in her plan to make the Adriatic an Italian lake.

On the Saloniki front there has been sharp fighting between the English on the Struma River—the most easterly division of that front—and a mixed force of Bulgarians and Turks, the Bulgarian forces having been badly cut up by the British. There is a certain anomaly in this, since England is the traditional friend of Bulgaria. Gladstone's whirlwind speeches on the Bulgarian atrocities inflicted by the Turks led to the fall of Beaconsfield and his pro-Turkish policy, to which England owes her possession of the Island of Cyprus, offered not long ago to Greece if she would enter the war on the Entente side.

England held Turkey back in 1885, when Eastern Rumelia revolted and was incorporated in Bulgaria, and there have been many English admirers of Stambuloff, the strongest personality Bulgaria has yet produced; Englishmen who warmly sympathized with Stambuloff's violent anti-Russian policy. Among the Entente Powers, Russia has also been traditionally friendly to Bulgaria, though Stambuloff and King Ferdinand, whom Stambuloff put on the Bulgarian throne, did all in their power to alienate Russia. Yet the old bond between the two countries is clearly shown by the fact that the famous Bulgarian General, Radko Dmitrieff, commands the Russian armies on the Riga sector.

* * *

Rumors of the Grand Duke's Return

FROM Russia and Rumania there have been renewed reports that the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch has come back from Armenia and the Caucasus, where he added Erzerum and Trebizond to his laurels, and is now in supreme command of the combined Russian and Armenian armies operating in Southern Galicia, the wooded Carpathians, Bukowina, and Moldavia; approximately from opposite Lemberg to the River Sereth. It is said that one reason for his return is the declared unwillingness of King Ferdinand of Rumania to take orders from General Brusiloff, who has held supreme command along this line, on the ground that Ferdinand, being of royal blood, a Hohenzollern of the senior line, cannot take orders from a commander not of royal blood. But since the Grand Duke is a grandson of the Emperor Nicholas I., no such barrier exists with him in command.

A practical compromise would seem to have been reached in this way, which will retain in Brusiloff's hands the actual strategy of the campaign while conserving Rumanian etiquette. A point of great interest in this arrangement is that a very similar situation existed between the father of the Grand Duke and the cousin of King Ferdinand in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. At first Russia sent an army into Turkey under the command of the elder Nicolai Nicolaievitch, son of the Emperor Nicholas and father of the present Grand Duke; too

small to do the work required of it, this army was held up for months at Plevna. Russia then begged Rumania to enter the war with her compact, effective army, and King Carol of Rumania, cousin of the present King, accepting this proposal, was put in joint command of the combined Russian and Rumanian armies before Plevna, which was soon after captured.

This opened the way across the snow-bound Balkan Mountains to Adrianople and up to the walls of Constantinople, where Russia was checked by Beaconsfield's antagonism, a British fleet practically defending Constantinople. The present situation offers striking contrasts.

* * *

Lord Beresford on Submarines

ADMIRAL BARON BERESFORD, a younger son of the Marquis of Waterford, who was recently raised to the peerage, was long known in the House of Commons, if not as a pessimist, at least as a very sharp critic of the British Admiralty—a keen and well-informed critic, who had made his own mark in naval warfare. Perhaps his elevation has mellowed him, for, speaking in the House of Lords in the middle of February, he was much more optimistic. "We have lost, since the beginning of the war," he said, "4,000,000 tons of shipping. That is a fact which the public should know, but it is not nearly as serious as it appears. We have made up the loss very considerably. Three million tons which have been lost have been more or less adequately filled. There is not the slightest necessity for panic. We have done remarkably well, and shall do a great deal better in future, but we have had time to face it and it is to that time I desire to call attention."

The Earl of Lytton, replying for the Admiralty, said the Government would be glad if it were possible to take the public entirely into its confidence, but that that would involve imparting information to the enemy, and the Admiralty was determined that the Germans should have that information by experience and not through questions in Parliament. Lord Curzon announced that Admiral Jellicoe and those who have been with him were "not dissatisfied" with what had been done, even in the preceding fortnight. They were "not dissatisfied" with the number of German submarines that would never return to their home bases.

A tragic incident which befell the crew of the torpedoed Storskog, who had been taken on the deck of the submarine which sank their ship, is reported in this connection. Another vessel was sighted. The U-boat promptly submerged and left the crew of the Storskog floundering in the water. Only the chief officer and carpenter were able to make their way back to their own boat and were later picked up.

* * *

The National Guard

IN view of the danger of war the existing status of the State Militia of the United States under present laws is interesting. The total strength of the organized militia of all the States, including both enlisted men and officers, was, as reported by officers making Federal inspections in 1916, January to March, 132,194. The strength of the National Guard in Federal service on Sept. 30, 1916, was 143,704. The official designation of the organized militia in all the States but Massachusetts, Delaware, and Virginia has been the National Guard. Nevada has had no organized militia. The new army law provides that:

> The militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who shall be more than 18 years of age, and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than 45 years of age, and said militia shall be divided into three classes, the National Guard, the Naval Militia, and the unorganized militia. The National Guard shall consist of the regularly enlisted militia between the ages of 18 and 45, and of commissioned officers between the ages of 21 and 64 years.

The law further provides that the number of enlisted men of the National Guard shall be increased each year in the proportion of not less than 50 per cent., until a total peace strength of not less than 800 enlisted men for each Senator

and Representative in Congress shall have been reached.

Various propositions have been submitted to Congress looking to universal military training for six months to one year of youths between 19 and 24 years of age, but it is not likely that any measure will be enacted until the new Congress convenes after March 4.

* * *

Casualties in January

DURING January, 1917, the British casualties were as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
Killed	181	5,014
Died of wounds	101	3,635
Wounded	665	24,125
Prisoners	5	408

The casualty figures for the five months ending with January, 1917, were as follows respectively:

	Officers.	Men.
September	5,408	113,780
October	4,366	102,240
November	2,312	72,479
December	953	39,711
January, 1917	963	33,204
Total, five months	14,002	361,614

The January proportion of deaths to total casualties was slightly over one-fifth; if the same proportion is maintained, the actual deaths in the five months were 86,391.

German official reports show that in January, 1917, exclusive of colonial troops, the casualties totaled 77,534 officers and men—15,906 killed, 11,874 missing, 1,645 prisoners, 48,109 wounded, which brings the grand total as reported by Germany since the war began to 4,087,692 casualties, 988,329 killed or died of wounds and sickness.

* * *

Renewed Fighting in Mesopotamia

AFTER many months, Kut-el-Amara, the bend of the Tigris, in which General Townshend's mixed British and Indian force was surrounded and compelled to surrender by the Turks, has once again become the scene of vigorous fighting. The cold season, almost prohibitive on the French, Italian, and Russian fronts, is in hot Mesopotamia the great opportunity. On Feb. 13 it was announced that the British forces on the Tigris front had completely surrounded the Turkish troops west of Kut-el-Amara; after sweeping the Turks back to their last line of trenches in the Dahra bend, west of Kut and between the licorice factory, formerly occupied by General Townshend, and the Shumren bend, the British troops pressed forward for more than a mile across the Dahra bend. By Sunday evening, Feb. 11, the British line had been established across the bend from bank to bank on a frontage of 5,500 yards—three miles—and the Turks were completely hemmed in. The distance covered in the advance varied from 800 yards on the British right to 2,000 yards on the left. It is precisely in a position of this kind that the Turks fight best, as the Russians learned at Plevna in the Autumn of 1877; but unless they are relieved by a strong force within a very short time, it would seem probable that the Turkish Tigris army will soon be compelled to surrender, thus in a sense canceling General Townshend's defeat. The main importance of this movement seems to be to draw Turkish forces away from other points—Armenia, Suez, Dobrudja—and to prevent a Teuton-Turkish movement into Persia.

* * *

New British Election Laws

THE Electoral Reform Conference of England has presented its recommendations to Parliament and it is believed that these will be enacted into law. Briefly the provisions are as follows: Voters must register every six months, except in Ireland. Every "person of full age" who occupies premises worth as much as $50 a year rent shall be eligible to vote for Parliament; a person shall not vote in more than one constituency, except that one additional vote is granted in a second constituency as a university voter. The present number of House of Commons members is unchanged, the standard unit being 70,000 population per member.

The conference decided by a majority that some measure of woman suffrage should be conferred. A majority of the conference was also of opinion that if Parliament should decide to accept the principle, the most practical form would

be to confer the vote in the terms of the following resolution:

33. Any woman on the Local Government Register who has attained a specified age, and the wife of any man who is on that Register if she has attained that age, shall be entitled to be registered and to vote as a Parliamentary elector.

Various ages were discussed, of which 30 and 35 received most favor.

The conference further resolved that if Parliament decides to enfranchise women, a woman of the specified age, who is a graduate of any university having Parliamentary representation, shall be entitled to vote as a university elector.

* * *

A Card From the Venizelos Delegate to the United States

New York, Feb. 12, 1917.

Editor Current History Magazine:

I take the liberty to point out a few inaccuracies which I noted in The Editorial Survey of the February number of your excellent and most comprehensive Current History Magauine.

On Page 776 ("The Isles of Greece") it is stated that "Crete has recently declared itself independent of Greece." Heroic Crete has not declared itself independent of Greece, but has adhered among the first to the movement of Venizelos, thus forming a part of the three-quarters of Greece governed by the truly Greek National Government, the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

It is also stated that the Islands of Imbroa and Tenedos, captured by the Greek fleet in the Balkan war of 1912, were returned to Turkey. I beg to state that this is not correct. These islands were not returned to Turkey, although that country demanded them, without, however, being willing to comply with other obligations imposed upon her by the treaties of London and Athens of 1913. Both these islands form now a part of Greece governed by the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

The Islands Mitylene, Chios, and Samos are by no means under Turkish sovereignity. They were liberated by the Greek fleet in the Balkan war, and have ever since formed a part of Greece. These islands, with many others, including Cerigo, having adhered to the National Government from the beginning of this movement, are also governed by the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

The Island of Rhodes, the population of which is entirely Greek, at all times wishing union with the mother country, is not under Turkish sovereignity. This island was occupied by Italy during the Turko-Italian war.

Trusting that, for the sake of history, you will have the goodness to make an adequate correction of the above in your next number.

P. ARAVANTINOS,
Representing the Greek Provisional Government.

* * *

Arnold Bennett Corrected

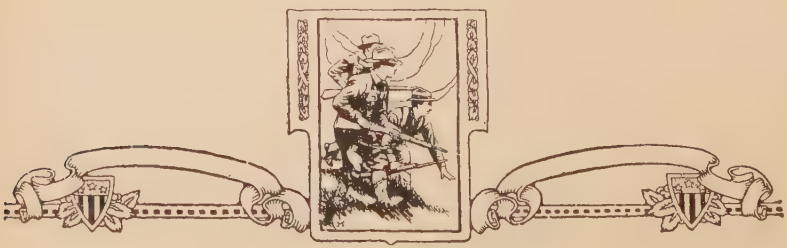
Editor Current History Magazine:

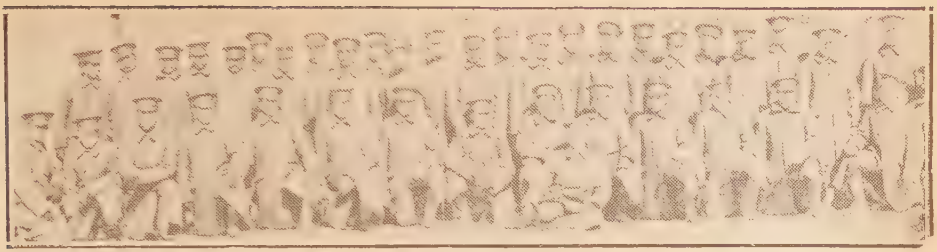
My attention has been called to an article in the July number of Current History entitled "The Inside of the Irish Revolt," by Arnold Bennett, in the course of which Mr. Bennett makes the following statement: "Thus the late Sheehy Skeffington, whose pacifism strangely has been accepted as axiomatic by all the British newspapers, speaking at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchell Club, appealed at great length for money to buy arms with which to fight the British Government when the time came."

I had the honor to preside as toastmaster at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchell Club of Chicago, given at the Hotel Sherman, Chicago, on Thursday evening, Dec. 2, 1915, at which Mr. Skeffington was the guest of honor. It was the only appearance Mr. Skeffington made that year before a club of that name. At that dinner Mr. Skeffington made no appeal in any manner or form "for money to buy arms to fight the British Government when the time came."

I respectfully request that you give this communication publicity in the March number of Current History as a matter of justice to the memory of a man whose nature revolted at the thought of bloodshed in any form or for any cause.

Chicago, Ill. JOHN A. McGARRY.





NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS NOW FIGHTING FOR CANADA ON THE FRENCH FRONT

Canada's Work in the World War

By Francis J. Dickie
of London, Ontario

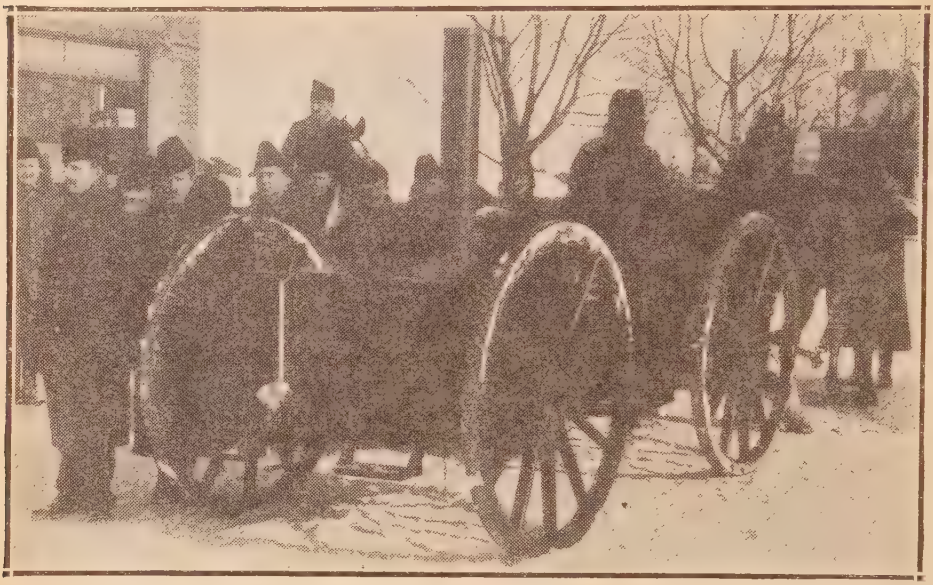
IN its leading editorial on Oct. 10, protesting against the activity of a German submarine and the sinking of the Red Cross liner Stephano in American waters, a New York newspaper said in part: " This is American territory —this North American Continent—and, thank God! the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine lives in American hearts. Can any one doubt that the United States would rise in its might to repel a Prussian invasion of Canada? "

That one vainglorious, though doubtless well-intentioned line, "Can any one doubt that the United States would rise in its might to repel a Prussian invasion of Canada? " were it not pathetic, would be humorous; for at the very moment it was written, Canada, through an energy and action almost unbelievable in a country of only 8,075,000 population, had raised an army of 368,000 men; an army three times that of the United States, a country with thirteen times the population, a country which, though constantly faced for twenty-five months with the danger of having to enter a world war, has remained criminally inactive in the way of even adequately preparing for the always looming possibility of conflict. As it now stands, it is the Dominion of Canada which is on a war basis to come to the defense of the United States, instead of vice versa, as the newspaper editor suggested.

Let us look at Canada's army statistics. To Jan. 15, 1917, 387,508 men had enlisted in her army.

The following table, based on the last Dominion census of 1911, will give an idea of what this number means in proportion to the population:

Province.	No. Men Canadian Born.	No. Men British Born.	No. Men Foreign Born.	No. Men Eligible for Service.	Govt. Apportionment of Men from the Various Provinces.	No. Men Enlisted to Jan. 15, 1917.
Prince Edward Island	16,592	157	119	16,868	63,000	35,158
Nova Scotia	85,909	8,437	4,147	98,494		
New Brunswick	64,188	2,371	2,151	68,710		
Quebec	341,783	23,066	26,028	390,897	139,000	42,152
Ontario	410,896	106,997	64,353	582,246	185,000	159,667
Manitoba	149,868	39,806	33,088	122,762	60,000	77,775
Saskatchewan	61,193	38,871	58,843	158,907		
Alberta	37,446	31,958	53,515	122,915	26,000	34,659
British Columbia	41,508	54,718	62,046	115,272	27,000	38,097
Total	1,209,383	306,381	304,290	1,677,071	500,000	387,508



CANADIAN FIELD KITCHEN, FROM WHICH HOT MEALS ARE SERVED TO SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH

It will be noticed that the Government apportionment of men draws most heavily upon the older provinces, which have the greatest number of towns and cities. While there is no official reason given for this, it is doubtless because Canada is pre-eminently an agricultural country, with the fishing, lumbering, and mining industries close seconds. In the older settlements, with their great cities, existed a male population, most of which could be better spared than the farmers, miners, fishermen, and lumber workers, who existed in the most westerly provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Yet, sparse as was the population of these latter provinces, it will be noted that they supplied more than their share of men as allotted by the Government — an all-around better per capita enlistemnt than the older eastern provinces.

In addition to her regular army of the above number, Canada has given 9,782 doctors, nurses, and chemists; has supplied 200 aviators; gave well drillers to aid in the ill-fated Gallipoli expedition; advanced to Russia and operated two giant ice-breaker boats, by which Russia was able to keep open her most important port of Archangel. Canada to April 1, 1916, had supplied 48,000 horses—8,000 to France, 15,000 to Britain, and 25,000 for her own army use.

Field Kitchens a Success

Canadian manufacturers brought to completion, after years of experience, one of the most important of war weapons—a field kitchen. This traveling cookhouse can feed 500 men an hour. By means of specially fitted compartments—on the thermos bottle system—liquids and solid food can be kept hot or cold for a period of twelve to twenty-four hours. What a boon this is to men upon the battlefield can be easily imagined. The kitchen is also fitted with a small sniping gun for defense, which can be used to good effect. When the first detachment of the Canadian expeditionary force embarked near Halifax on Sept. 26, 1914, it was 33,000 strong. In six short weeks this unprepared and unmilitant country armed, equipped, and mobilized at the seaboard an army of this size. With these regiments went perfect hospital units and half a hundred of the above-mentioned field kitchens, a record in efficient mobilization perhaps never

equaled in the history of the world. Certainly the sailing of these 33,000 men all at one time was a record event, for this was then the greatest armed force that had ever embarked simultaneously in the history of the world.

When the National Guard regiments of the United States were rushed to the Mexican border they carried three Canadian "McClary field kitchens," and so indispensable did they prove that fifteen more are now being built in Canada for American military use. Two hundred are in use by the Canadian Army.

Sources of Canada's Armies

Of the 387,508 men enlisted in the Canadian Army to Jan. 15, 1917, 67,890 were numbered as casualties to Jan. 11. Of these 48,454 were wounded, 10,854 killed in action, 4,010 died of wounds, 1,108 are listed as dead, 2,970 as missing, and 494 as dead of illness. There are still 310,000 effectives. Of this number 258,000 have gone overseas, 100,000 of which are now on the firing line, another 100,000 have received from one to ten months' training in Canada, and will be moved to England and the front during the Winter and Spring.

From the foregoing table it will be seen that out of a total available fighting force of 1,677,071 men, 387,508 have enlisted, or practically a third of the whole.

It will be particularly noticed that from out of the second largest number of available men—a population of 390,000 men in Quebec—only a meagre 42,152 enlisted. This makes the response of the other provinces of a much greater ratio. It must also be taken into consideration that Canada is pre-eminently an agricultural country, with the mining, lumbering, fishing, and fur trading industries next in order. The four occupations first mentioned are particularly necessary in the present crisis, and for their maintenance a very large number of physically fit males are required. While no accurate figures regarding the men engaged in these four occupations have been compiled since 1911, the figures of that year are here given, with an estimate for the present year based upon the increase in population during the last five years, and the increased transportation and other facilities which have tended to enlarge them during that time:

	Number of Workers in 1911.	in *1916.
Agriculture	933,735	1,942,000
Mining	62,767	240,000
Fishing	34,812	100,000
Lumbering	42,914	100,000
Total	1,074,228	2,382,000

*Approximate.

The estimate for 1916 is very conservative, yet we find that there are some 2,382,000 who ought to be left at home to carry on these most important industries. The total male population between 18 and 45, according to the census of 1911, was 1,723,046. But since that time there has been immigration to the extent of 1,625,952. While nothing exact can be given in the way of figures, owing to the fact that no census has been taken since 1911, a pretty close approximate can be gathered. Allowing 1,000,000 of that immigration to be males, which is about correct, we have 2,700,000 men available for war. Added to this would be easily another million boys who were not taken in 1911, but who have in the past five years reached maturity.

Total of Military Age

Thus on a fair basis of reckoning we had 3,700,000 men of military age in Canada when the war broke out. Of these there were 300,000 of German, Austrian, Turkish, and other enemy nationalities residing in the Dominion, leaving a balance of 3,400,000. The Province of Quebec is 97,000 men short of her allotment to date, leaving 3,303,000 on call. Of this number 2,382,000 were required to carry on the work of agriculture, mining, fishing, and lumbering, as previously shown in the table. From this we have left on call a balance of 921,000, without making any allowance for a certain percentage unfitted through medical reasons. One-tenth is a very low estimate on this score; say the rejections were 100,000 men. (The percentage has been very high, particularly in the latter stages of recruiting.) There are still left 920,000.

However, still to be taken into consid-

eration are railroad operatives and men absolutely necessary to the continuance of business and commercial life in general. Some 250,000 such men are engaged in all lines of railroading, while another 100,000 men is a small number to carry on other forms of industry. In addition, Canada is now operating 422 munition factories requiring a further 40,000 men. So a further total of 390,000 men is absolutely necessary to the welfare of the country. Subtracting this from 920,000, there are still 600,000 men available.

Of this number 387,000 had enlisted up to Jan. 15, 1917. Canada has promised 500,000 men, and there seems no reason to fear that she will not keep her agreement. The total number of recruits for the first half of January, 1917, was 3,536, an improvement of 1,026 over the corresponding period in December. This slight speeding up is attributed to the National Service campaign and the unemployment following the Christmas rush. However, as compared with the January, 1916, total of 29,212, the later one is strikingly small, showing how much the war has affected Canada's willing man power in twelve months' time.

Caring for Soldiers' Families

Canada's army, so far as the rank and file are concerned, is the best paid in the world, while pay for commissioned officers is superior to most of the nations. In addition, the dependents left at home by the fighting men are taken care of in a manner unparalleled in the history of war. To the wife of every private is paid $20 per month, and $5 for every child. This money, known as "separation allowance," comes entirely out of the Government's coffers, and runs into several million dollars a month.

In addition, a special fund collected by public subscription takes care of the wives and children of the most needy privates. This, known as the Patriotic Fund, pays a maximum of $20 and a minimum of $5 to soldiers' wives, according to their circumstances. Each child gets $5 from this fund. To this fund some $16,000,000 had been subscribed through private sources in the Dominion. The following table gives the whole at a glance, including the pension fund, one of the most equitable in the world. Eight thousand Canadians are now drawing pensions, and before the year is over this will be increased to well over the 10,000 mark. The table is as follows. The principal officers only are taken account of here:

Rank.	Pay Per Day.	Pension.	Wife Allow.	Child Allow.
Private	$1.10	$480	$20	$5
Sergeant	1.50	680	25	5
Lieutenant	2.60	720	30	5
Captain	3.00	1,000	35	5
Major	5.00	1,260	40	5
Lieut. Colonel	7.00	1,890	60	5

And now, after two years of war, is the Canadian Army becoming truly Canadian. During the early part of the struggle the preponderance of enlistment in the Dominion was of men from Great Britain, immigrants in the last decade. Since that time, however, a complete change has taken place; and, though no full later compilation has been issued by the military authorities, the nationality statements in various quarters show an enlistment of Canadian-born of from 75 to 90 per cent. of the whole.

Though these men are born of many breeds and their Canadian origin is only of three to five generations, you still see in them—in their features, carriage, customs, and talk—that indefinable but unmistakable something that spells a new race. Seeing a group of these men, you

---

The following figures of nationalities, churches, lodges, and trade unions are given, though compiled to March, 1916:

NATIONALITY		RELIGIONS		LODGES AND UNIONS	
English	103,483	English Church	124,688	Masons	18,000
Scotch	36,685	Presbyterian	63,146	Orangemen (Ontario only)	6,742
Irish	14,419	Catholic	32,836	Trade unions	12,411
Welsh	2,050	Methodist	18,418		
Canadian	78,635	Baptist	10,525		
Other nations	27,839	Jewish	343		
		Other denominations	13,155		

would instantly say, "Canadian," just as you would remark of other groups, "German, French, English," &c. You would not even mistake them for Americans, the nearest resembling race to them on the face of the earth. To the anthropologist this birth of a new race offers an interesting study; for this new, sturdy race of Canadians, which on so short notice has proved itself a race of wonderful warriors, is born of many sources, and its Canadian birthright is very new.

Canada's Unique Battalions

There seems to be some strange spell about this new land which makes even alien races, whose fatherlands are today opposed to Canada, take up arms in its behalf. This was most fully evinced in the case of the German residents of Eastern Canada. From the County of Waterloo and other districts adjacent to Berlin, Canada, came men of Teutonic origin over a thousand in number to fight under the flag of the Maple Leaf. German is spoken in the ranks of no less than two battalions of the Canadian Army; and hundreds of these men with such names as Schwartz, Ziegler, Reinhardt, Holt, Winkleman, &c., have figured in the Canadian casualty lists to date.

On another side, and as evidence of the ability of the Canadians as colonizers, was the remarkable response of the North American red men to the call to arms. When the war broke out many of the principal chieftians offered men, but the offers were at first refused. Doubtless the Government did not wish to break the then ruling ethics by bringing a colored race into a white man's war. But with the Canadian Government's giving its promise on Jan. 16, 1916, to raise 500,000 men, it became necessary that every available man in the Dominion should be taken into consideration. Scattered on the various reservations from the Atlantic to the Pacific were in the the neighborhood of 10,000 Indians of fighting age. To date 2,000 of these have responded, and some have already fallen on the field of battle. Among the most interesting of the many tribal enlistments were fifty Cree Indians from Hudson Bay territory. They had never seen a train, or even a town larger than of a hundred people, till they were brought out to Sudbury on their way to Camp Borden.

It is only fifty years ago that Canada was looked to by the enslaved colored race as a safety haven. Thousands escaped to the Dominion by underground channels. Some of these became citizens; and today there is a considerable sprinkling of colored people of Canadian origin. The raising of a colored battalion was begun late in August. To date about 700 have joined.

Cutting Down Epping Forest

One of the wholly unique battalions is that composed of Canadian lumbermen, now in England cutting down the famous forests of Epping and Windsor, which had been saved for centuries, until they were almost holy ground. Recently the allied soldiers along the French and Belgian fronts were in pressing need of timber with which to build trenches, bridges, and other things of a military nature. The Allies had been depending upon the Norwegian supply, but this proved insufficient, and deliveries were delayed and lost through the dangers of navigation. The need became acute. Attempts were made to secure a supply from the New World, but here again a checkmate intervened in the fact that every available oceangoing bottom was already engaged months ahead. The Allies had no ships of their own to spare.

Then England offered to make the supreme sacrifice. In the heart of the land were the wonderful forests of Epping and Windsor, which had been guarded and saved for centuries. Through them only the huntsmen's horns had ever sounded. Yet in this exigency of war England offered them up. The forests were excellent for the cause of the Allies, being not more than two hundred miles from the firing lines.

But Englishmen are not a race of axmen. The art of the sawyer and the lumber maker were strange to the land. Then it was that Canada, home for two full centuries of the finest bushmen in the world, was appealed to.

Throughout the wide Dominion were thousands of hardy men who had spent all their lives in the fastnesses of the great woods. Lords of lumber, ladrones of logs, looters of limits were they. Since earliest boyhood some of these men had swung an axe, or drawn one end of a crosscut saw; others were proficient in the consummate art of the canthook and the peavy, and still others were masters of the business of sawmilling.

The response was rapid. Two battalions are now in England and Scotland, and a third is about to close a whirlwind recruiting campaign for men. And these soldiers in khaki and overalls are perhaps better serving their country in the capacity of woodsmen than had they shouldered a rifle and gone into the trenches.

The Quebec Situation

As has been stated, every province in Canada has done its share with the exception of one—Quebec. The surprising part of the recruiting campaign is the fact that the most sparsely settled, newest regions, comprising the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, have been the ones to more than fulfill requirements. On the face of it, even in spite of their inferiority of population, it would seem as if the Province of Ontario in particular had been discriminated against in giving her a total of 185,000 men to raise. While no official explanation of this has been forthcoming, the reason is probably that the Government, when making out the apportionments, took into consideration the fact that the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia were largely agricultural in nature, with the lumbering and mining industries coming a close second. For the successful carrying on of these a certain percentage of physically fit males must necessarily remain. Ontario, while still to a large extent an agricultural district, was the possessor of many large cities, with a greater proportion of males that could be spared. This seems the most plausible solution of the figures. However, even though Ontario has not as yet raised her total of 185,000, her contribution has still been very equitable, and becomes the more so when Quebec is seen to have a shortage of 97,000 men, as measured by the quota required of her.

So far as helping on the war is concerned, it might almost be said of Quebec that it is not in the Confederation. Only one French-Canadian battalion has been recruited up to strength. The 206th of Montreal was disbanded the other day for lack of recruits. Hearing this and looking upon the above figures, a stranger to the Dominion might be led to believe that Quebec is disloyal. That would hardly be correct. Quebec is loyal—*to Canada*, but to Canada alone. The population of the land is so strikingly distinct and different from that of the rest of the Dominion that a peculiar situation arises. The whole Quebec problem is a difficult one. There can hardly be any doubt that the French-Canadian inhabitants believe themselves in the right in not joining in the present war while at the same time the rest of the provinces are heaping recrimination and hurling vituperation upon them for not doing so. In view of this, the following explanation seems due at this time:

The major portion of the province is made up of Franch Canadians, speaking the French language, or rather a patois of it peculiar to the country itself. They are practically all simple farmers, illiterate for the most part. They know almost nothing of the outside world, and care less, being too busy wringing a living from their small farms to support enormous families, ranging from twelve to twenty in number—a specialty of the country. They hold that their duty is fully performed if they fight upon Canadian soil—that Canada should not go to war except to repel foreign invasion. In a word, they are loyal to Canada, but not to England, or Greater Britain.

This is one reason why the population of Quebec has not responded to the call to arms. Neither has the danger to France, the original mother country of the people of Quebec, roused them to action, for, intensely Catholic as they are, they see in France's present suffering the wrath of God. It is that country's punishment for her persecution of the

Church and the adoption of the Law of Associations, which a decade ago suppressed the convents and monasteries. Also these quiet, intensely religious, simply living people have an overweening horror of seeing any of their unsophisticated youth go overseas, where they might mix with the ungodly children of Old France.

With all these things taken into consideration, it will be seen that Quebec should not be reviled without giving careful consideration to the peculiar nature of its people. Of course, the other provinces cannot be expected to see these facts, suffering as they are from the great war. Only one who has lived long among these people, who knows their hearts and habits and has conceived their viewpoint, can fully understand them and their present attitude to the war. Such a man is the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. And no better summing up of the French-Canadian habitant has perhaps ever been given than one which he delivered in a speech before the Canadian Club recently at Toronto. Mr. Lemieux said:

The habitant has belonged for many generations—for centuries—to Canada. He has no connection except, so to speak, intellectually, and that only in a qualified degree, with his mother country, France. His estrangement from France is manifold. First he was ceded, in 1763, by the Treaty of Paris. Even before that cession there was a marked difference between the habitant, the true *Canadien*, (of whom Montcalm speaks in his letters,) and the military class—the soldiers, officers, the bureaucracy—lording it over him. The correspondence between Montcalm and Vaudreuil is conclusive evidence of my statement.

Then the French Revolution—which destroyed monarchy, reorganized the Church, codified the laws and customs, centralized the Government—created an abyss, a gulf, between the habitant and modern France. The habitant has worked out alone his destinies in a new world. He has won his civil and religious liberty under the régime which followed the cession. All his traditions are therefore Canadian only. On the contrary, British settlement in Canada is of more recent period. Especially during the last half century an unceasing tide of immigration has flowed into Canada from the United Kingdom. Thus a great portion of the English-speaking Canadians have many relations upon the other side of the water. Thus, blood being thicker than water, they will naturally be stirred by all matters, be they political, social, or intellectual, which affect Great, or Greater, Britain, where the French Canadian will not be interested.

All this is true, and from present indications it is very doubtful if the French-Canadian population of Quebec will do much to aid Canada in the present war. Only one thing probably would move them, and that is to convince them that the Dominion is in real danger from invasion by Germany.

Canadian Women and War

One of the most interesting of war-time phases in Canada is the remarkable part that women have played in it. From farmer's wife to bank president's wife, and all through the various ranks of society, women have come forth and performed nobly. There are probably two hundred societies, great and small, now engaged in relief and other kinds of work. The chief of these are the Red Cross and Belgian Relief Committees; the Independent Order of Daughters of the Empire; Women's Institutes, a very powerful rural organization; Secour National; the Woman's Canadian Club, and various church denominational organizations.

A detailed account of their efforts would fill a large book. The chief of these, however, seem worthy of mention. The report of Mrs. Stearns-Hicks, Convener of the Ontario Branch of the Red Cross, shows that from Sept. 1, 1914, to July 1, 1916, 3,555,803 articles consisting of surgical supplies, night shirts, slippers, socks, towels, &c., were sent overseas. Mrs. Ernest Stuart of the Red Cross Society of Quebec has furnished the following figures which cover the period from Sept. 1, 1914, to June 1, 1916: 4,453,060 articles sent, of which 997,126 were bandages; 1,493,343 surgical dressings, 1,962,591 garments and comforts, 5,756 filled shirts, 162,139 towels, 302,305 flannel shirts, 66,794 pairs of socks, 71,714 pillow cases, 27,753 sheets, and 17,812 pajamas. Mrs. Stearns-Hicks's report is equally detailed along similar lines, and both reports are instantly recognizable as women's work by their careful detail and exactitude.

These are the only two provincial reports available, but there are ten other

ONE LOT OF 379,000 PARCELS AT TORONTO RED CROSS DEPOT. CANADIANS HAVE SENT NEARLY 100,000,000 SUCH PARCELS TO THEIR SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT

great cities to which come enormous contributions of supplies, both from city and from rural sources, so it is safe to estimate that since the war 140,000,000 varied articles of the classes above mentioned have gone from Canada to the battlefields of Europe.

In addition there were "preserving campaigns," at which enormous quantities of fruit were done up for the soldiers. The amount for the present year has been set at 50,000 quarts. Women, too, were partly instrumental in bringing about prohibition, which is today in effect in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and which becomes law in Ontario in September. Due to this large boarding of the water wagon, the consumption of liquors dropped from .872 gallon per capita to .745, according to a report of the Inland Revenue Department issued on July 21. The consumption for 1916 was about three-quarters of a gallon per capita for spirits, 5 gallons of beer, and .0625 for wine. Women have won for themselves in the last year the right to vote in the four Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia; and a woman journalist, Nellie McClung, will stand for Parliamentary election on the Liberal ticket in East Calgary at the next election.

The report of the Belgian Relief Committee, in the operation of which women have played a large part, showed that $2,275,000 has been collected and expended for Belgian relief to July 1, 1916.

Fifteen hundred women are now engaged in shell and other munition works throughout Canada. They have been found careful and dependable workers, capable of handling high-power machinery and working on steel cuttings where a thousandth of an inch mistake makes the work useless. Chairman Flavelle of the Imperial Munition Board recently sent out a call for more workers.

Another body of women is the Woman's Emergency Corps. Its work is to enroll all women willing to take employment formerly filled by men. As soon as a man enlists, the employer can turn to the Woman's Emergency Corps to fill the gap. Today women are doing almost entirely the clerical work of big loan and banking companies.

The women of Canada have shown themselves to be perfectly able to stand side by side with men in guiding the destiny of the Dominion.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has been officially recognized by the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. He personally studied in their own lands the armies of England, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, and was chosen as an expert by The Army and Navy Journal to write its digest of military operations during the first periods of the present war. The subjoined article is the first of a series which Major Dayton is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, embodying an authoritative history of the chief military operations of all the European armies since the beginning of the great conflict.

I.—Phases Before the Battle of the Marne

FOR some years the principal military powers of Europe had been gathered into two fairly well balanced opposing groups. France, whose declining population was cause for anxiety, had established a strong alliance with Russia, whose millions seemed unlimited. The relation had much that was natural to commend it, for the development of Russian economy provided a wide field for the investment of huge sums of French money. Thrift in France earned interest in Russia. The great man power of the Slav empire offered a needed reinforcement to the military strength of the French Republic.

MAJOR EDWIN W. DAYTON

England, ancient enemy of both, sought a friendly understanding when it became evident a dozen years ago that Germany was destined to be England's great rival in the markets of the world and in the councils of the nations. Colonial disputes in Africa between Germany and France gave England the opportunity to lend her full weight to the French side in critical moments, and presently the world perceived that the Entente was composed of England, France, and Russia.

The Triple Alliance, the opposing group, comprised Germany, Austria, and Italy; the first two closely united by many ties, but Italy not well enlisted in those ranks. Much that had prospered for Italy in the last seventy-five years was due to German help, but a bitter hatred of Austria rankled in the hearts of most Italians. Gratitude to Germany was swallowed up in jealousy of Austria.

This alliance controlled the best army the world has ever known. The Entente possessed in the British Navy the dominant naval power. German sea power had grown enormously since 1902, and ranked second among the sea forces of the world, but a second far removed from the leader.

Many shrewd observers believed that the great war, whenever it should come, would find Germany and Austria fighting France and Russia, with both Italy and England holding aloof. This rather general impression proved wrong, for while Italy did desert the Alliance, England threw herself body and soul into the conflict on the side of the Entente. There can be no doubt today that, had England held off, France and Russia would have been disastrously beaten. An isolated England would later have had little power to oppose the commercial, co-

lonial and imperial ambitions of Germany.

The Strategic Elements

When the conflict began, geography played an important part in strategy. Germany and Austria formed a compact and wonderfully organized entity. Strategic railways were ready to serve every military need and promote the policy of carrying the war immediately on to the soil of the enemy. The military purposes of the Great General Staff were ably seconded by the mental convictions of the populace schooled in the theories of Treitschke and Nietzsche. "Blessed are the valiant" was mentally married to "If the end is big enough, all things are justified." The children born of this union were the invasion of Belgium and the U-boats' terrorism of the sea.

While the strategic situation distinctly favored the Central Powers in a short war, it was evidently a menace in a long-continued conflict. British naval supremacy could be expected to blockade all the sea routes of commerce and eventually to shut off many essential commodities not produced sufficiently within German frontiers. The great cities were storehouses well packed, but a serious shortage was a chief danger in a long war. The German plans for a hard fight—quickly won—linked good military principle with sound economic sense.

Allied failures in the Balkans ultimately entailed serious results. British sea power shut off the sea road for supplies, and then German diplomacy opened a wide road through Bulgaria and Turkey into Asia. The road was later widened by force of arms through Serbia and Rumania. It is quite evident that allied successes in this field would have caused a real bottling up of the Teutons. Elimination by starvation would have had good prospect of fairly prompt success.

Causes of the War

By 1917 the world at large has nearly outgrown all it believed in 1914 as to what caused the war. Ten years before the war began I was gathering first-hand evidence in the Orient that war would some day be England's only recourse against German commercial invasion of fields essential to England's manufacturing prosperities. I shall not recount my facts, for I am sure that the causes were widespread and deep-rooted beyond the scope of any man's vision. The best guide as to what caused the war is a consideration of the present avowed purposes of the combatants. Worldwide ambitions bred jealousies and led to competitions which made a great war some day inevitable.

Here we are content to pass on to a consideration of the events which dropped the spark into the waiting magazines and set in motion throughout the world the machinery which for a generation had been preparing on all sides for the uses to which it was immediately put. Armies and navies were in existence which would never have been created without a general belief that some day soon just such a war was to come.

The claim that the war was a surprise which caught the great military nations unprepared was part of the partisan literary campaign incident to the outbreak. It was true only of Belgium. England's navy, always able to cope at a moment's notice with the full naval war strength of any two other powers, was always intended to hold enemies at bay until the small army could be increased as needed. Belgium really was unprepared, except for the system of fortifications, which had been somewhat overrated. The unpreparedness of all was in the failure to coax agriculture within their own frontiers into producing more nearly the national requirements.

Early Summer of 1914

As the complex causes of the war grew in remote places, and out of fundamental rivalries of great nations, so, too, the immediate causes were the result of ruthless greed in other years and in a remote corner of Europe.

Not many years ago two small Balkan principalities woke up one morning to find that an octopus from the north called Austria had throttled their little nationalities over night. Austria wanted

Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, as they were weak and small, took them in a day. It was easily done, and the story of the little provinces seemed a closed book; but there was another chapter waiting to be written in blood in the Summer of 1914.

Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, was notified that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand would visit the little city on Sunday, June 28, to inspect the troops of the garrison. The Duchess and a small official retinue accompanied him. The narrow streets of the little Bosnian city were crowded, and scattered through the motley groups were many who still longed to revenge the coup which had swallowed up the independence of the State. As the motor cars moved slowly, a package dropped on the hood of the leading machine. The Archduke picked it up and threw it to the rear. As it struck the pavement it exploded, and an aid in the car behind was wounded. The would-be assassin, who was arrested, was Cabrinovitch, from Trebinje in Herzegovina.

Later in the morning, after the ceremonial welcome at the Town Hall, the Archduke, disregarding the entreaties of all the officials, insisted upon driving to the hospital to visit the wounded aid. As the car moved slowly along the narrow way a second bomb was thrown, and this, too, failed to explode, but the thrower ran forward, firing three shots from a pistol. The Archduke was mortally wounded, and so, too, was his wife, the Duchess, who tried to shield her husband. Their assassin was a Bosnian student named Prinzip.

Both assassins were orthodox Serbs and members of the Greater Serbian Party, whose ambition since the Balkan war had been to rescue the Slavs subjugated by Austria.

The murdered Archduke was the heir to the throne of Austria, and the Government at Vienna determined to punish Serbia, known to be the rendezvous of Austria's enemies. The Mayor of Serajevo laid the blame for the assassination at Serbia's door.

On July 23 the Austro-Hungarian Empire presented its ultimatum to Serbia, partly demanding reparation for the crimes at Serajevo, and also partly insisting upon safeguards for the future. Forty-eight hours were allowed for an answer, and Serbia, the ambitious little Slav State of the Balkans, appealed for advice to Russia, the mighty head of the Slav race. Within the forty-eight hours the answer went to Vienna, and nearly all the long list of requirements was accepted. Two of the demands provided for the direct intervention of Austrian representatives in the suppression of movements antagonistic to the Dual Monarchy and for participation in the judicial proceedings connected with the Serajevo conspiracy. These demands Serbia asked to refer to The Hague Tribunal. The Austro-Hungarian Minister announced that his Government would accept nothing short of a complete submission to all the demands, and, asking for his passports, left Belgrade on Saturday evening, July 25.

The succeeding week was one of great diplomatic activity, and diplomacy scored a complete failure. It was apparent that Russia proposed to back up Serbia and prevent Austria's absorption of this Slav State. England's Foreign Office, through Sir Edward Grey, made every effort to gather in London the Ambassadors of Germany, France, and Italy, and secure a suspension of all operations while they consulted as to means for avoiding the imminent catastrophe. Germany refused the British invitation and assumed a decidedly belligerent attitude toward Russia. The sentiment in Germany was expressed in the declaration, " We are tired of hearing the Russian rattle the sword in the scabbard." Austria, as late as July 30, seemed inclining toward a conference with Russia, but on Friday, the 31st, Germany presented an ultimatum to both Russia and France, and the Emperor decreed a state of war throughout Germany.

The demand upon Russia was for the immediate demobilization of the army, which was known to be under way. France was asked to define her attitude. On that day, too, England asked both Germany and France if they would respect the neutrality of Belgium, which

had been jealously guarded by British interests for a hundred years. France promptly agreed, and stated that the French troops had been moved back ten kilometers from the Belgian frontier. Germany did not answer, and England instructed the British Ambassador on Aug. 4 to ask for an immediate reply. The German Secretary of Foreign Affairs replied that German troops had already entered Belgium, and added in explanation that it was a matter of life or death for the German Army to strike quickly and by the undefended route.

Germany's Choice Deliberate

Briefly, the facts are that Germany preferred to violate the neutrality of Belgium by taking a route through that country into France instead of attempting to break through the powerfully fortified eastern frontier of France. The German Government seems not to have believed that England would enter the war because of this violation of Belgian treaty rights. As a matter of fact, English history confesses to many a violation of the sovereign rights of smaller nations. What Germany proposed to do was to attack France through Belgium, but that course would put German troops along the jealously guarded waters of the English Channel. Belgium refused to grant a free right of way in return for a guaranteed return to the status quo after the war. England decided that her place was among those lined up to fight Germany and Austria.

In passing I wish to say that it was no unheard-of idea that Germany might seek a road to France through Belgium. Ten years ago I put on my shelves a book written by a British officer telling for the benefit of military students the story of a campaign in Belgium by a British Army sent to oppose just such a movement as that which actually occurred in 1914. The sixteen maps are all military maps in detail, and all display an intimate professional knowledge of the Belgian terrain. The story tells of a campaign under Kitchener and French, following upon an inquiry which the German Emperor was supposed to address to England: "What will you do if I invade France through Belgium?" England's answer was the sending of an expeditionary force to oppose the invasion.*

Turning from the professional prophecy disguised as fiction to the reality which occurred, we find that in the first week of August, 1914, the war had opened with England, France, Russia, and Serbia definitely at war with Germany and Austria. Moratoriums suspended payments and Stock Exchanges were closed. All armies were mobilizing and actual fighting soon began.

The Opposing Forces

The land forces of Germany were the strongest in the world. In numbers they were second to Russia, but in efficiency, organization, training, and equipment they were immensely superior. The splendid system originated in Prussia had been extended to every State in the German Empire. The liability to serve included every man of sound physique when he became 17 years of age. If wanted, his actual service began at 20, when he served for two years with the colors in the infantry, or three years if in the cavalry or horse artillery. Next came five or four years in the regular reserve. The seven years being completed, the soldier passed to five years in the first levy of the Landwehr, where he continued until the beginning of his fortieth year. Until 45 he remained in the Landsturm, where he joined men between the ages of 39 and 45, who had escaped the regular training. The best brains of all Germany were devoted to the task of making these soldiers the most efficient fighting force possible.

At war strength the first line of regular troops numbered about 1,500,000, with a second line of nearly another million. The complete resources in man power are estimated at between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 men, of whom, perhaps, half had served with the colors. The developments of the war have led me to

*Nearly every detail of the opening campaign was foretold by a French Army expert and published in France a dozen years ago. No professional soldier was surprised when the war began where it did.

believe that these estimates were rather under the actual German resources. It is to be remembered that the commercial prosperity of the empire, which followed the victory of 1870, helped to induce large families, and, in consequence, there is a very large number of boys each year maturing for service in the ranks.

In Austria-Hungary the army organization followed generally the German system without approaching its perfection. The great conglomeration of races in the Dual Empire has not been well assimilated, and there are strong external ties affecting many of the people. Troops raised in Galicia would not fight well against Russia, and those from Tyrol would be ineffective against Italy. The best element in the Austrian Army was the cavalry, and the war turned out the poorest field for the mounted men since modern armies came into existence.

The war strength of the Austrian Army was in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 soldiers, with resources capable of doubling that figure, but including many untrained men.

French and Russian Strength

The French Army, since the defeat of 1870, had strained every resource to keep as nearly as possible abreast of the dangerous neighbor across the Rhine. A Frenchman called to the colors at 20 served three years in the regular army, and passed the years until he reached 48 in the regular reserve, territorial army, and territorial reserve. The war strength of the first line was between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000 men. To this was added a second line of 500,000 and a reserve of about 2,000,000. The morale of the French troops was the best in the world, and their infantry and their artillery ranked very high in technical training.

Russia, badly beaten in Manchuria by Japan, had taken that hard lesson well to heart, and her army had been reorganized and greatly improved in the past ten years. Universal military service in a population of upward of 170,000,000 cannot fail to produce man power. To train and equip it properly was Russia's task. The term of service with the colors was five years, and therefore exceeded that of her western rivals. The peace strength of the regular army exceeded 1,000,000 men, and the war strength was doubtless in excess of 4,000,000. The reserves certainly could easily exceed 7,000,000.

The natural capacity of the Russian for soldier duty has been shown in many wars, even when his officers were largely incompetent. Since the experience in Manchuria the professional status of the officers has been vastly improved, and it is probable that the Russian Army went to war with less sawdust masquerading as powder and more real food in the commissariat than it had ever known. The corrupt bureaucracy at Petrograd seemed to have passed to a great extent. Emergencies later found reserves waiting to pick up the weapons of the wounded and dead, but the shortage was probably due more to hard necessity than to cynical dishonesty in high places.

British and Other Armies

The British Army at the outbreak of the war numbered about 250,000 regulars with the colors. The army reserve had 145,000 and the special reserve 81,000. The territorials numbered about 265,000, and in the national reserve were 200,000 more.

The small regular army of Britain was doubtless, rank and file, the best-trained professional unit that entered the war. The enlistment called for a longer term with the colors than in any of the Continental services, and the diversity of experience gained in worldwide service produced splendid soldiers. Later England and her colonies proved capable of raising 5,000,000 fighting men, but the loss in the early days of the war of most of the fine professional officers delayed greatly the training of the armies raised in 1915 and 1916. Serbia probably took into the war nearly 500,000 men, and Belgium contributed perhaps 150,000. The Serbs were hardy fighting veterans, badly equipped, but ready to accomplish much with little armament and less food. The Belgians were caught in the midst of a proposed reformation of the army, and

went to the firing line in parade uniforms, but they fought with high courage a series of losing rear-guard battles, which is the hardest possible test of morale.

As the war began it is fair to compute the man power of the Allies at about twenty-five men for every fifteen on the Teuton side. The strength available on mobilization was in nearly the same proportion, but in Western Europe Germany was ready to put into the field at the beginning much the stronger forces—probably five to three, or even better.

The First Six Weeks—Western Theatre of War

Every military consideration dictated speed for the German plan of campaign. The best plan is that which uses fully all favoring factors. Germany had a large army exceptionally well organized, and a series of strategic railways planned and built so as to be available for military use. As the ultimate strength of the Entente would greatly exceed in men and resources that of the Central Powers, it would be necessary, in order to win the war, to conquer some vital element at once. As Germany did not produce quite enough foodstuffs for normal consumption, it would never do to let the foe occupy any of the land. Every square mile of productive soil that could be taken from an enemy would be a needed help in Teuton economy.

France was the dangerous military element in the ranks of the Entente, and must, if possible, be crushed before the great, slower masses of Russia could be brought into effective action.

For the sake of victory the first blow, and that a crushing one, must be aimed at France. The frontier between Switzerland and the little neutral State of Luxemburg was powerfully fortified and could not be quickly forced. The effort in 1916 to take one of the fortified elements at Verdun proved that the dread of that strong line was sound. All military experts for years had agreed that the natural line of attack would be against Northern instead of Eastern France, and would seek a route through Belgium. No one questioned the soundness of that plan as a military proposition. Its weakness lay in the fact that it violated a treaty guaranteeing protection of Belgium from invasion, a treaty to which Germany as well as France and England was committed.

Germany broke the treaty and forfeited the sympathy of many neutral nations. Breaking that treaty insured England's participation in the war. Personally I believe that England would have joined in the war in any event as affording the best opportunity to curb German ambition. Certainly any German sacrifice that would have kept England out would have been wise and profitable.

So far as the morals of great nations are concerned, they offer a sad field of investigation or discussion for historians. There is no great power in Europe which has not, at one time or other, in dealing with weaker nations, abused the power to do wrong. Literary patriots later spare no efforts to prove how much good the little fellow eventually got out of being wronged. In 1914 Germany felt it would pay to do wrong, and on Aug. 1 German troops illegally entered Luxemburg, where they met no opposition. The following day they invaded Belgium, where within a few days they met a resistance which caused unexpected losses and delays.

The various declarations of war were made between July 28 and Aug. 12, but for all practical purposes it will suffice to consider Aug. 1, 1914, as the date on which the war began.

Belgium's Resistance

Germany invaded Belgium in the direction of Liége with a force of from 30,000 to 35,000 men, using regiments which took the field at peace strength in order to gain time. The Belgian eastern frontier was defended by a series of quite elaborate fortifications on the Brialmont system. This distinguished Belgian military engineer, a great modern Vauban, had provided circles of mutually supporting forts built chiefly underground, and resembling in mechanical features the

turrets of armored warships. His system of defenses was smashed by the German artillery, when the heavy howitzers hurled broken concrete and steel girders down on the gun crews below. An efficient infantry support intrenched in field works would have greatly lengthened the resistance of the Belgians.

The Belgian engineers did everything possible to delay the oncoming Germans by destroying bridges, railways, and roads. General von Emmich was in command of the first German force which crossed the frontier, and the Belgians under Leman resisted heroically, hoping daily for French help. The German artillery rained high-explosive shells on the forts of Boncelles, Embourg, Chaudfontaine, and Fléron, and on Aug. 5 an infantry engagement west of the Ourthe resulted favorably for the Belgians. However, the fort at Fléron was smashed, and when the Germans brought up their huge howitzers, more forts were destroyed, and Leman did well to resolve upon a hurried retreat rather than face the certain loss of all his men by allowing them to be surrounded at Liége. The German infantry marched into Liége on Aug. 7.

General von Emmich's force, which took Liége, was the advance guard of the First Army, commanded by General von Kluck. The Second Army, under General von Bülow, was to join the First in the invasion of Belgium, and the two numbered nearly half a million men. A Third Army, under the Duke of Württemberg, crossed the Moselle between Coblenz and Treves. The Fourth Army, commanded by the German Crown Prince, advanced south of Treves. The Fifth Army, under the Crown Prince of Bavaria, advanced from Metz toward Verdun. The Sixth Army, under General von Heeringen, was for defensive use in Alsace.

On Aug. 12 a part of the German force advancing to attack the Belgian Army, then on the Dyle, met a severe but only local defeat at Haelen. The Belgians, meeting several small successes, imagined that no great force of German infantry was advancing into Belgium. As a matter of fact, they were being engaged by a screen of cavalry covering the great armies of von Kluck and von Bülow. Soon the heavy siege howitzers were brought up behind the cavalry screen, and one after the other the remaining fortifications were torn to pieces. General Leman, unconscious, was captured in the ruins of Fort Loncin, but the resistance at this point had delayed the German advance along the railway through Liége.

By Aug. 15 the First and Second German Armies began to deploy, and the French were not yet ready to help the Belgians. A stand was attempted at Louvain, but by the 19th the Belgian field army had sought refuge within the circle of Brialmont forts at Antwerp and Brussels was abandoned to the Germans.

While Belgium retarded von Kluck, France attempted a diversion by an attack in Alsace. Altkirch and Mulhouse were easily captured, but, as a strong German force advanced from Neu Breisach, Mulhouse was abandoned.

Between Aug. 10 and 15 the French developed a vigorous attack upon the German outposts in the passes of the Vosges along the southeastern frontier. Dannemarie and Thann were captured, and columns belonging to the army of the Crown Prince were repulsed further north. On Aug. 21 the Germans struck back in great force and inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the French left. General Castelnau's army retreated behind the Meurthe, and the Germans occupied Lunéville.

Britain's Expeditionary Force

Between the 7th and the 20th of August England transported about 90,000 soldiers across the Channel and landed them without loss in France. The efficiency and the value of the great British Navy were thus demonstrated in the very first days of the war. That was the time for the German submarine to have struck, but neither then nor since was the U-boat able to interfere with British cross-Channel operations.

The staff plan arranged that the British expeditionary force should cover the left flank of the main French army, the two gaining touch at Amiens. Field Marshal Sir John French was in command, with Sir Douglas Haig at the head

of the First Corps and General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien leading the Second Corps.

The French army commanded by General Joffre joined hands with General French on Aug. 21 in Southern Belgium. The British centre was a little to the left of Mons, a town on the railway from Brussels to Maubeuge, and the front of about twenty miles was held by 76,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 312 guns.

On the left rear of the British Army was a French army, under General D'Amade, between Arras and Douay; to the rear, General Sordet's army below Maubeuge; on the right, the bulk of the French forces under Lanrezac, along the Sambre beyond Charleroi, with the right flank covered by the armies of Langle and Ruffey, both the latter deployed facing east. The angle in the French line followed that of the Rivers Sambre and Meuse, inside which it was formed with the sharp point of the angle at the fortified City of Namur, where 350 pieces of artillery were scientifically placed in a splendidly planned circle of Brialmont forts. The Belgian garrison at Namur somewhat exceeded 26,000 men.

Namur and Antwerp

The main German armies were now advancing rapidly through Belgium, and their artillery included the great siege trains which were allowed to get into position within three miles of Namur. The storm of heavy shells smashed one after the other of the forts, and the German infantry pushed across the Meuse below the junction with the Sambre. The Belgian infantry fought for a day, hoping for French succor, but on the 22d the Belgians and 5,000 French troops who had come up were thoroughly defeated. They retreated, hard pressed, toward Philippeville, and on Aug. 22 General von Bülow was in Namur, which was to have been the impregnable pivot on which the Allies were to hinge their operations.

While the main German army turned south to invade France, a considerable force had been dispatched to the north to deal with Antwerp. The Belgians at Antwerp numbered nearly 125,000, and on Aug. 23 they marched south and expelled the Germans from Malines. For the next three weeks a series of hard battles was fought south of Antwerp, where the strong Belgian offensive threatened the communications of the great German armies invading France.

Between Sept. 13 and 17 a heavy battle was fought along the Malines-Louvain railway, which the Germans won. From there the Belgians slowly retreated to Antwerp, while the Germans burned three of the noblest towns of Europe—Louvain, Malines, and Termonde. Scores of villages and towns were wantonly destroyed. By Sept. 27 the great siege howitzers of the Germans began to bombard the southern forts at Antwerp. The German guns had an effective range of seven and one-half miles, while none of the Belgian artillery had a range of over six miles. During the first week of October two British naval brigades, numbering 6,000 men, arrived as a reinforcement for the garrison of Antwerp, and they brought an armored train and a few naval guns.

On Oct. 7 the Belgian Government officials went aboard ship and sailed for France. A large part of the population fled, and the British and Belgian garrison retreated. Thousands were captured and other thousands fled into Holland, where they were interned. On Oct. 9 the Germans entered Antwerp. England was chagrined at the pitiful failure of her attempts to help Belgium.

The Battle of Mons

After the fall of Namur the Germans inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the French inside the angle of the Sambre and the Meuse. In the confusion of the retreat no word was sent to General French, who remained at Mons, believing his right flank to be still covered by the French. Von Kluck attacked the British Army on Sunday, Aug. 23, at noon, and a few hours later a message from General Joffre told Sir John French of the retreat of Lanrezac's army, which he had supposed still sheltered the British right.

Sunday night and Monday morning, the 24th, the British made a very skillful retreat, and, thanks to brave soldiers and skillful commanders, escaped a great disaster. Between Aug. 23 and 28 General French's army retreated steadily under

constant pressure and suffering severe losses. On the 27th they came to a halt north of St. Quentin. On that day the French armies, which had attempted to hold the line of the Meuse, gave way, and the Germans crossed the river at Donchery. Mezières, Montmedy, and Longwy fell. On the west Lille fell, and only Maubeuge among the fortresses of Northern France still flew the tricolor. At Tournai a French brigade and a British battery were captured.

The Retreat from Mons

The French and British continued to retreat, and the Germans pushed on for Amiens and got astride the Paris-Boulogne line of communications. On Aug. 27 the Munster Fusiliers were cut off and all either killed or captured. On the 28th the British force was on the Oise between La Fère and Noyon after six days of constant fighting and marching. A welcome reinforcement came up to their support on the left, where General d'Amade's Sixth French Army arrived from the direction of Arras and threatened the right flank of von Kluck's pursuing army. About the same time strong French corps came up and relieved the pressure on the British right toward Guise.

The line La Fère-Laon-Rheims seemed like the proper place for the re-formed French and British armies to make a stand, but the huge German armies on the French right flank crossed the Meuse, and after a hard two-day battle captured Rethel and crossed the Aisne. The German centre thrust forward toward Rheims, and the thoroughly beaten French were unable to make any effectual defense.

The result was to compel a further retreat of the British and the Fifth French Army on the west flank. Von Kluck's army took La Fère and Laon without a fight.

General Joffre, the supreme commander, after the successive French defeats on the Semois, the Meuse, the Aisne at Charleroi, Dinant, and Donchery, was withdrawing the whole group of allied armies behind the Marne. As they fell back the Germans pursued closely, and there were hard-fought rear-guard battles daily. On Sept. 3 the British succeeded in crossing the Marne and destroyed the bridges. On Sept. 5 they were some miles further south along the Grand Morin, a tributary of the Marne. To the south lay the forest of Fontainebleau and the Valley of the Seine. The French Government moved from Paris to Bordeaux.

[*Next Installment: Battle of the Marne.*]

The Reeds of the Somme

By CLINTON SCOLLARD

In the gusts of the Wintry weather
I heard the reeds of the Somme whispering together;
"Brother, brother,"
Each said to the other,
"Lo, how we have bled
For our beloved Mother—
For France, our Mother!
And shall it be in vain,
Our agony and pain,
All of the precious blood that we have shed?"
And the sky that leaned over,
Like a lover,
Answered, "Nay!"
And each wind upon its vagrant way
(Each wind that wandered wide)
Made answer, "Nay!"
And the Somme water,
Red with slaughter,
Answered, "Nay!"
So every brother reed was satisfied.

The British Navy's Titanic Task

By Admiral Sir John Jellicoe

First Sea Lord, Former Commander of the Grand Fleet

[An address delivered in London on Jan. 11, 1917, when Admiral Jellicoe was presented with the honorary freedom of the Fishmongers' Company]

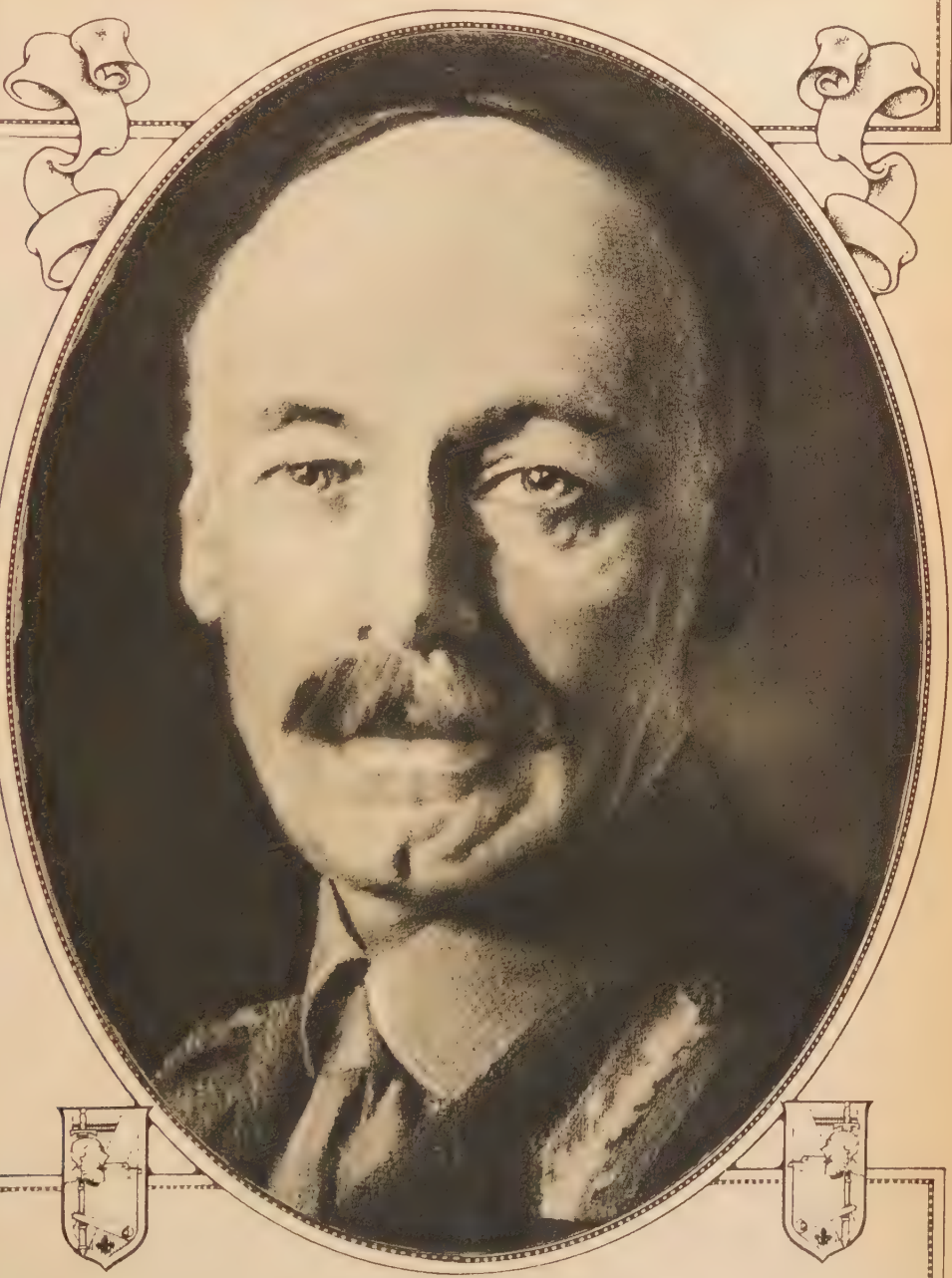
THERE are great differences between the conditions of today and a hundred years ago. These lie in the greater speed of ships, in the longer range of guns, in the menace of the torpedo as fired from ships, destroyers, and submarines, and the menace of mines, the use of aircraft as scouts, and of wireless telegraphy. In the Napoleonic era the ships opened fire with guns at ranges of about 800 yards. The ships of today open fire at 22,000 yards' (or eleven nautical miles) range, and gunfire begins to be very effective at 18,000 yards. The torpedo as fired from surface vessels is effective certainly up to 10,000 yards' range, and this requires that a ship shall keep beyond this distance to fight her guns. As the conditions of visibility—in the North Sea particularly—are frequently such as to make fighting difficult beyond a range of 10,000 yards, and as modern fleets are invariably accompanied by very large numbers of destroyers, whose main duty it is to attack with the torpedo the heavy ships of the enemy, it will be recognized how great becomes the responsibility of the Admiral in command of a fleet, particularly under the conditions of low visibility to which I have referred. As soon as destroyers tumble upon a fleet within torpedo range the situation becomes critical for the heavy ships.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELLICOE

The submarine is another factor which has changed the situation, as this class of vessel, combined with the use of mines, entirely prevents the close blockade resorted to in former days. In addition, these two weapons add greatly to the anxieties of those in command. It is one thing to fight an enemy that you can see. It is a different matter to deal with a hidden foe. Thus modern conditions add immensely in this respect to the responsibility of those commanding fleets. They cannot get warning of the enemy being at sea until the enemy is well at sea. Nelson watching Villeneuve off Cadiz had his inshore squadron close into the enemy's port, and could see what was actually going on inside that port. The British fleet of today, watching the German High Seas Fleet, is not in the same happy position. The further the watching ships are from the enemy's port the greater is the facility with which the enemy can escape and the greater is the difficulty of intercepting him.

There was never any likelihood in the olden days of the enemy's fleet escaping unseen unless the blockading squadron was forced from its watching position by bad weather, which, of course, occasionally occurred. In our day submarines and mines compel the watching force to take up their station further and further away. In spite of this, and in spite of the German boast as to the occasions on which the German fleet has searched the North Sea for the British fleet, our enemies have only on one occasion ven-

GENERAL SIR HENRY S. RAWLINSON



General Rawlinson Is Sir Douglas Haig's Right-Hand Man on the Somme and Had Charge of the Main Offensive Operations in the Great Battle.

CARDINAL MERCIER, PAINTED BY BESNARD

This Portrait of the Famous Primate of Belgium, Whose Protests to Germany Have Aroused the World, Was Painted by the Noted French Artist, Albert Besnard.

tured sufficiently far with their main fleet to give us an opportunity to engage them. No vessels, neutral or British, have sighted the High Seas Fleet far from its ports on any occasion.

It is true that on Aug. 19 of last year the enemy's fleet came within measurable distance of the English coast, being sighted by some of our patrols, but turned back, presumably because the presence of our fleet was reported by their aircraft. Raids on the British coast with fast cruisers or battle cruisers have been carried out, but on each occasion the passage from German waters has been made, apparently, under cover of the night, the enemy appearing off our coast at dawn and retiring before comparatively small forces. Such feats were, of course, impossible in the days of slow speed, and are now undertaken probably only in the hope of enticing us into the adoption of a false strategy by breaking up our forces to guard all vulnerable points. I do not criticise the Germans for their strategy or for not running any risks with their fleet. On the other hand, their boasts of searching the North Sea for the enemy must be pronounced as without justifiable basis.

The next point to which I would like to draw your attention has reference to the worldwide nature of the war in relation to the British Navy. It is not, perhaps, always realized how far-reaching are our naval activities, and how great, therefore, is the call on our naval resources. It may be interesting to state that the approximate number of vessels of all classes which comprise the British Navy of today is nearly 4,000. This includes battleships, battle cruisers, light cruisers, destroyers, submarine boats, mine sweepers, patrols, and many other miscellaneous craft, all of which are necessary for the effective conduct of a war of today. Our activities range from the White Sea, where we are doing our best to assist our gallant Russian allies, past the North and South Atlantic, where cruiser squadrons are at work, on to the far Pacific, where we are working in cooperation with our Japanese allies. On the west coast of Africa the navy took no inconsiderable share in the fighting in the Cameroons. In the Mediterranean the navy took a hand in the Dardanelles campaign, assisted by our gallant French allies, and is now working with both the French and Italian Navies in the Balkan campaign and in the Adriatic.

On the east coast of Africa the naval forces, including our river gunboats, monitors, and aircraft, have rendered great service to our kinsmen from the Union of South Africa. In the Persian Gulf and up the Tigris River numerous river gunboats and other vessels are assisting our army in the Mesopotamian campaign. Our East Indian squadron, which is working from Port Said through the canal and Red Sea, is helping the army of Egypt, and safeguarding communications with India, and thence to Far Eastern waters. In the early days of the war the navy was pleased and honored to work along with our gallant Japanese allies in the capture of Kiao-Chau. In fact, it may be said that there is no part of the world in which the navy has not duties and responsibilities in connection with this war, and I might draw attention to the arduous and continuous work of the cruiser squadron in home waters, which is mainly engaged in preventing supplies from reaching our enemies. Ships are intercepted and boarded in great numbers under every condition of weather, and some idea of the work may be gathered from the fact that an average of some eighty ships of all kinds are intercepted and examined weekly on the high seas by the vessels of this squadron.

The task of keeping the large number of ships working in all parts of the world, of supplying them with fuel, munitions, &c., can only be recognized by those in possession of all the facts. The work, too, involves a great effort on the part of the marcantile marine; without our mercantile marine the navy—and, indeed, the nation—could not exist. Upon it we have been dependent for the movement of our troops overseas—over 7,000,000 men having been transported—together with all the guns, munitions, and stores required by the army. The safeguarding of these transports both from the attack of such surface vessels as have been at

large and from submarine attack has been carried out by the navy. We have had to draw also upon the personnel of the mercantile marine not only for the manning of the transport ships but also very largely for the manning of the whole of our patrol and mine-sweeping craft, nearly 2,500 skippers being employed as skippers, R. N. R. The number of R. N. R. executive officers has increased almost fourfold since the outbreak of war. Indeed, it is impossible to measure fully the debt which the country owes to our mercantile marine. In the old days it used to be said that there was jealousy between the mercantile marine and the royal navy, but whatever may have been the case then there is no room now in the navy for anything but the most sincere admiration and respect for the officers and men of the mercantile marine.

I think I know sufficient of the officers and men to believe that the feeling is reciprocated. Those of us who have been closely associated with the officers and men who man our armed merchant vessels and patrol craft have realized from the first day of the war how magnificent were their services, how courageous their conduct, and how unflinching their devotion to duty under the most dangerous conditions. The value of the services of the officers and men of the mercantile marine goes also far beyond their work in armed vessels. When one thinks of the innumerable cases of unarmed ships being sunk by torpedo or gunfire far from land, in a heavy sea, with the ship's company dependent alone upon boats for their safety, one is lost in admiration of the spirit of heroism of those who not only endure dangers and hardships without complaint but are ever ready to take the risks again and again in repeated voyages in other ships.

The submarine menace to the merchant service is far greater now than at any period of the war, and it requires all our energy to combat it. It must and will be dealt with, of that I am confident. But we have to make good our inevitable losses, and in order to do this we are dependent upon the shipbuilding industry of this country. The munitions organization has done a great work for the output of munitions; it now remains for the shipbuilders and marine engineers to rival that work. The first essential is the whole-hearted co-operation of the men in the shipbuilding yards and in the engineering workshops. In the same way as Sir Douglas Haig has appealed to the munition workers to give up holidays and to devote themselves to the supply of those munitions which are essential for the safety and success of their comrades in the trenches, I now appeal to the men in the shipyards and engineering shops to put forth their best efforts, continuously and ungrudgingly, to keep up the strength of our mercantile marine, and to provide those gallant fellows who have gone through innumerable dangers and hardships when their ships have been sunk with new vessels to carry on the transport of the necessary supplies of food and material for the manhood and the industries of the country. No one recognizes more than I do how great has been the output of the shipyards up to the present time.

I would only say now, let there be no question of strikes, no bad time keeping, no slacking, and let masters and men remember how great is their responsibility not only toward the navy and the nation but also toward our allies. * * *

If we all do our part all will be well with us. Of one prominent fact I can speak with full confidence born of experience—the nation can depend on the navy being ready, resourceful, and reliable.

Comparative Strength of Navies Today

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

I.—The British and German Navies

WHETHER it is to be peace or war for our country now or in the future, the balance of naval power will be one great factor in our relationship with the rest of the world. That the United States should have a strong navy is now a doctrine accepted by all classes of our citizens. Even those most desirous for peace have seen that an enlarged navy is our best means of insuring peace—and seldom has there been so universal a public opinion reflected in Congress as that shown by the unprecedented vote of money for the increase of our naval defense.

It is intended in this article to give a reliable estimate of the comparative strength of the different navies without bothering the reader with quantities of figures and statistics. And first of all it must be understood that the United States Navy is the product of generations of highly trained men, and the result is a personnel that will make good use of all the increased resources that have been given to the navy. From the dawn of its history the United States Navy has made the gun the one important thing, and this policy has again been confirmed by the lessons of the war. Our navy has taken the right course, and there are no great mistakes to remedy.

It has become the custom in estimating naval power to count "dreadnoughts" as the essential elements of strength. This designation of the "all-big-gun" warships, named after H. M. S. Dreadnought, the first of the type in commission, included battle cruisers until the present war. Before the war it was assumed that the battle cruiser would take its place in the line of battle, but it is not now considered equal to this task. Consequently in the following comment the word "dreadnought" will designate the type of all-big-gun battleship of the first line, and battle cruisers will be considered as a separate class.

Before reviewing the navies one by one, it would be a good thing to keep in mind a comparison of the types of dreadnoughts designed by different navies in the development of the class. On the following page are deck plans showing the different arrangements of the turrets.

Figure 1 is the original Dreadnought design of 1906. As will be observed, her maximum use of guns against an enemy would be eight, and from many angles the turrets interfere with use of the guns. Yet four of the British first-line battleships have this arrangement of turrets.

Figure 2 is the turret plan of the Helgoland class, and is the first arrangement of turrets on the German dreadnoughts. Although the guns are twelve, instead of ten, eight is the maximum broadside, and there is even more hampering of the turrets at different angles, with fewer guns that can be brought to bear. Eight German dreadnoughts have this arrangement of turrets.

Figure 3 shows the next step in placing the turrets—on the British dreadnought Neptune. By the echelon arrangement of the two central turrets there is a possible use of all the guns in a broadside, but looking at the deck plan from different angles it will be plain that there is still a similar drawback in getting the guns into use. Three British and four German dreadnoughts and British and German battle cruisers have this echelon placing of the turrets.

Figure 4 is the U. S. S. Michigan. The United States Navy has always adhered to big guns in turrets aligned over

VARIATIONS IN TURRET PLANS—BATTLESHIPS OF DREADNOUGHT TYPE

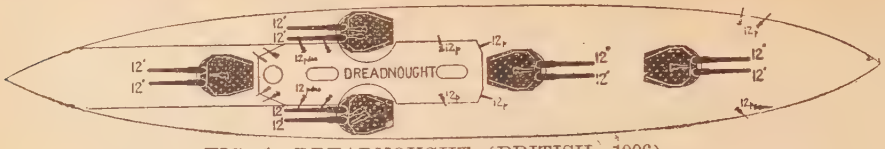


FIG. 1—DREADNOUGHT (BRITISH, 1906)
Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside: 8—12 in. Astern: 6—12 in.

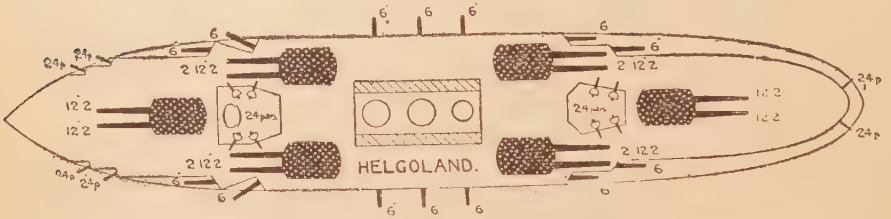


FIG. 2—HELGOLAND (GERMAN, 1908)
Ahead: 6—12.2, 4—6 in. Broadside: 8—12.2 in., 7—6 in. Astern: 6—12.2, 4—6 in.

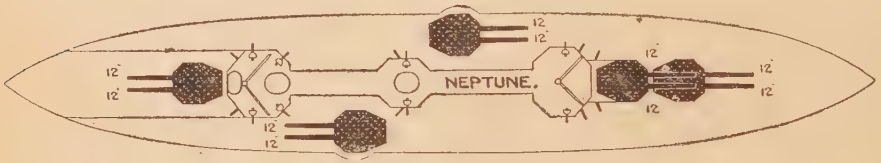


FIG. 3—NEPTUNE (BRITISH, 1908)
Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside—10—12 in. Astern: 8—12 in.

FIG. 4—U. S. S. MICHIGAN (1906)
Ahead: 4—12 in. Broadside—8—12 in. Astern: 4—12 in.

the keel in its development of the modern battleship from the monitor. The advantage of this is easily seen from the point of view of the best use of all the guns. All the United States battleships have their big-gun turrets aligned over the keel, and all the foreign navies have now followed this plan in their latest dreadnoughts, a fact which stamps the Michigan as one of the epoch-making designs in naval history.

The Michigan was designed in advance of the name ship, the Dreadnought,* although the latter was hurried and put into commission long before completed, and gave to the British Navy the name and prestige of the class. The real prestige remains with the Michigan, as, although her design was the first, it has proved the final accepted design, whereas the design of the name ship, Dreadnought, was modified—and then abandoned.

These four deck plans show practically all the variations in the construction of dreadnoughts, and also of battle cruisers. Keeping them in mind will help in the following estimate of the navies of Great Britain, Germany, United States, France, Japan, Russia, Italy, and Austria-Hungary. These will be given in their order of tonnage.

One other thing should be made clear before studying the foreign navies. As was natural from making the gun the main factor, the United States Navy has taken a leading part in the development

*Rear Admiral C. L. Goodrich, U. S. N.

of the modern naval gun. This has resulted in a gun with an increased length in proportion to its calibre, and a high muzzle velocity without undue erosion. Our 12-inch naval gun, increased from 45 calibre to 50 calibre, with a projectile of 870 pounds and an initial velocity of 2,950 foot-seconds, is the most powerful naval gun of its class. Our next step, the 45-calibre 14-inch naval gun, has a projectile of 1,400 pounds and initial velocity of 2,600 foot-seconds. This gun has been increased to 50 calibre for the three dreadnoughts of the Mississippi class. For the later classes of dreadnoughts authorized by Congress a 16-inch gun has been designed. These guns will be the standard of comparison for armaments when considering the foreign navies.

The British Navy

The British Navy is much the strongest in the world, because, to retain control of the seas, Great Britain has made it her policy to maintain a navy powerful enough to fight any two naval powers that might combine against her. This is the origin of the term "a two-power navy," now so frequently used in our country.

The British strength, in the recognized first essentials of sea power, known to be built and building is as follows:

BRITISH NAVY — SHIPS BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	**38
Predreadnought battleships	31
Battle cruisers	

As a matter of course no naval information whatever has been given out by the Admiralty since the war, but there has been much talk of a great increase of the British fleet. It has been said that there was a secret building program, and that powerful dreadnoughts and surpassing battle cruisers had been turned out with a rapidity that dazed those who read. Although this sort of talk is still current, the battle of Jutland contradicts it.

The British Navy was using the best force it possessed—and none of these marvels appeared.

Of the 38 dreadnoughts built and building the following is the list of recent construction in the program, with the dates of completion originally planned for each ship:

BRITISH NAVY—NEW CONSTRUCTION—DREADNOUGHT TYPE

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1914	Queen Elizabeth	27,500	8 15-inch	25.0
1914	Warspite	27,500		25.0
1915	Barham	27,500		25.0
1915	Valiant	27,500		25.0
1915	Malaya	27,500		25.0
1915	Royal Sovereign	25,750	8 15-inch	22.0
1915	Royal Oak	25,750		22.0
1916	Ramillies	25,750		22.0
1916	Resolution	25,750		22.0
1916	Revenge	25,750		22.0
1917	One Ship	27,500	8 15-inch	25.0
1917	Renown	25,750	8 15-inch	22.0
1917	Repulse	25,750		
1917	Resistance	25,750		

The dreadnought strength of the British fleet in the battle of Jutland (May 31-June 1, 1916) is authoritatively† given as 29. In view of this it not only seems improbable that at the date of the battle Great Britain had made any great additions to the dreadnoughts in her known program, but it is unlikely that she had pushed to completion the ships in that program. The fact that Great Britain is known to have increased her dreadnoughts by the one Chilean and two Turkish warships taken over early in the war, considered in reference to the total at Jutland, makes any great increase still more unlikely.

All this does not mean that every British dreadnought was in the battle—but the Grand Fleet was out, and there were few absentees.

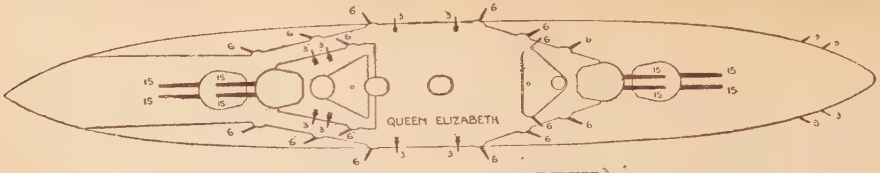
It is even more plainly the same story as to the imaginary new battle cruisers. The following is the list of British battle cruisers at the time of the battle, with dates of completion:

BRITISH NAVY—BATTLE CRUISERS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1908	Indomitable	17,250	8 12-inch	26
1908	Inflexible	17,250		26
1908	Invincible	17,250		26
1911	Indefatigable	18,750	8 12-inch	25
1911	Lion	26,350	8 13.5-inch	28.5
1912	Princess Royal	26,350		28.5

**35 ships regular program, 2 Turkish and 1 Chilean (building in England) taken over early in the war.

†Lieutenant Charles C. Gill, U. S. N. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.



H. M. S. QUEEN ELIZABETH

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1912	New Zealand	18,800	8 12-inch	25.0
1913	Australia	19,200	8 12-inch	26.0
1913	Queen Mary	27,000	8 13.5-inch	28.0
1914	Tiger	28,500	8 13.5-inch	28.0

There were nine battle cruisers with the British fleet in the battle of Jutland, and it is known that every one of these is in the list above given. If there had been any new battle cruisers they would have been in evidence.

In the months that have followed the battle it is probable that there has been an increase of the fleet of dreadnoughts, but, realizing the other demands on the British yards, it is doubtful if the increase has been abnormal.

Evidently Great Britain has been obliged to increase greatly her fleet of light cruisers, destroyers, patrols, &c., to meet the increasing submarine danger. It is known that a great deal of her building capacity has been used in construction of the monitor type. Answering a question in Parliament as to delays in construction, the Ministry stated that there had been such haste in building monitors that some had to be rebuilt.

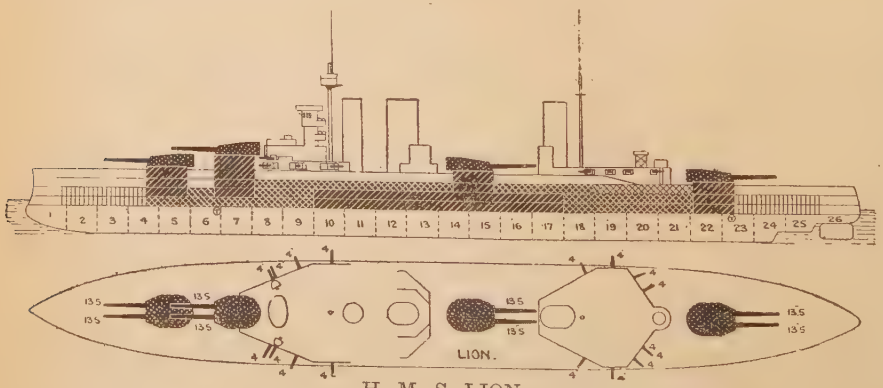
It has recently been given out that the British Government is building a large number of cargo ships, and the demands on the yards for repairs of the fleet, for supply and transport service, &c., must also be considered. Add to this the great drain on British labor to remedy the neglect to provide munitions, and the indicated lack of great increase to the fleet would be explained. Consequently, it would be reasonable to conclude that at the beginning of 1917 the British fleet of dreadnoughts does not greatly exceed the total given in the regular building program. Undoubtedly there has been a continuance of the future building program, and many ships have been laid down.

The Battle Fleet

From the above deck plan of the Queen Elizabeth it will be seen that the placing of the turrets follows the design of the Michigan.* All of the fourteen ships given in the list of new construction have this arrangement of turrets. Sixteen of the remaining dreadnoughts also have their turrets aligned over the keel. The other seven have the less efficient designs of the Dreadnought and Neptune.

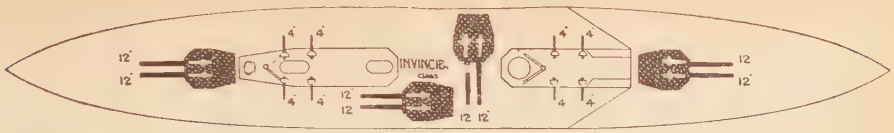
The predreadnought battleships are all good ships of their class and have proved of great value, because their service in other fields has enabled Britain to keep her dreadnoughts in the Grand Fleet to oppose the German High Seas Fleet.

*Figure 4.



H. M. S. LION

Ahead: 4—13.5 in. Broadside: 8—13.5 in. Astern: 2—13.5 in.



H. M. S. INVINCIBLE

The Battle Cruisers

Great Britain originated the battle cruiser, which has had a great vogue among naval experts. The above plans show the design of the Lion class and the earlier Invincible class. Of the nine in the battle of Jutland three were lost—Queen Mary, (Lion type,) Invincible and Indefatigable, (Invincible type.) The details of the seven remaining ships can be found in the list of battle cruisers just given.

It will be seen in the list of recent construction that Great Britain did not add to her program any battle cruisers for completion after 1914. The five 25-knot dreadnoughts (Queen Elizabeths) were for 1914 and 1915. After that for 1916 and 1917 there is only one 25-knot ship—all the rest are 22-knot. This plainly shows a reaction against speed in fighting ships.

For armament eleven dreadnoughts carry 12-inch guns, twelve 13.5-inch, and fourteen 15-inch. The Chilean warship, now called the Canada, carries 14-inch guns. The most interesting thing for Americans is to compare our 14-inch naval gun with the English 15-inch —their attempt to surpass it. The English projectile is very heavy, weighing some 500 pounds more than ours, but the initial velocity is much less than in our gun, which greatly decreases the power of the English gun.

These 15-inch guns were first in use when the Queen Elizabeth attempted to reduce the Dardanelles forts. The result was a failure, although, it is stated, the ship was listed as a last resort, and the guns fired at increased elevation—naturally with a bad effect on ship and guns.

The Queen Elizabeth was not in the battle of Jutland, but the other four ships of her class are known to have been in the action, as were other dreadnoughts with 15-inch guns—and the British 15-inch guns did not dominate the lighter but powerful German 12-inch and 11-inch guns, as was expected. Knowing this, we should feel that our more powerful naval guns would be able to cope with these English guns.

It is rumored, and it is very probable, that still larger English naval guns have been designed—even as large as 18-inch. But, in view of the British program of construction, it seems most likely that such guns are for the monitors.

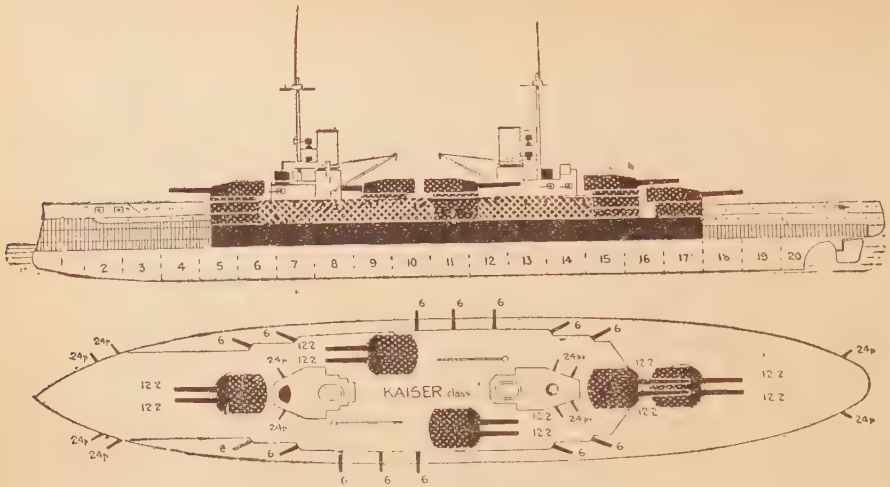
Monitors and Auxiliaries

Undoubtedly Great Britain has built floating batteries of the monitor type. These are for use against shore guns and in places where ships are exposed to torpedoes and mines. There is much mystery maintained about them, but it is known that there are a great many monitors, that some have very heavy guns, and that they have a specially devised cushioned protection against mines and torpedoes.

In all the auxiliaries of a great fleet the British Navy is well equipped—and when one realizes that this means cruisers, scouts, supply ships of all kinds, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, &c., with the additional burden of patrols, mine sweepers, and transport service, all of which are necessary to maintain British control of the seas, the total is astonishing. In every sea area there is need of some service of the British Navy, while facing the German fleet its dreadnoughts command the North Sea.

The German Navy

Germany became the second naval power of the world in the years that succeeded the laying down of the Dreadnought, (1906.) This was a time of great activity in the foreign navies. In 1907 Germany had laid down four dreadnoughts, in 1908 four, in 1909-10 five, in 1911 four. In the same years the United States Navy had been restricted



KAISER CLASS (5)

ERSATZ WORTH CLASS (3)

to the two-battleships-a-year policy—and had yielded second place to Germany.

The known strength of the German Navy is:

GERMAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	20
Predreadnought battleships	19
Battle cruisers	*7

As in the case of the British Navy, absolutely no German naval information has been given out since the start of the war. Concerning the German Navy also sensational stories of increased strength have been circulated. It was related that the ships were being rearmed with new guns of great power, that there had been secret construction, and that an unexpected strength had been developed, but at the battle of Jutland it was the same story. Germany brought out her whole fleet—and there was no new element of strength.

The twenty German dreadnoughts in the known program consist of thirteen ships, and the following new construction, which is given with proposed dates of completion:

GERMAN NAVY—NEW CONSTRUCTION—DREADNOUGHT TYPE

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1914	Grosser Kurfürst	25,388	10 12-inch.	22.0
1914	Markgraf	25,388		22.0
1914	König	25,388		22.0
1915	Kronprinz	25,388		22.0
1916	"T"	28,500	8 15-inch.	23.0
1916	Ersatz Wörth	28,500		23.0
1917	Ersatz Fr'd'h III.	28,500		23.0

The German battle cruisers in the known building program were as follows at the date of the battle of Jutland:

GERMAN NAVY—BATTLE CRUISERS

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1910	Von der Tann	19,100	8 11-inch.	27.6
1911	Moltke	22,632	10 11-inch.	28.4
1913	Seydlitz	24,385		29.2
1914	Derfflinger	28,000	8 12-inch.	27.0
1915	Lützow	28,000		27.0
1916	Ersatz Hertha	28,000		27.0
1917	E'tz Vic'a Louise	28,000		27.0

To the above must be added the battle cruiser Salamis, building for Greece, which the Germans took over early in the war.

In the battle of Jutland the German

*Six, regular program; one battle cruiser building taken over from Greece.

High Seas Fleet is given as sixteen dreadnoughts, five battle cruisers, and six predreadnoughts.*

This can only mean, as in the case of the British Navy, that instead of great additions to the German fleet, it does not seem possible that their building program had been hurried to completion. The battle cruiser Lützow was lost in the battle. The details of the remaining ships are shown in the above list.

In the months that have followed Jutland it is improbable that any great addition has been made to the building program of the German fleet. There must have been a strong tax on their yards for repairs; the original ships of the program were to be completed, and there must have been a great effort to turn out submarines for their latest offensive. As in the case of the English fleet, it is probably safe to conclude that there has been no abnormal increase of their fighting fleet.

German Battle Fleet

The German dreadnoughts are known to be well built and able ships, but in many of them the arrangement of the turrets hampers the guns. This will be plain to the reader from the plans with this article. Eight dreadnoughts have the design of the Helgoland, five (Kaiser class) have the echelon arrangement shown in the diagrams, and seven have the turrets aligned over the keel. Of these last, from the evidence of Jutland, it seems improbable that the three ships of the Ersatz Wörth class have been completed.

The German predreadnought battleships, although they are valuable assets to the German Navy, are not as good as the corresponding British ships, and are far inferior to our battleships of the same date.

As in the case of the British fleet, it must not be inferred that every German battleship was in the battle of Jutland, but the Germans must have taken out the strongest fleet available, and if there had been any abnormal increase it would have been in evidence. If there had been more dreadnoughts and battle cruisers available they would not have eked out their fleet with predreadnoughts.

Auxiliaries of Battle Fleet

Germany has suffered in cruisers of all classes, as was natural from keeping many of these ships at sea to do all the harm possible to her enemies; but the battle of Jutland showed that she has built some new light cruisers. It was also apparent that she had plenty of destroyers, and her aircraft would always have to be reckoned with. But her greatest naval development has been the submarine. It is known that she has built large numbers for the effort to cut off England's supply of food. Her naval officers have acquired great skill in the use of their U-boats, doing increasing harm to shipping—and to check their inroads is the problem of the Entente Allies.

Of the German dreadnoughts four carry 11-inch guns, thirteen carry 12-inch guns, and three 15-inch guns. These last are the ships of the Ersatz Wörth class in the list given, and, from the evidence of Jutland, it is doubtful if all are completed. Consequently the real comparison should be made with the 11-inch and 12-inch guns. Unquestionably these German guns did well against the English 13.5-inch and 15-inch guns in the battle of Jutland. Against our naval guns, more powerful because of the greater initial velocity, it might be a different problem.

These twenty German dreadnoughts built and building carry forty-eight 11-inch, one hundred and thirty 12-inch, and, when the three Ersatz Wörths are completed, twenty-four 15-inch guns. This is a formidable total, but, from the faulty placing of the turrets, as explained, a large part of these guns could not be used against an enemy fleet in a broadside. Out of ninety-six guns on the eight ships of the Westfalen and Helgoland classes, (see Figure 2,) the maximum use of guns would be sixty-four. It will be seen from the design of the Kaiser class that the echelon arrangement of the two central turrets greatly hampers the use of all the guns in the five ships of this class.

*Lieutenant Charles C. Gill. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

The armament of the completed dreadnoughts in the United States Navy is sixty-four 12-inch, sixty-four 14-inch, with the addition of thirty-six 14-inch guns when the three ships are completed of the class of the Mississippi, recently launched. This does not include the sixteen 12-inch guns of the two ships of the Michigan class, although they would undoubtedly be in the battle fleet and superior to many of the German dreadnoughts, because these two are not carried in our list as first-line battleships. Every one of these guns would be available as a broadside, as all our ships have the turrets aligned over the keel.

From this comparison the reader will see at once that the battle fleet of the United States Navy would be able to face the German dreadnoughts. Other comparisons will be made when considering the United States Navy.

Curious Phenomena of Battle Acoustics

Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

In your January issue there is an interesting article from La Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, on the phenomena of detonation of artillery and an explanation of the conical wave of condensation attendant upon high-velocity projectiles.

The eccentric action of acoustics, causing explosives to produce irregular transmission of sound, was recorded on two notable occasions during the civil war.

In the action of the Merrimac and Congress at the mouth of the James River, March 8, 1862, the transference of sound waves was prevented at a distance of three and one-half miles over water, yet persons living 150 miles away plainly heard the cannonade.

On June 27, 1862, was fought the "silent battle" of Gaines Mill. General Law of Lee's army, writing of it in The Southern Bivouac for May, 1887, has this to say: "To the troops stationed near the river, on the Richmond side, the action at Gaines Mill was plainly visible, that part of it, at least, which took place on open ground. I have been told by an eyewitness that from Price's house on the opposite side he could distinctly see the Confederate lines advancing to the attack through the open ground beyond the Chickahominy Swamp and could distinguish the direction of the battle by the volume of smoke arising from the woods further to the Confederate centre and left. But it was all like a pantomime; not a sound was heard, neither the tremendous roar of musketry, nor even the reports of artillery. For nealy two hours, from 5 to 7 o'clock, on a clear midsummer afternoon, 50,000 men with at least 100 pieces of field artillery fought under these conditions.

Mr. Tyndall experimented in acoustics in the English Channel off Dover, in 1873-4, and came to the conclusion that on clear days the air may be composed of differently heated masses, saturated in varying degrees with aqueous vapors, which produce a deadening effect in the atmosphere.

While the phenomena of these battles are not identical with those mentioned in La Revue, still they parallel them closely enough to be of interest in connection with them.

CHARLES FARNER CORK.

Waukesha, Wis.

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill
United States Navy

This article is the third of a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE—with the sanction of the United States Naval Department—by Lieutenant Gill of the United States superdreadnought Oklahoma, with special regard to the naval lessons furnished by the sea engagements of the present war.

III.—The Battle of Jutland

THE United States has decided that the price of security is a first-class navy. Notwithstanding the optimism, more or less prevalent, that armies and navies may possibly be done away with at some future time, the people of this country feel that an army and a navy are now necessary as a policy of national insurance, and will continue to be necessary for some time to come.

VICE ADMIRAL BEATTY

Nations taking part in the war will profit more from its naval lessons than can neutral nations, who, as mere spectators, are denied much of the information attending actual experience. This should act as an additional incentive for the United States to look closely into current events in Europe and, by reasoning from them, get as much help as possible in planning America's defense program. What constitutes an adequate navy? What should be the composition of a modern fleet? How many battleships? How many battle cruisers, light cruiser scouts, air scouts, destroyers, submarines, mine layers, and auxiliaries? What should be the size, radius of action, speed, armor, and armament of these different types of ships? How is the personnel to be supplied and trained? How should the ships be grouped together under the various modifying conditions governing naval strategy? How should they be used in fighting an enemy in the variety of circumstances affecting naval tactics?

To search for answers to these questions in the light of the experience of the present war is the function of the Navy General Board, headed by the Chief of Operations, and assisted by the War College Staff, by the Office of Naval Intelligence, and by recommendations from the commanders of the various fleets and shore stations. It requires expert knowledge to make the necessary technical analysis and work out the details of the naval program. The average citizen has neither time nor inclination to go exhaustively into details, and this task devolves properly upon those who have devoted their lives to a study of naval science.

On the other hand, the naval experts cannot do it all. The success of their endeavors depends primarily upon the intelligent interest and co-operation of the nation they serve. In order to get a first-class navy it is essential that those who vote should understand the general principles governing the size, composition, and training of battle fleets. It is the objective of these pages to help the non-technical man to a comprehension of these principles, which are not difficult to understand, although they are of first importance as the starting point from

which the highly scientific deductions proceed.

Battle Off Dogger Bank

Before turning to the battle of Jutland it might be well to give brief attention to the Dogger Bank action, fought seventeen months earlier, on Jan. 24, 1915. This was a running fight in the North Sea between two battle cruiser squadrons, during which the German armored cruiser Blücher was sunk, having been abandoned by her retreating consorts. No English ship was lost.

The battle cruiser engagement off the Dogger Bank was the first between modern big-gun ships. Particular interest is also attached to it because each squadron was accompanied by scouting and screening light cruisers and destroyers. It was fear of submarines and mines, moreover, that influenced the British to break off the engagement, and it is also reported that a Zeppelin airship and a seaplane took part, and perhaps assisted in the fire control of the Germans.

At daybreak on Jan. 24, 1915, Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty's battle cruiser squadron, consisting of the Lion, Princess Royal, Tiger, New Zealand, and Indomitable, were patrolling in company with four light cruisers, while three light cruiser flotilla leaders, with their destroyers, were in station ahead. At 7:25 A. M. the Aurora, one of these flotilla-leading light cruisers, engaged an enemy ship. This scouting and screening force got in touch with and guided the British battle cruisers toward the enemy battle cruiser squadron, under Rear Admiral Hipper, consisting of the battle cruisers Seydlitz, Derfflinger, and Moltke, with the armored cruiser Blücher. The German capital ships were also accompanied by light cruisers and destroyers. It was a stern-chase fight, in which ranging shots were tried at about 20,000 yards and hits reported made at about 18,000 yards. It appears that practically all the fighting between the battle cruisers was done at long ranges. The slower armored cruiser Blücher dropped astern, and early in the fight developed engine trouble. Her 8.2-inch guns were of little use, and at 10:48 she drew out of line in a defeated condition. At 12:37 she sank, having received, very likely, her deathblow from a torpedo.

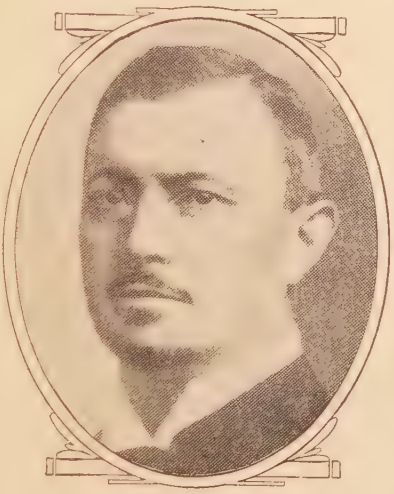
Disregarding the Blücher, the stern fire of the German battle cruisers consisted of four twelve-inch and sixteen eleven-inch, as opposed to the British bow fire of twelve 13.5-inch guns from the leading three ships and the bow twelve-inch from the New Zealand and Indomitable. These latter two ships, however, being two or three knots slower than the other three, appear to have fired for the most part only at the Blücher. At 11:03 the Lion was put out of action, and she was later towed into port with a considerable list. Considering the long range, the gunnery on both sides appears to have been excellent, and it is hard to say which side did the better shooting or whose battle cruisers suffered the more damage.

The light cruisers and destroyers took little part in the actual fighting. The British flotillas were kept most of the time on the unengaged quarter of Admiral Beatty's squadron. At about 9:30 the German destroyers threatened an attack, and one division of the British destroyers manoeuvred so as to pass ahead of the battle cruisers and screen them; but the threatened attack was not made. Later on the German destroyers again appeared to be preparing for an attack, and the Lion and Tiger opened fire on them, causing them to retire and resume their original course. Shortly before noon, about seventy miles from Heligoland, the engagement was broken off by the British because of the alleged presence of enemy submarines.

The conditions surrounding this battle were ideal for illustrating the functions of battle cruisers. The German warship raid on the British coast of the previous month was still fresh in mind; and when this situation off the Dogger Bank arose, the timely interposing of Admiral Beatty's superior force, the fast chase, the long-range fighting, the loss of the Blücher, and the hasty retreat of the enemy, were all particularly pleasing to the British people. As a result the battle cruiser type of ship attained great popularity.

The question of speed, armor, and arma-

ment, however, is a perplexing problem. If the British cruisers had been faster, with less armor, they might have destroyed the inferior German squadron. On the other hand, had the German ships been slower, with heavier guns and better armor protection, they might have protected the retreat of the Blücher and beaten off the faster British ships with greater damage to them and less danger to themselves. Before going deeper into this question it is advisable to consider further data on the war-time usefulness of battle cruisers. This type of ship will therefore be adverted to later on.



VICE ADMIRAL SCHEER

Turning now to the battle of Jutland, it is appreciated, in attempting a narrative of the principal events of the engagement, together with a discussion of some of the points in strategy and tactics illustrated, that many of the details are lacking. Some of these details will be uncovered in the course of time, but many —having been lost in the sea along with the ships that went down—can only be subject matter for speculation.

The battle of Jutland was fought between the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet during the late afternoon and evening of May 31, 1916, with torpedo attacks continuing throughout the night. A decisive engagement was probably prevented by thick weather and approaching darkness, but hard blows were given and sustained on both sides.

It is a well-recognized experience of history that the public gauges the magnitude of a battle by the consequent changes in the political and military situation. At times a comparatively minor engagement between relatively small forces wherein little actual fighting occurs will, if followed by a decided change in an international situation, assume in the public eye the proportions of a big battle. On the other hand, it sometimes occurs that a great battle, measured by the size and power of the forces involved and the actual fighting done, will, if indecisive and unproductive of changes in the status quo, appear small in the public eye and often arouse a certain amount of popular dissatisfaction on both sides. It may be that history will place the battle of Jutland in this latter class. But, even so, when one considers the actual fighting done, and judges by the size, number, and various types of the ships engaged, their ability to manoeuvre, their power to give and their power to sustain hard blows, this battle is far and away the biggest the world has ever seen. Never before has there been brought together such an array of fighting machines — dreadnoughts, scout cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and aircraft. Also, it took intelligence, nerve, and endurance of the personnel to operate this powerful machinery under varying conditions of wind, sea, and weather. Assuredly it would seem that in this action and all that it exemplifies both in the ships engaged and in the requirements demanded of the personnel there must have been illustrated the best there is of naval art and naval science.

The Forces Engaged

The British Grand Fleet comprised:

(a) An advance force under Vice Admiral Beatty, consisting of six battle cruisers, (four Lions of 28.5 knots speed, each carrying eight 13.5-inch guns, and two Indefatigables of 25 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) supported by the Fifth Battle Squadron, under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, (four 25-knot battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class, each carrying eight 15-inch guns.)

(b) The main body, under Admiral Jellicoe—flying his flag in the Iron Duke—consisting

of a fast wing under Rear Admiral Hood, (three 26-knot battle cruisers of Invincible class, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) a division of four armored cruisers under Rear Admiral Arbuthnot, and twenty-five dreadnoughts in three squadrons commanded by Vice Admirals Burney, Jerram, and Sturdee.

(c) About twenty light cruisers and 160 destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

The German High Sea Fleet comprised:

(a) An advance force under Vice Admiral Hipper, consisting of five battle cruisers, (three Derfflingers of probably 27 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns, and two Moltkes of probably 28 knots speed, each carrying ten 11-inch guns.

b) The main body under Admiral Scheer, consisting of sixteen dreadnoughts and six predreadnought battleships.

(c) About twenty light cruisers and eighty or ninety destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

At 2:30 P. M., May 31, 1916, the naval situation in the North Sea was approximately as follows: The German advance force of five battle cruisers under Vice Admiral Hipper was some eighty or a hundred miles to the northwestward of Horn Reef, while fifteen miles to the south and west of him was Vice Admiral Beatty with the British advance force of six battle cruisers, supported by four fast dreadnought battleships under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas. Admiral Jellicoe, in command of the British Grand Fleet, was about fifty miles distant with the main body to the northeastward, while Admiral Scheer, in command of the German High Seas Fleet, was about the same distance away with his main body to the southeastward. German submarines were sighted soon after the beginning of the engagement. British and German aircraft were present, but do not appear to have figured very prominently in the conflict.

It is convenient to divide the battle into the following four phases:

First Phase: British advance force encounters German advance force. Six British battle cruisers, supported by four dreadnought battleships, engaged with five German battle cruisers, (3:49 P. M. to 4:45 P. M.)

Second Phase: Action between British advance force and van of High Seas Fleet. Four British battle cruisers and four dreadnought battleships engaged with five German battle cruisers and van of German battle fleet, (4:45 P. M. to 6:15 P. M.)

Third Phase: British Grand Fleet engaged with German High Seas Fleet, (6:15 P. M. to dark.)

Fourth Phase: Torpedo attacks and screening operations during the night, (May 31 to June 1.)

Each one of these phases will be taken up separately in the order named.

The First Phase

Encounter Between the Battle Cruiser Squadrons Commanded by Vice Admiral Beatty (British) and Vice Admiral Hipper, (German.)

The British Grand Fleet had left its bases on the 30th, and was sweeping through the North Sea to the southward with Vice Admiral Beatty's force cruising well in advance of the main body. Besides the six battle cruisers led by Vice Admiral Beatty in the Lion and the four 25-knot battleships of the Elizabeth class, led by Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas in the Barnham, this advance force was accompanied by three light cruiser squadrons and four flotillas of destroyers. At 2:20 P. M. the light cruiser Galatea reported the presence of German ships in considerable force and at 2:25 a British seaplane was sent from its mother ship Engadine to scout to the northeastward. Visibilty at this time was good. The wind was southeast.

At 3:31 the German battle cruiser squadron (five ships) under Vice Admiral Hipper was sighted to the northeastward at a range of 23,000 yards. The two squadrons formed for battle, and approached each other on slightly converging southeasterly courses. Light cruisers and destroyers of both sides assumed screening formations, and the opposing light cruisers in the more advanced stations were engaged during the battle approach. At 3:48 fire was opened simultaneously by both sides at about 18,500 yards range. The squadrons fought on parallel courses curving to the southeast. At 4:08 the battleships under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas opened fire at 20,000 yards' range, but it is doubtful if these ships got close enough to do any effective work during this phase of the battle. About this time submarines were reported both on the engaged and unen-

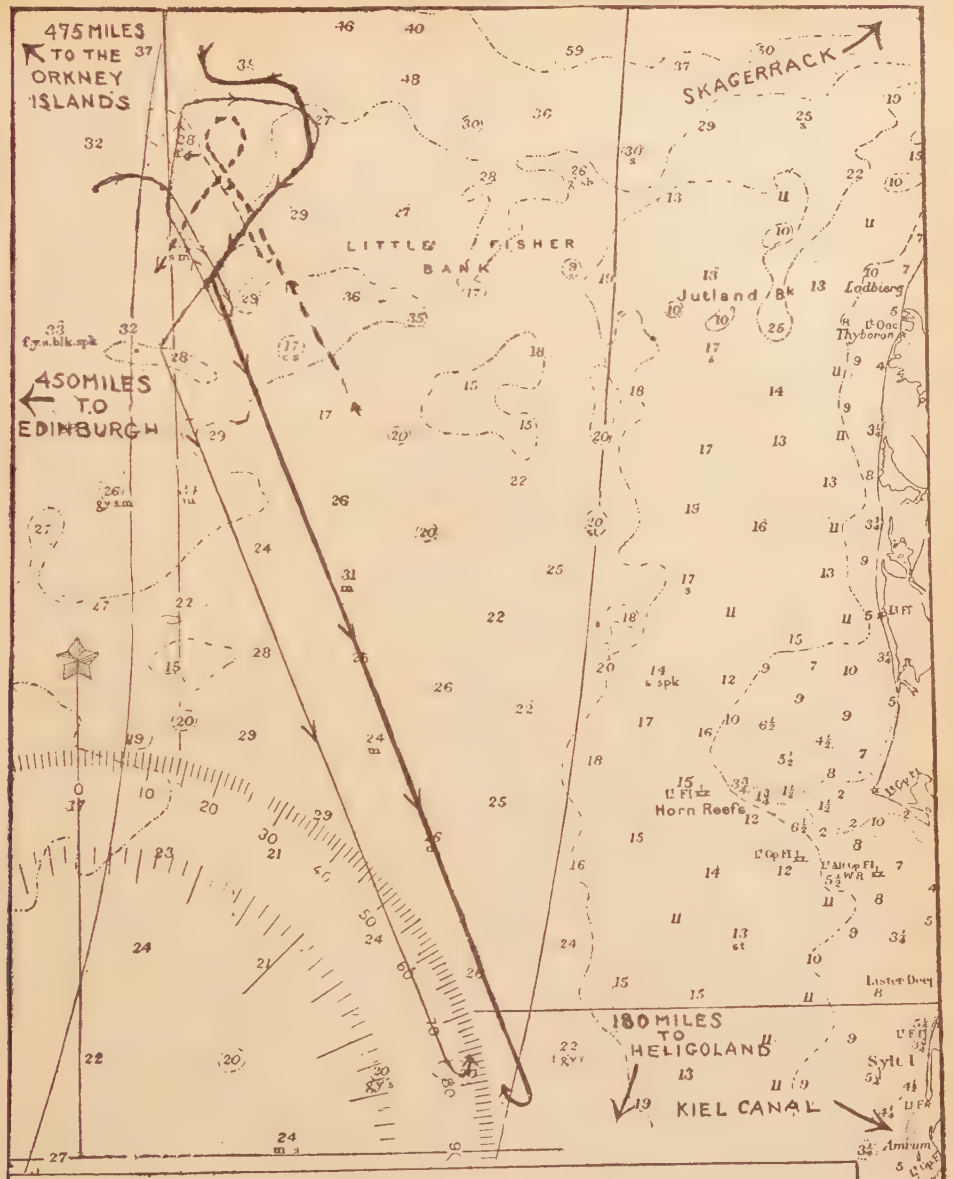


DIAGRAM OF THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

gaged beams of the British battle cruisers. Destroyers were active in attempts to screen the big ships from underwater attack.

Ten minutes after the engagement become general an explosion occurred in the Indefatigable, and she sank almost immediately. At 4:15 twelve British destroyers moved forward to attack the German battle cruisers; German light cruisers and destroyers made a similar advance at the same time. A fierce engagement ensued between these light craft at close quarters. The Germans did not press their torpedo attack, but six of the British destroyers continued the advance under a heavy shell fire, and fired torpedoes at the German lines. At 4:30 a mighty explosion occurred in the Queen Mary, and she went down so quickly that the following ships in the formation are reported as having steamed right over her. At 4:42 the German battle fleet was sighted to the southeast, and the British ships turned right about (180 degrees) in succession. The German battle cruisers also altered course 16 points, and the action continued on a northwesterly course, beginning what we will call the second phase.

According to German Admiralty reports, during the first phase, lasting about an hour, from 3:49 to the time the British changed course 16 points at 4:45, the British battle cruiser Indefatigable, (tonnage 18,750, main battery eight 12-inch, carrying 899 men,) was sunk at 4:05, and the Queen Mary, (tonnage 27,000, main battery eight 13.5-inch guns, carrying 1,000 men,) was destroyed at about 4:35. It is also reported that the British lost four destroyers and the Germans two. Before taking up the second phase of the battle, a few points bearing on the first phase will be briefly discussed.

Cause of British Losses

Several theories have been advanced as to the probable causes of the loss of the two British battle cruisers. It is also reported that both ships suffered heavy explosions which appeared to come up through turret tops. This has led to the opinion that enemy shells exploded in the respective turrets, and, igniting chains of powder to the magazines, caused the blowing up of the magazines. This is not at all unlikely, and directs attention to the need of safety precautions in the supply of ammunition to turret guns. Still another theory is that these two ships were sunk either by mines or torpedoes; while a few credit the surmise that the explosions were of internal origin, either in turret or magazine, and having nothing to do with enemy fire.

There has been some comment in the press to the effect that Admiral Jellicoe may have violated the principle of concentration of forces by sending in advance a squadron of four battleships to support Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers. The consensus of professional opinion, however, does not appear to support any such criticism. This advance force was composed entirely of fast ships, (the battleships had the unusually high speed of 25 knots,) operating on interior lines between the supporting British fleet and the enemy main fleet, with little or no chance of being cut off by a superior enemy force.

There is also more or less criticism to the effect that Admiral Beatty rashly exposed his command; that the Germans counted on his impetuosity; and that he did just what Admiral Hipper expected him to do and wanted him to do. On the other hand, it may be argued that at the start of the action the situation was not unfavorable to the British because Admiral Hipper was almost cut off by a superior force and in danger of being compelled to turn toward the British Grand Fleet. The plan of co-ordination between the main body under Admiral Jellicoe and the British advance force is not altogether clear, but it is evident that Admiral Beatty tried to get to the southward of Admiral Hipper, and upon the approach of the High Seas Fleet was compelled to make a right about turn, a manoeuvre likely to prove diastrous if attempted under gun fire. Reports are somewhat obscure as to just what happened at this time, but it seems that the British ships accomplished the turn without suffering much damage, and that the German battle cruisers turned around at about the same time. Perhaps the

CAUGHT IN HOSTILE GUNFIRE ON THE SOMME FRONT

All That Was Left of a Train of French Freight Cars Caught in an Artillery Duel Between the British and Germans During the Fighting Along the Ancre River.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

FRENCH OBSERVATION BALLOON PREPARING TO ASCEND

A Typical Example of the Many Great Balloons of the "Sausage" Type That Are in Constant Use on Both Sides for the Purpose of Watching the Enemy and Directing the Fire of Heavy Artillery.

(Photo Central News Service.)

battleships under Admiral Evan-Thomas were used to provide a covering fire while Admiral Beatty countermarched. Some incline to the opinion that Admiral Hipper failed to take advantage of his speed to draw ahead to a semi T-ing or capping position where he might have hammered Admiral Beatty's ships on the knuckle of their pivoting point without subjecting his own ships to anything worse than a long range fire from the 15-inch guns of the enemy battleships. It may be that the German battle cruisers did not have enough speed to do this, or it may be that Admiral Hipper was intent only on drawing the enemy into the fire of the approaching German battle fleet. At any rate, whatever the actual circumstances, neither side lost any ships at this time and the battle continued on northerly courses, beginning the second phase.

The Second Phase

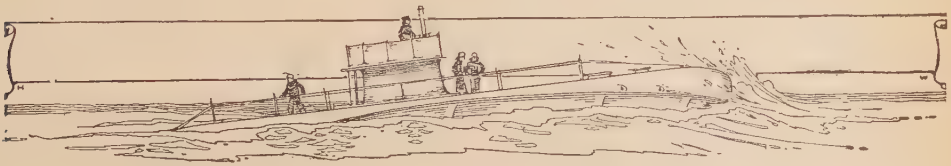
Action Between British Advance Force of Battle Cruisers, Supported by Four Battleships, and German Battle Cruisers Supported by German High Seas Battle Fleet.

The Fifth Battle Squadron is reported to have closed the German battle cruisers on an opposite course, engaging them with all guns, when Admiral Beatty signaled Admiral Evan-Thomas the position of the German battle fleet and ordered him to alter course 16 points. At 4:57 the Fifth Battle Squadron fell into line behind the battle cruisers and came under the fire of the leading ships of the German battle fleet, which, in the meanwhile, had joined the line of battle in rear of Admiral Hipper's battle cruisers. The action continued at about 14,000 yards range on northwesterly courses curving north and then northeasterly. At 5:56 Admiral Beatty sighted the leading ships of the British Baltic battle fleet bearing north, distant five miles, and altered course to east, increasing speed to the utmost, thereby reducing the range to 12,000 yards, and opening a gap between his battle cruisers and Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas's supporting battleships. The German van also turned eastward.

This completed the second phase of the battle, during which four British battle cruisers and four battleships were engaged for about one hour and a half with the van of the German fleet led by five battle cruisers followed by battleships of the Koenig class. Light cruisers and destroyers were also intermittently engaged during this phase and a few isolated but determined torpedo attacks were pushed home. These apparently met with little success, the attackers suffering severe punishment.

In this second phase, while at first glance it appears that four British battle cruisers supported by four battleships were engaging the entire German High Seas Fleet, such was not strictly speaking the case. The superior speed of the British squadrons enabled them to keep in the van, out of range of the enemy centre and rear. At this time the advantage of light was with the Germans, because the British ships had a sky brightened by the setting sun for background, while the German ships were more obscured in the mist by reason of their dark background. But the British Vice Admiral reports administering severe punishment to enemy ships during this phase. It is not clear whether the Germans turned to the eastward to avoid being capped or T-ed by the faster enemy ships, or whether they originated the easterly change of course because of the approaching British battle fleet, but this manoeuvre put the British fleet in a tactically favorable position for gun fire as well as ultimately placing them between the German fleet and its bases.

[*The third and fourth phases of the battle of Jutland, with conclusions, will appear in April.*]



British and German Naval Losses in the Present War

LESS than 50,000 tons is the difference between the British and German naval losses in the present war, probably not more than 27,000 tons, according to the 1917 issue of Jane's "Fighting Ships," a publication approved by the British Government. According to this publication, the British have lost nine battleships of a total tonnage of 127,500, three battle cruisers, 65,000; twelve armored cruisers, 143,600; seven light cruisers, 28,285, and torpedo boats and destroyers, 16,270, a total of 381,105 tons. This does not include submarines or mine sweepers, which probably would add from 10,000 to 20,000 to the total.

The German battleship losses are put at five ships, with the added statement that a sixth, a vessel of the Helgoland type, probably was lost also in the battle of Jutland. The total German losses are given as five battleships of a total of 104,300 tons, three battle cruisers, 72,400; six armored crusers, 65,750; twenty light cruisers, 76,950; one unprotected cruiser, 1,600; four gunboats, 2,136; twelve destroyers, 6,000, and one 2,200-ton mine layer. The total German losses, exclusive of submarines and "a great many destroyers," figure up 331,336 tons, or 49,769 tons less than the British losses. If a second vessel of the Helgoland type was lost, as intimated, it would reduce the difference between the British and German losses to 26,969 tons.

Here are tables which give the losses of the British and German Navies, exclusive of auxiliary ships, as listed:

BRITISH LOSSES

BATTLESHIPS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Bulwark	15,000	Explosion	Nov., 1914
Formidable	15,000	Torpedoed	Jan., 1915
Goliath	12,500	Torpedoed	May, 1915
Irresistible	15,000	Mined	Mar., 1915
K. Edw'd VII.	16,350	Mined	Jan., 1916
Majestic	14,900	Torpedoed	May, 1915
Ocean	12,950	Mined	Mar., 1915
Russell	14,000	Torpedoed	Apr., 1916
Triumph	11,800	Torpedoed	May, 1915

BATTLE CRUISERS

Indefatigable	18,750	In battle	May, 1916
Invincible	17,250	In battle	May, 1916
Queen Mary	27,000	In battle	May, 1916

ARMORED CRUISERS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Aboukir	12,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Argyll	10,850	Wrecked	Oct., 1915
Black Prince	13,550	In battle	May, 1916
Cressy	12,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Defence	14,600	In battle	May, 1916
Good Hope	14,100	In battle	May, 1916
Hawke	7,350	Torpedoed	Oct., 1914
Hogue	12,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Hampshire	10,850	Mined	Jun., 1916
Monmouth	9,800	In battle	Nov. 1914
Natal	13,550	Explosion	Dec., 1915
Warrior	13,550	In battle	Jun., 1916

LIGHT CRUISERS

Amphion	3,440	Mined	Aug., 1914
Arethusa	3,520	Mined	Feb., 1916
Falmouth	5,250	Torpedoed	Aug., 1916
Hermes	5,600	Torpedoed	Oct., 1914
Nottingham	5,400	Torpedoed	Aug., 1916
Pathfinder	2,940	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Pegasus	2,135	In battle	Sept., 1914

TORPEDO GUNBOATS

Niger	810	Torpedoed.	Nov.. 1914
Speedy	810	Mined	Sept., 1914

DESTROYERS

Ardent	935	In battle	May, 1916
Coquette	355	Mined	Mar., 1916
Eden	550	Collision	Jun., 1916
Erne	550	Wrecked	Mar., 1915
Fortune	935	In battle	Jun., 1916
Lassoo	550	Torpedoed	Aug., 1916
Louis	965	Wrecked	Nov., 1915
Lynx	935	Mined	Aug., 1915
Maori	1,035	Mined	May, 1915
Nebusa	950	Collision	Mar., 1916
Nestor	950	In battle	Jun., 1916
Nomad	950	In battle	Jun., 1916
Recruit	385	Torpedoed	Jun., 1915
Shark	935	In battle	Jun., 1916
Sparrowhawk	935	In battle	Jun., 1916
Tipperary	1,430	In battle	Jun., 1916
Turbulent	950	In battle	Jun., 1916

TORPEDO BOATS

No. 10	225	Torpedoed	Jun., 1915
No. 11	225	Mined	Mar., 1916
No. 12	225	Torpedoed	Jun., 1915
No. 96	130	Collision	Nov., 1915

SUBMARINES

AE-1	——	Foundered	Sept., 1914
AE-2	——	Lost	Apr., 1915
D-2	——	Missing	———
D-5	——	Mined	Nov., 1914
E-3	——	In battle	Oct., 1914
E-7	——	Lost	Sept., 1915
E-10	——	Missing	———
E-15	——	Torpedoed	Apr., 1915
E-22	——	Wrecked	Jan., 1916
E-17	——	Lost	Nov., 1915
E-20	——	Lost	Apr., 1916
——	——	Wrecked	Jan., 1916

MINE SWEEPERS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Arabis	——	Gunfire	Feb., 1916
Nasturtium	——	Mined	Apr., 1916
Primula	——	Torpedoed	Mar., 1916

GERMAN LOSSES

BATTLESHIPS (Dreadnoughts)

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
1 Kaiser type	24,700	In battle	Jun., 1916
1 Kaiser type	24,700	In battle	Jun., 1916
1 Helgoland tp.	22,800	In battle	Jun., 1916
Westfalen	18,900	In battle	Jun., 1916

BATTLE CRUISERS

Lutzow	28,000	In battle	Jun., 1916
Seydlitz	25,000	In battle	Jun., 1916
Von der Tann	19,400	Uncertain	Dec., 1914

PREDREADNOUGHT

Pommern	13,200	In battle	Jun., 1916

LIGHT CRUISERS

Augsburg	4,300	In battle	Jan., 1915
Ariadne	2,650	In battle	Aug., 1914
Bremen	3,200	Torpedoed	Dec., 1915
Dresden	3,600	In battle	Mar., 1915
Elbing	4,500	Rammed	Jun., 1916
Emden	3,600	In battle	Nov., 1914
Frauenlob	2,700	Torpedoed	Nov., 1915
Hela	2,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Karlsruhe	4,900	Sunk	Nov., 1914
Köln, (new)	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916
Köln, (old)	4,300	In battle	Aug., 1914
Königsberg	3,500	In battle	July, 1915
Leipzig	3,200	In battle	Dec., 1914
Mainz, (new)	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916
Mainz, (old)	4,300	In battle	Aug., 1914
Magdeburg	4,500	In battle	Aug., 1914
Nürnberg	3,400	In battle	Dec., 1914
Rostock	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916
Undine	2,700	Torpedoed	Nov., 1915
Wiesbaden	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916

ARMORED CRUISERS

Blücher	15,500	In battle	Jan., 1915
Friedrich Karl	9,000	Mined	Dec., 1914
Gneisenau	11,000	In battle	Dec., 1914
Prinz Adalbert	9,000	Torpedoed	Oct., 1915
Scharnhorst	11,600	In battle	Dec., 1914
Yorck	9,050	Mined	Nov., 1914

UNPROTECTED CRUISER

Kormoran	1,600	Scuttled	Nov., 1914

GUNBOATS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Iltis	900	Scuttled	Nov., 1914
Jaguar	900	Scuttled	Nov., 1914
Tsing-tao	168	Interned	——, 1914
Vaterland	168	Interned	——, 1914

DESTROYERS

G-194	650	Rammed	Mar., 1916
S-90	400	Wrecked	Oct., 1914
S-115	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-117	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-118	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-119	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-124	420	Collision	Nov., 1914
S-126	420	Torpedoed	Oct., 1914
V-48	850	In battle	Jun., 1916
V-187	650	In battle	Aug., 1914
V-188	650	Torpedoed	July, 1915
Taku	280	Scuttled	Nov., 1914

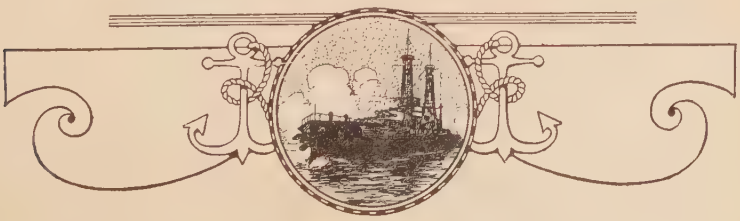
Note.—Jane's says that a "great many destroyers" of the same class as the V-48 were sunk in the battle of Jutland, and that their name numbers have not been established by the British Admiralty.

MINE LAYER

Albatross	2,200	By gunfire	July, 1915

"The number of German submarines lost," Jane's says, "is very large indeed; but precise information cannot be obtained at present, and any attempt at a detailed list, owing to duplication of numbers, &c., would be more or less misleading. U-29, U-27, U-18, U-15, U-14, U-12, U-8, (two of this number,) and UC-5 are among those about whose fate definite particulars have been published.

"We may be allowed to say," the publishers state in a preface, "that a new navy has been added to the British fleet of 1914, which in rate of construction, power of design, and novelty of type far surpasses anything that could have been deemed possible two years ago."



A Lincoln Day Message

By David Lloyd George
Prime Minister of Great Britain

[An address to the American people in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, given to THE NEW YORK TIMES for publication Feb. 12, 1917]

I AM very glad to respond to your request for a message for publication on Lincoln Day. I am glad, because to my mind Abraham Lincoln has always been one of the very first of the world's statesmen, because I believe that the battle which we have been fighting is at bottom the same battle which your countrymen fought under Lincoln's leadership more than fifty years ago, and, most of all, perhaps, because I desire to say how much I welcome the proof which the last few days have afforded that the American people are coming to realize this, too.

Lincoln's life was devoted to the cause of human freedom. From the day when he first recognized what slavery meant he bent all his energies to its eradication from American soil. Yet after years of patient effort he was driven to realize that it was not a mere question of abolishing slavery in the Southern States, but that bound up with it was a larger issue —that unless the Union abolished slavery, slavery would break up the Union.

Faced by this alternative, he did not shrink, after every other method had failed, from vindicating both Union and freedom by the terrible instrument of war. Nor after the die for war had been cast did he hesitate to call upon his countrymen to make sacrifice upon sacrifice, to submit to limitation upon limitation of their personal freedom, until, in his own words, there was a new birth of freedom in your land.

Is there not a strange similarity between this battle, which we are fighting here in Europe, and that which Lincoln fought? Has there not grown up in this Continent a new form of slavery, a militarist slavery, which has not only been crushing out the freedom of the people under its control, but which in recent years has also been moving toward crushing out freedom and fraternity in all Europe as well?

Is it not true that it is to the militarist system of government which centres in Berlin that every open-minded man who is familiar with past history would point as being the ultimate source of all the expansion of armaments, of all the international unrest, and of the failure of all movements toward co-operation and harmony among nations during the last twenty years?

We were reluctant, and many of us refused to believe that any sane rulers would deliberately drench Europe in its own blood, so we did not face the facts until it was almost too late. It was not until August, 1914, that it became clear to us, as it became clear to Lincoln in 1861, that the issue was not to be settled by pacific means, and that either the machine which controlled the destinies of Germany would destroy the liberty of Europe or the people of Europe must defeat its purpose and its prestige by the supreme sacrifice of war. It was the ultimatum to Serbia and the ruthless attack upon Belgium and France which followed because the nations of Europe would not tolerate the obliteration of the independence of a free people without conference and by the sword, which revealed to us all the implacable nature of the struggle which lay before us.

It has been difficult for a nation separated from Europe by 3,000 miles of sea and without political connections with its peoples to appreciate fully what was at stake in the war. In your civil war many of our ancestors were blind. Lord Russell hinted at an early peace. Even Gladstone declared "we have no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword." It was left for John Bright, that man of all others who most loved peace and hated war, to testify that

when our statesmen "were hostile or coldly neutral the British people clung to freedom with an unfaltering trust." But I think that America now sees that it is human unity and freedom which are again being fought for in this war.

The American people under Lincoln fought not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation. We today are fighting not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation—a liberation not of ourselves alone, but of all the world, from that body of barbarous doctrine and inhuman practice which has estranged nations, has held back the unity and progress of the world, and which has stood revealed in all its deadly iniquity in the course of this war.

In such wars for liberty there can be no compromise. They are either won or lost. In your case it was freedom and unity or slavery and separation. In our case military power, tyrannously used, will have succeeded in tearing up treaties and trampling on the rights of others, or liberty and public right will have prevailed. Therefore, we believe that the war must be fought out to a finish, for on such an issue there can be no such thing as a drawn war.

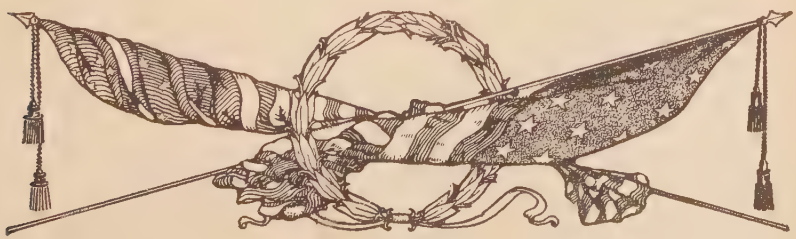
In holding this conviction, we have been inspired and strengthened beyond measure by the example and the words of your great President. Once the conflict had been joined, he did not shrink from bloodshed. I have often been struck at the growth of both tenderness and stern determination in the face of Lincoln, as shown in his photographs, as the war went on.

Despite his abhorrence of all that war entailed, he persisted in it because he knew that he was sparing life by losing it, that if he agreed to compromise, the blood that had been shed on a hundred fields would have been shed in vain, that the task of creating a united nation of free men would only have to be undertaken at even greater cost at some later day. It would, indeed, be impossible to state our faith more clearly than Lincoln stated it himself at the end of 1864:

> On careful consideration [he said] of all the evidence it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union, precisely what we will not and can not give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves; * * * between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory.

That was the judgment of the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century during the last great war for human liberty. It is the judgment of this nation and of its fellow-nations overseas today.

"Our armies," said Lincoln, "are ministers of good, not evil." So we do believe. And through all the carnage and suffering and conflicting motives of the civil war Lincoln held steadfastly to the belief that it was the freedom of the people to govern themselves which was the fundamental issue at stake. So do we today. For when the people of Central Europe accept the peace which is offered them by the Allies, not only will the allied peoples be free, as they have never been free before, but the German people, too, will find that in losing their dream of an empire over others they have found self-government for themselves.



Famine: The Foe Dreaded by All

New Aspects of the Food Problem in Each of the Belligerent Countries

THE strategy of starvation has been resorted to in the present war on a scale altogether unprecedented. In former days it was common enough for a besieging army to starve a city into submission. Today we have the spectacle of great nations attempting to isolate extensive territories and large populations, to enlist hunger as an ally and force a famished enemy to sue for peace. The countries suffering most severely at present are Germany and Austria-Hungary, whose sea-borne supplies of food have been cut off by the British blockade. This, in turn, accounts for the desperate measures of retaliation by submarine warfare which Germany instituted on a larger scale on Feb. 1, 1917, aiming particularly at Great Britain, her most vulnerable enemy in regard to dependence on outside sources of supply. Neither of these two countries produces all the food it requires at the best of times, and so the problem of shortage and the measures taken to deal with it are best studied in Germany and England.

Briefly, it may be said that, while the Central Empires are already in a bad way, Great Britain can feel the pinch only in case the German submarine blockade is thoroughly successful. France is apparently in no danger. Russia has plenty of food, but railroad disorganization and a chaotic system of distribution are responsible for a shortage in the towns. Other belligerents are, for the most part, affected rather by general world conditions. The average of the last world crop was poor; shipping facilities are insufficient; and the cost of living has increased everywhere. On the other hand, some of the neutral countries close to the zones of war are suffering more than some of the belligerents. Denmark, for instance, has had to adopt an extremely rigorous system of food control.

The food position in Germany is an all-important factor in the prolongation of the war. Whether there is yet downright starvation is a disputed question. That a serious shortage exists is, however, undoubted, and this shortage is increasing at such rate that some observers believe Germany will be without food altogether before the next harvest can be gathered, predicting that famine will surely come in the Spring. Before the war Germany was able to produce at the most only four-fifths of the food required for the nation's wants. Since the war that proportion has decreased. The army has diminished the effective labor force of agriculture, and the blockade, in addition to preventing the importation of foodstuffs, has cut off important supplies required for the production of home-grown food, such as fodder for cattle and the fertilizers by which German farming had attained its high standard of intensive cultivation.

Germany's Food Shortage

In an economic situation like this one trouble leads to another. For instance, the grain shortage has led to restricted brewing, but stock raising is aided by valuable by-products of the breweries, the deficiency in which reacts on the supply of meat, milk, butter, and cheese. In the early part of the war serious mistakes were made in permitting too many animals, especially pigs, to be killed for meat, and it is now admitted in Germany that it will be a considerable time after the war before restocking can be complete. Allowing for all the different factors, we are probably very near the mark in calculating that Germany is now unable to produce or obtain more than half the food her people require.

Government control and regulation have played a great part in Germany's efforts to cope with the food problem; and though organization and efficency

have been remarkable features of Germany's general conduct of the war, there have been some blunders in food policy which have caused much dissatisfaction among the people. When the outbreak of war cut off Russian and overseas supplies it seems obvious—at least it does now—that the right thing to have done was to increase the amount of home-grown food and prevent waste. But the problem was not tackled from the standpoint of production, but from that of the consumer, who was aware of only one fact, that prices were rising. Thus, the first step to deal with the shortage of food was not to increase production, but to try to enforce regulations to keep down prices. And on these lines the authorities initiated a system of food control.

The original decentralized method of regulation through the municipalities was a failure, and in January, 1915, a vast central organization to control grain supplies was set up; but it, too, was a failure, and was abandoned after six months' trial. Then the country was partitioned into a number of large self-governing areas, with the Government still fixing grain prices for the whole empire. The prices of practically all food commodities were now regulated. But the system was fundamentally unsound, because if prices were low supplies were held back, despite the threats of heavy penalties, while if prices were high supplies went anywhere but where they were most needed. In short, the Government did not, or could not, see that under existing economic conditions, even in time of war, the law of supply and demand must prevail.

Finally, in December, 1916, Adolph von Batocki, the food "dictator," publicly admitted that the fixing of maximum prices was a failure. "The attempts to make food stuffs accessible to the poorer classes by means of maximum prices have collapsed," he declared. "Maximum prices without the simultaneous public administration of supplies only keeps the produce away from the towns and industrial centres, leaving it entirely in the hands of the producers or of consumers in the vicinity." It was at last seen that high prices, however great the hardships they inflict, prevent waste and encourage production, while the attempt to keep prices down by law induces overconsumption and discourages production. There was only one way to cope with the problem in radical fashion, namely, the nationalization of the whole agricultural industry itself, but that a Government dominated by junkers was not likely to undertake.

Protests of Town Populations

Evidence from a number of sources shows that the food shortage has inflicted practically all its hardships on the poorer classes in the towns. Everything that is most objectionable in German rule is due to the power of the junkers, or agrarian interests. Herr von Batocki has been unable to resist their influence, and hence the failure of his plans. The people on the land have all the food they want, and so have the classes that are making profits out of the war, for they can pay prices which are prohibitive to the workingman.

On the same day (Dec. 12, 1916) that Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg announced that the Central Powers were ready to begin peace negotiations a trade union convention representing four million workers was held in Berlin. It declared that it would support the Government's policy, but at the same time it emphatically demanded that drastic measures be taken to release the supplies of food being held up by the agrarian interests and speculators and to provide that the workers obtain enough nourishment to enable them to perform their duties. "There must be," said Deputy Karl Legien, head of the German trade union federation, "a sharper grip on those circles which do not understand the times and which selfishly hold back the necessary food from the people, and so injure the nation." Six weeks later (in January, 1917) a committee representing the whole organized labor movement of Germany addressed a letter to the Imperial Chancellor indorsing his peace policy and promising support for all measures designed to achieve a victorious peace, but also repeating the demand for an overhauling of the system of food distribu-

tion. If the distribution were just, the letter said, then any want or privation would "be easily borne with the knowledge that all classes of the German people are sharing equally."

Herr von Batocki himself complained on Jan. 23, 1917, after a two days' session of the Advisory Committee of the War Food Bureau, that the situation was aggravated by the wealthier classes buying underhand at fancy prices what they wanted, and thus thwarting the work of the Food Regulation Board. He also admitted that there was a shortage in the potato crop, "enhanced by transportation troubles," and that, although the grain crop of 1916 had been better than that of 1915, the total nutritive value of the combined grain and potato supplies for the present year was less, and, further, that economical feeding was necessary to carry the population through to the next harvest. This was despite the grain said to have been obtained in Rumania. The milk shortage was due to inadequate supplies of fodder and increased consumption of milk in the country districts.

An Ominous Situation

The summary of Herr von Batocki's statement cabled from Berlin contains quite enough to show that a famine in Germany is far from being a remote possibility. Other sources of information make the situation look equally ominous. It is said that the workers do not get the additional ration ordered by Herr von Batocki, and that they lose hours which should be spent in rest while they wait, tired and hungry, outside the public kitchens for food they are not certain of receiving. There is no enthusiasm, no spirit, among the mass of the people today, but everywhere only gloom and silence, and even mutual distrust. The situation is indicated by such a leading German newspaper as the Berliner Tageblatt, which gives the following list of food allowances:

Potatoes—Original rations of one and one-half pounds a day reduced on Jan. 1 to three-quarters of a pound a day.

Meat—Ration reduced to less than half a pound on meat days.

Butter—A trifle over two ounces a week.

Milk—Extremely scarce and price rising.

The Government has been forced to make war allowances to persons with an income of $1,125. Originally aid was extended only to those whose incomes were $525.

The Tageblatt then goes on to say:

After the experience of six months it is hardly possible to imagine that the War Nutrition Office is capable of performing its task any better in the future than in the past.

Shall one point to the fact that the potato rations, which originally were intended to be one and one-half pounds a day, have already been reduced in Berlin to six pounds a week, and that a general reduction of the daily ration to three-fourths pound will take place on Jan. 1?

Is one to call attention to the disturbing fact that at present even the bread ration of 1,900 grams (about four pounds) a week can in many cases only be obtained with difficulty?

Is it possible to overlook the inadequate supply of meat for the people?

Again and again the hope that the meat ration could be increased has been disappointed, although game, and to some extent poultry, can now only be obtained by ticket. Why, in many places one can no longer obtain even 250 grams (about one-half pound) of meat, but only 200 grams or less.

If one is lucky, one gets sixty grams (a little more than two ounces) of butter a week. For months past cheese has become something almost unknown for the mass of the people. Milk is supplied at best only to little children and sick persons.

Every now and then the War Nutrition Office issues a consoling communication, but generally the words are not followed by deeds. On the other hand, it is one's almost daily experience that foodstuffs which hitherto could be obtained have vanished from the market. And all that can still be bought costs impossible prices.

Further evidence may be quoted from The London Times, which prints two letters from "the neutral whose observations have proved so accurate in the past." In the first letter, dated Jan. 12, 1917, this observer writes:

I always have, as you know, warned the Allies against overoptimism regarding the economic situation in Germany, but there really does not seem to be much need of a warning now. It is not only my impression, but that of my German friends who are in a position to know the facts as to the food supply, that Germany is faced by the prospect of being unable to continue the struggle unless she really raids Denmark or Holland, or both, for meat, corn, butter, and oil.

Let me say first that throughout my tour I have not heard of any actual starvation. Every baby, at any rate, every baby under 2

years of age, gets sufficient milk except in the principal munitions areas, where so much of the milk from the surrounding districts is converted into glycerine. Invalids are suffering, but those who have money can on medical certificates obtain permission to go to Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark, for fixed periods, but the rich do not really suffer at all.

The condition of the general population, especially in the towns, large and small, is deplorable. There is a great deal of complaining and of late disputes between various authorities and between the authorities of the various States have increased in intensity. There also is great bitterness as between the country and the towns.

In his second letter the neutral observer writes:

The problem that is worrying the German administration at the present time is, How can Germany exist until the next harvest?

Everybody is now counting on early vegetables. In my judgment, the whole question of the ability of Germany "to hold out," to use the expression which is still in every German mouth, is the question whether the Germans can live on these vegetables, together with such supplies of meat, game, fresh-water fish, and imported fish as will be available until the end of August.

The unfortunate Herr von Batocki and his hundreds of advisers and assistants in various parts of Germany know very well that there are no reserves of food in the country.

Even the Conservative leader, Dr. von Heydebrand, came out as a vigorous critic of the Imperial Government during a debate in the Prussian Diet on Jan. 18, 1917, incidentally confirming statements that have been made abroad regarding Germany's present plight. "Our economic situation," he said, "is rich in deprivations and sacrifices. We may calmly state this, because it is known abroad what we are now compelled to demand from our population. The rural population is not yet imbued with the consciousness of the needs of this great time. The town populations are suffering grievously. It is sad to see how long women have to wait for a couple of potatoes and how for the simplest of necessaries town dwellers must pay absolutely exorbitant prices."

Suffering in Austria-Hungary

The position in Austria and Hungary is also very serious. The crowning of the new Austrian Emperor as King of Hungary at Budapest was an occasion throwing into sharp relief the misery of the people. While the ancient ceremony, with its pomp and splendor, was proceeding women were fighting for food in the market place of the city. Baron Kutry, the Hungarian Food Controller, recently made the following statement, according to the Budapest Hirlap:

The first requisition for corn has not met with the hoped-for success, and a second requisition therefore is necessary, far more severe than the first. The known stock and that which is at our disposal together represent only one-seventh of the needs of the whole country and army until Aug. 15, 1917. What is lacking must be found and we have only two means of making good the deficit—requisition and importation from Rumania. We hope that part of the Rumanian grain will be allotted to us, but it is still too early to speak of that.

The truth is, Germany is not so much in need of food and cereals as we are, and even Austria is in a better position. With us the distribution of food has been unsystematic from the beginning and no improvement has taken place. Appearances resulting from this lack of organization give the impression of an excellent position, not necessitating food tickets, as in Germany and Austria. We are not, however, in a better position. We are merely not organized. Henceforth Austria cannot receive even a grain of corn from us.

As regards the discrepancy between the available stock and our needs, we hope this will be passably reduced as the result of severe requisition. As a matter of fact, the right of searching private houses has been conferred on the authorities and will not be without success.

The potato crop, Baron Kutry added, had unfortunately been very bad and would not last very long. The people would therefore have to go without potatoes until the next crop. The supplies of sugar were nearly exhausted, and from Jan. 8, 1917, bread would have to contain 10 per cent. of cornmeal. The Baron's concluding statement caused a sensation in Hungary. "These measures," he said, "must continue even after the war, for it will be absolutely necessary—and that for many months—that every citizen impose upon himself the strictest economies, so as to prevent the country being invaded by famine. Our people must understand this grave situation and submit to the most rigorous restrictions in everything that concerns the supply of food."

Austria also claims to be the worst sufferer from the shortage of food. A dispatch from Vienna, dated Jan. 4, 1917,

reports the Burgomaster of that city as threatening to resign if Hungary refused to send food to Vienna. "The prisons are filled," he said, "with women and children convicted of having stolen food, while housewives are afraid to go shopping for food, even in the principal streets, owing to robberies and assaults." A few days later the Vienna Arbiter Zeitung published a pathetic letter to the Burgomaster from the wives of the city street car employes who are serving with the army. "We are in a deplorable condition," the women said; "our distress is frightful and our children are pining away." The letter then declared that, despite the increased salaries which the employes who were not at the front were receiving, they were starving. "How, then, with us poor creatures with our half pay? Our wretchedness is great. On our knees we entreat your Excellency to have compassion and grant us full pay. Do not abandon us. Take pity on our children."

Bulgaria is also in want of food, but the shortage is not as bad as in Germany or Austria-Hungary. Bread and sugar tickets, days without meat, and the absence of various articles of diet are to be noted, and with this condition a desire for peace, now that Macedonia has been won back.

Situation in Great Britain

Among the Allies, Great Britain is most concerned about food supplies. Never producing more than a small proportion of its own food, it has been only the command of the seas that has saved England from starving. The Asquith administration had already decided upon a food dictatorship, and when Lloyd George became Prime Minster he included in his Ministry Lord Devonport as Food Controller, while the new Minister of Agriculture, Rowland E. Prothero, was chosen for the purpose of increasing the production of home-grown food.

Although many ships with supplies of food have been sunk, Great Britain still has plenty to eat. Nor is the new German submarine campaign likely to bring the country within measurable distance of starvation. Nevertheless, the British Government is taking no chances. Land that has gone out of cultivation is to be reconquered by the plow. Farmers are to be encouraged to increase their output of foodstuffs, although they are protesting that the prices fixed by the Government are no inducement and will involve them in losses. In an address to the Herefordshire farmers, Mr. Prothero admitted that high prices were a stimulus to production, for they meant good profits, but they fell with undue severity on the poor. If prices went too high, he warned them, the Food Controller would commandeer the produce at prices he thought fit.

The Food Controller has already taken steps to put his words into effect. His plans go a long way beyond mere price fixing. He has secured new powers for the Board of Argriculture, whereby it may take possession of any land it wants and cultivate it, and also all the necessary buildings, machinery, implements, and stock, if farmers do not fall in with the Government's ideas. Great Britain has been able to proceed in this radical fashion mainly because British farmers are not as powerful as the German agrarian interests. The British Food Controller's powers are practically unlimited, for he can regulate production, consumption, transport, and prices as he thinks fit "for the purpose of encouraging or maintaining" the food supply of the country.

One of the new measures is the order, which came into force on Dec. 18, 1916, restricting the number of courses to be served at hotels and restaurants. Luncheon is to be limited to two and dinner or supper to three courses. But hors d'oeuvres, soup and dessert count only as half a course each. That the order is being enforced is shown in the following typical newspaper report:

> At Exeter Police Court on Jan. 12 Michael Healey, landlord of the New London Hotel, was summoned under the Defense of the Realm Regulations for having served meals of more than three courses, the meals having been begun between 6 and 9:30 P. M. There were two separate summonses. The Bench dismissed the first on payment of the costs, and in the second imposed a fine of 10s. and costs.

These regulations apply only to public

eating places. Another important change is the reduction of the beer supply to half of what it was in the year preceding the war. "The barley, sugar, and other ingredients used in brewing are required for food," was the Food Controller's explanation. "In fact, it is really a question of bread versus beer." Restrictions are to be placed upon other alcoholic liquors. These measures, it is said, will do away with the necessity of either State purchase or nation-wide prohibition, at any rate in the near future. The fixing of food prices is already in operation, and now the placing of the people on rations is contemplated.

British shipping is also under the control of a Government dictator, and from Jan. 1, 1917, all ships from America have to reserve 37 per cent. of their cargo space for wheat. This does not indicate the full extent of Great Britain's dependence on outside sources of supply, for the whole of the Australian wheat surplus is being sent to England, which, as the Agriculture Minister has recently said, cannot grow half enough wheat for its wants. It can be seen, then, what Germany hopes to achieve by waging a relentless submarine campaign against ships bound for British ports.

No Food Shortage in France

France, although her economic life has been seriously affected, is the belligerent country where the necessaries of life have remained cheapest and the feeding of the people been best assured. The portion of the rich and fertile land occupied by the Germans is valuable mainly on account of its mineral wealth. Good administration has aided the fecund soil and skillful husbandry to solve the food problem, and so the price of bread has hardly increased. Before the end of August, 1914, the Government had entered into co-operation with Chambers of Commerce throughout France to enable them to buy wheat, flour, and other necessaries which were to be supplied to the local dealers and municipal authorities. In April, 1915, when the price of wheat had increased nearly 50 per cent. and there was an undoubted shortage in the home-grown supply, the Government decided to become the sole importer of wheat. Arrangements with Great Britain and the organization of transportation facilities produced supplies of wheat and flour wherever required, and the price of bread remained at a reasonable price—almost at the pre-war level.

Sugar presented greater difficulties. In fact, this has been practically the only food commodity the shortage of which has been severely felt in France. Home-grown sugar came principally from the departments invaded by the Germans, and the supply at once fell from 800,000 to 300,000 metric tons. Of this amount about 650,000 metric tons was consumed in France, so that a deficiency of 350,000 metric tons had to be made good. It was met partly by augmenting the cultivation of sugar in France, and early in 1916 by an arrangement with England for the purchase of foreign supplies. Nevertheless, prices are high, and the people have to economize in the consumption of what sugar they can get. In January, 1917, the Government decided to introduce sugar cards and after Feb. 1 compel "patissiers" and others who make or sell cakes and candies to close their establishments two days a week. But, on the whole, France remains well fed, and for her the new strategy of starvation will have few terrors.

Before the war Russia exported annually more than a million and a half tons of wheat to Germany. Since the war an enormous surplus has accumulated because of the insufficient means of both internal and external transportation and because of the closing of the gateway at the Dardanelles. The workers in the Russian towns are suffering most from food troubles, for not only is the railroad system inadequate and disorganized but there is no efficient Governmental machinery for distribution. The war has been beneficial to the peasants, who are receiving double the ordinary price for their produce, and of course they have all the food they want for their own needs.

To sum up, the war may now be regarded as a contest between Germany and Great Britain to starve one another by their respective blockades into accepting peace.

German Intrigues in Russia

Paul Milyukov's Historic Speech in the Duma, Which Caused a Change of Ministry

Professor Milyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the Russian Duma, delivered an address before that body last November, in which he exposed the schemes of Premier Stürmer for a separate peace with Germany, after the Premier had taken over Sazonoff's portfolio as Foreign Minister. The exposure caused the downfall of Stürmer and a temporary setback to the "dark forces" of pro-Germanism in Russian politics; but it also led to an elaborate plot to assassinate Milyukov and to hostility in high places which compelled the latter to take refuge one night in the British Legation at Petrograd and escape from Russia the next day. His speech was suppressed at first, but after the resignation of M. Stürmer it was permitted to appear in the newspapers with some omissions. The essential portions of his indictment, which produced a profound impression in the Russian political world, are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Beginning with the case of General Sukhomlinoff and a vigorous criticism of the negligence and inertness of the former War Ministry, which had such painful results in the defeats of the Russian Army in 1915, *the speaker turned his attention to the German intrigues in Russia:*

GENTLEMEN, in the French Yellow Book there have been published German documents containing rules and advice as to the best method of disorganizing enemy countries, of creating disorder among their people, and throwing men's minds into a ferment. Well, gentlemen, if the Germans wished to spend all their money and exert all their influence in Russia for that purpose, they could not succeed better than the Russian Government has succeeded. * * *

As long ago as July 13, 1916, I warned you from this tribune that rumors of treason were running through the Russian world, and that these rumors, mounting very high, spared no one. Alas! that warning, like the others, was not regarded. Now see the result: Glancing through the declaration of the twenty-eight Zemstvo Presidents who met at Moscow on Oct. 29, 1916, we find the following passage: "The painful and terrifying suspicions, the sinister rumors of treason, of dark forces that are working for Germany by trying to create a favorable sentiment for a shameful peace at the price of the destruction of our national unity—all these rumors and suspicions are transformed into this certainty: an enemy hand is secretly directing the affairs of the nation!" Naturally, these rumors attribute to the Government the opinion that the continuation of the war is useless, and that a separate peace is necessary. But how shall the birth of such suspicions be prevented when a group of occult personages directs the affairs of State, and when its members at the same time are busying themselves with affairs of basest self-interest?

A Suspected Agent

I hold in my hands a copy of the Berliner Tageblatt for Sept. 16, which contains an article entitled "Manouiloff * * * (Censured.) Stürmer * * * (Censured.) * * *" This information is false in part. The author of the article has the air of believing that it was Stürmer who put his private secretary, Manasevitch Manouiloff, under arrest. But, gentlemen, you are well aware that this is not true; you know that all those who caused the arrest of Manasevitch without informing Stürmer were expelled from office. No; it was not Stürmer who had Manasevitch arrested; quite to the contrary, he had him liberated. [Wild applause from the Left, with voices, "That's correct!"]

You are wondering, no doubt, who this Manasevitch Manouiloff is? Of what interest is he to us? Manasevitch Manouiloff is a former functionary of the secret Russian police in Paris, who, in his day, furnished the Novoye Vremya with

piquant details concerning the lives of Russian revolutionists. But what is more interesting to us is that he was at the same time intrusted with secret missions. One of these will interest you particularly. A few years ago this Manasevitch entered into a series of secret conferences with the Count of Pourtalès, the German Ambassador, and the latter offered him a large sum, said to be 800,000 rubles, to buy up the editors of the Novoye Vremya. I am happy to add that a staff writer on that journal, to whom Manasevitch was first sent, drove him from his apartment. The Count of Pourtalès had a deal of difficulty in hushing up that disagreeable affair.

Such are the missions, gentlemen, with which the private secretary of M. Stürmer, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is intrusted. [Commotion, with cries of "Shame!"] Why was that individual arrested? The reason has long been known, and I shall tell you nothing new. He was arrested because he was guilty of accepting bribes. Why was he released? That also is no secret. He declared to the examining Magistrate that he divided the proceeds of that bribery. * * * [All deleted by the censor except the names of Manouiloff and Stürmer.] The article in the Berliner Tageblatt mentions two other names: those of Prince Andronikoff and the Metropolitan, Pitirim. To the influence of the latter and of * * * is attributed the nomination of Stürmer.

Sturmer and the German Press

Permit me a few details regarding that nomination. I was abroad when I first heard of it; it is mingled, therefore, with my impressions of travel. I will tell you quite simply what I learned along the way, and you may draw your own conclusions. Scarcely had I left this country—it was a few days after the resignation of Sazonoff — when the Swedish newspapers, and later those of Germany and Austria, informed me of the choice of Stürmer as Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Here is what the newspapers said—I am going to read a few extracts without comment. From the Berliner Tageblatt:

> The personality of Sazonoff gave the Allies a guarantee of stability in matters of foreign policy. In that domain Stürmer is only a "sheet of blank paper." He belongs doubtless to the circles which regard the war against Germany without any enthusiasm.

From the Cologne Gazette:

> We Germans have no reason to complain of the change that has taken place in the heart of the Russian Government. Stürmer will offer no obstacle to the desire for peace which from now onward will be born in Russia.

From the Neues Tageblatt of Vienna:

> Although it is not now the turn of the diplomats to speak, it is comforting to note that the statesman upon whom lies the burden of having begun the hostilities is retiring.

An editorial in the Neue Freie Presse for July 25 is especially interesting in this connection. This is what it says:

> However Russified old Stürmer may be, [Laughter,] it is nevertheless very strange to see a German directing Russia's foreign policy during a war that had its birth "in the domain of Pan-Slavic ideas." [Sic.] The present President of the Council of Ministers, M. Stürmer, has not shared the errors which brought about the war. He has not promised—do not forget that, gentlemen—he has not promised not to make peace without Constantinople and the Dardanelles. In the personality of this Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs we shall find an arm which we can use at our own will; for Stürmer has become a man who satisfies the secret aspirations of the Right, which, before all, desires no alliance with England. He will not declare, as did Sazonoff, that it is necessary to annihilate the Prussian military caste.

Whence arises this certainty of the German and Austrian journals that Stürmer, in executing the will of the conservatives, will act against the continuation of the war? It comes from the information furnished them by the Russian press, for the newspapers of Moscow have published the memorandum of the Extreme Right.

This memorandum sent to the Imperial Great Headquarters in July, just before Stürmer went there the second time, does indeed say that it is necessary to fight until final victory, but it also declares that it is necessary to end the war betimes, otherwise the fruits of victory "will be destroyed by revolution!" There you have the old, well-known thesis of our pro-Germans. * * *

The Allies have given proof in this

struggle that they have admirable perseverance; they have proved also that they were ready for any sacrifice. In this regard they have disappointed the expectations of the enemy and surpassed our own. It appeared to us then that Russia was approaching the realization of its hopes, that it was on the point of reaping the fruits of its labors and of the two preceding Ministries of Foreign Affairs. But at that moment, gentlemen, in place of an experienced pilot enjoying the confidence of all—for this is vital—in that place we find a "sheet of blank paper," an unknown who does not even know the A B C of diplomacy.

[Here M. Milyukov pronounced a eulogium upon M. Sazonoff, and continued:]

Relations that have existed for ten years doubtless cannot be destroyed by the caprice of a single person, and the allied press, like ours, had reason to affirm that the change of Ministry could not in any way transform the policy of Russia. But in a thing so delicate as diplomacy there are nuances; there is such a thing as embroidery, lace, delicate drapery, and there is also common sewing; the making of lace is possible only in certain circumstances, under favorable conditions. Well, gentlemen, I have seen the destruction of the most delicate fibres in the embroidery woven by the Allies. I have seen that destruction at London, at Paris. That is what Stürmer was, and perhaps he had a reason of his own for promising us Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

Intrigues in Switzerland

I then asked myself, By what arrangement is all this coming to pass? I went to Switzerland to rest a little, but the same obsessions pursued me. Even on the shores of Lake Geneva and at Berne I could feel the activities of the old "department" of Stürmer, that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Police. No doubt Switzerland is a place where every possible propaganda springs up; for that reason it is a good observation post, where one can follow the trail of our enemies' diplomacy. The system of "special missions" also is particularly well developed there. But under cover of these latter appear missions of a peculiar sort. Men said to me: Please ask yonder in Petrograd what the celebrated Rataieff, a former functionary of the Russian secret police at Paris, is doing here in Switzerland. Ask, too, why Ladebeff, an agent of the Russian secret police, has just arrived here; and why that functionary frequents the drawing rooms of certain Russian women who are known for their German sympathies.

One sees that Mme. Wasiltchikoff has her partisans and imitators. I limit myself to indicating that she had extensive relations abroad with an Austrian Prince, then with a German Baron; her salon in the Via Cavour at Florence, and later at Montreux in Switzerland, was well known, moreover, for the pro-German sentiments manifested there. Now that lady has transferred her household to Petrograd. Apropos of great ceremonies, her name has appeared in the newspapers. I also found fresh traces of her passage through Paris; the Parisians were scandalized by the Germanophile sentiments of this woman, and, may I add, by her conduct toward the Russian Ambassador, though the latter had had no responsibility in the affair.

It is necessary to recall that this woman is the one who directs the career of Stürmer; a few years ago she openly solicited for him a p st as Ambassador. I ought to add that this solicitation was considered perfectly ridiculous at the time, and that it had no results.

In short, gentlemen, I do not pretend to have exposed the whole situation as it really exists; but I do assert that a sort of tunic of Nessus envelops certain of our circles and openly favors that propaganda of which Sir George Buchanan has spoken so frankly in recent days. It behooves us, then, gentlemen, to start a judicial inquiry like that which has been begun in the Sukhomlinoff case. In accusing that officer we had no absolute proofs; it was the examining Magistrate who discovered them. But we already heard what we hear now: the instinctive appeal of the whole country.

Strategy of the Rumanian Retreat

Colonel Konstantin Shumsky, Russia's leading military expert, tells of fighting from Bucharest to Galatz.

[Translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Teutonic forces moved against Bucharest in three groups—the northern, under General von Falkenhayn, the former Chief of Staff; the western, under General von Delmensingen; the southern, under Field Marshal von Mackensen. Falkenhayn's northern group moved later than the other two, at a time when Delmensingen's western group was at a point twenty-six miles to the west of Bucharest and Mackensen's southern group was eight miles to the south of the city.

The movement of Falkenhayn's group to support the other two groups marked the decisive moment in Germany's Rumanian campaign. After a series of conflicts Falkenhayn reached the railroad station Titu, twenty-six miles to the north of Bucharest. The situation was then as follows:

The three enemy groups formed a half circle around and before Bucharest, which was held by the Rumanian armies. The Rumanians slowly withdrew, in part to Bucharest, in part toward the east, in the direction of the Moldavia-Bessarabia frontier; Bucharest was gradually evacuated.

At the same time, from Falkenhayn's group, which was moving from north to south in the direction of Bucharest, a part was detached and sent hurriedly eastward, in an endeavor to seize Ploesci, which is an important railroad junction, the Ploesci-Buzeu-Focsani line being the most important. The next important railroad junction is Buzeu; by occupying Buzeu the enemy might cut the Rumanian line of retreat from the Bucharest region to the Moldavian line; this might result in the withdrawal of the Rumanians to Galatz; that is, to the Moldavian-Bessarabian frontier, and the cutting of the Rumanian front in two parts—the Moldavian part of the front and the southern part of the front, somewhere to the east of Bucharest.

In view of this menacing possibility, the enemy move against Ploesci was of vital moment, perhaps more important than his move on Bucharest, threatening the withdrawal of the Rumanian armies into Moldavia, and shutting them in between the Danube and the Germans approaching from the north. The Rumanians, therefore, vigorously guarded the road to Ploesci-Buzeu, and held Falkenhayn's army back from Ploesci until Bucharest had been completely evacuated. On Nov. 23 (Dec. 6) at noon the Rumanian rear guard, covering the departure of the main forces, evacuated the last of the eastern forts of the Bucharest circle, and at the same time Ploesci was evacuated by the other rear guard. In this way the Ploesci-Buzeu line was occupied by the enemy, and the Rumanians began to fall back from it to the east, in the direction of Buzeu-Focsani and in the direction of Galatz. The Germans followed up the retreating Rumanian Army with the utmost energy and determination, rightly deciding that, from a military point of view, the capture of Bucharest had fallen far short of complete success, since the main objective of the movement, the Rumanian Army, had successfully withdrawn to the east.

With this aim, Falkenhayn once more dispatched a considerable force along the Ploesci-Buzeu highway, in the attempt to deliver a blow against the centre of the Rumanian battle line. But the Rumanians vigorously resisted his attempt to break their centre between Ploesci and Buzeu, and the Rumanian rear guard continued to maintain their position by vigorous counterattacks.

As a result of this the Rumanians, during the first half of December, succeeded

in taking a new line to the east of Bucharest and stretching from the Danube (approximately opposite Silistria) to the middle of the Yalomitsa River, (at the village of Urziceni,) across the Ploesci-Buzeu highway thirteen miles to the east of Ploesci, and thence north along the frontiers of Moldavia and Transylvania up to the Bukowina, (to the north of Dorna Watra.) Consequently, the direct line of the Rumanian front ran from Bukowina to Silistria, nearly north and south.

So far as can be judged from the German bulletins, Falkenhayn did not succeed in seizing many trophies; he not only did not succeed in trapping the Rumanian Army, but did not even capture any considerable number of Rumanian soldiers. According to the German bulletin of Nov. 21, (Dec. 4,) the number of captives did not exceed 10,000, with twenty-six guns, which must be considered a quite inconsiderable booty, in view of the half million men engaged on both sides in the Rumanian theatre of war. It is true that Bucharest was evacuated two days later, but the Rumanian armies left Bucharest in perfect order, and the enemy was only able to capture the guns which, owing to their position, could not be taken away, chiefly the guns in the armored turrets. As a result the Germans occupied Bucharest and Ploesci, but did not succeed in delivering a serious blow at the Rumanian Army or in weakening its military effectiveness, which was shown in the sequel by the vigorous resistance of the Rumanians on the new battle line to the east of Bucharest.

This completed Falkenhayn's main Rumanian operation, carried out by an army of more than a half million men. It would be foolish to refuse to recognize its success, for, by shortening a front 725 miles long to 270 miles, a great strategic success was obtained, concurrently with the capture of Bucharest; but the effort to keep the Rumanian Army out of Moldavia had failed.

When we come to consider the reasons for the evacuation of Bucharest, practically without fighting, we must recognize as the chief reason the general strategical position in the Rumanian war theatre. We shall not enter into a detailed analysis of this situation. We need only point out that the enemy movement on Bucharest from three sides—north, west, and south—practically compelled the withdrawal of the Rumanian Army to the east of Bucharest. Further, the technical condition of the Bucharest circle of forts was such that they were no longer defensible. These forts, created by Brialmont, were of the type known as "concrete ironclads." Without doubt, in their time, they were models of military engineering, but they were now out of date; they were built to stop artillery of a bygone age—the 80s and 90s of last century.

The forts were also undersupplied with heavy guns, only two to each two-thirds of a mile of the fortified line; while in the Posen forts, for example, there are no less than fifteen heavy guns for each two-thirds of a mile of the fortified belt. And the forts had yet other defects.

Hence neither the strategical position as a whole nor the character of Bucharest as a fortified place permitted a stiff defense, as it would have been a repetition of the now famous histories of Liége, Namur, and Antwerp, hammered to pieces by German heavy artillery. It would have been still more unwise to shut the Rumanian Army up in the fortress; therefore the Rumanians came to the wise decision to save their army and to effect a junction with our (Russian) battle line, forming its left flank, on the section between Bukowina and Silistria.

In spite of the cold and the mud, warlike operations did not relax. Falkenhayn continued to develop his wide movement, to the east of Bucharest, from Ploesci to Buzeu; and, from this movement, it is possible to understand Falkenhayn's real intention. After taking Bucharest, he transferred the centre of gravity of his advance immediately to the north, seeking by this means to carry out a capital manoeuvre.

This manoeuvre will become intelligible, if we take into consideration that the enemy transferred the mass of his sol-

diers from Bucharest to Ploesci, and thence moved in the direction of Buzeu, seeking to capture Buzeu before the Rumanian Army could pass through. But this plan failed, thanks to the co-operation of Russian forces, and especially of Russian cavalry.

As was clearly shown by the bulletins, considerable forces of Russian cavalry were thrown in front of Buzeu, and succeeded in checking the main advance of Falkenhayn against that important point. The cavalry fought both mounted and dismounted; digging trenches, and opening fire on the enemy, they compelled him to change from marching into fighting order, and to organize a deliberate attack in loose order. The cavalry waited until the enemy was within a few hundred yards, then mounted and withdrew to the next prepared position, where the same tactics were repeated. Further, wherever possible, separate detachments of cavalry made mounted attacks, thus further delaying the advance of the enemy's armies.

Cavalry work of this kind requires great self-sacrifice, energy, and speed, and this work was admirably done by our Russian horse before Buzeu, thus gaining sufficient time for the Rumanian Army to withdraw in two directions, from Buzeu to Rymnits-Foscani, and, further south, from the region east of Bucharest to Galatz.

In this way, after a series of obstinate conflicts, a new temporary battle line was occupied sixty-six miles to the east of Bucharest, in a straight line running from the frontier of Moldavia to the village of Battogu and thence to the Danube, somewhat to the north of Hirsovo. This front had its continuation in the Dobrudja, where similar attacks were made by the enemy with considerable forces.

The enemy attacked the village of Tertumele in considerable force, and, after an obstinate conflict, succeeded in occupying it. The village of Tertumele is not far from Babadakh, to which the allied forces evidently withdrew. There remained the contest for the twenty-five-mile strip of the Dobrudja. The enemy evidently strained every nerve to seize this strip, in order to reach the marshy Danube delta somewhere near Tulchi, and thus to rectify his front in the Dobrudja with his front in Moldavia, which ran through Rimnik-Philipesci-Batogu and other points.

The enemy thus completed the shortening of his Rumanian front from 750 miles to 270 miles. But he was not content with this, and having in view the employment of a smaller number of troops to guard the Rumanian theatre of war, he endeavored to shorten his front by 75 to 100 miles more. It was possible to see this from the efforts of the enemy to advance in the Dobrudja to the marshy Danube delta, where a smaller defensive force would be sufficient, and to the Wallachian-Moldavian frontier, approximately on the line Galatz-Focsani, which would still further shorten the front. Naturally this effort met with vigorous resistance on the part of the Allies, and as a result the enemy was brought to a standstill without reaching the line Rimnik-Philipesci-Batogu; that is, forty or fifty miles behind the Focsani-Galatz line. This made it necessary to expect some new grouping of the enemy's forces, and a further development of the operations in the direction of Focsani-Galatz, in a new effort by the enemy to rectify his front.

We may easily understand that, if the shortening of his front from 750 to 270 miles was of great importance to him, its further reduction from 270 miles to 150 miles was of much less importance. Falkenhayn's main objective was already gained, and, if the enemy continued his forward movement in the Rumanian theatre of war, the cause of this movement was much less strategical than political; it was to give such an impression of "uninterrupted victories" as would strengthen the hands of German diplomacy in the game it was preparing to play, the peace proposals on the basis of German victory. But this impression was shattered by General Nivelle's sweeping successes before Verdun.

His Majesty's Danube Monitors

Karl Marilaun, a Vienna journalist, wrote for his paper the subjoined description of the Danube operations against Rumania. It is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE as an interesting war episode and a good example of the Austro-Hungarian war spirit.

COMPARED with their heavy cousins of the high seas, the dreadnoughts of the Danube are only little, almost dainty, ships. The most powerful Danube monitor is hardly as long as a big modern submarine; and if the calibre of heroic deeds, daring, and scorn of death were to be measured by ships' tonnage, his Majesty's battle fleet on the waters of the lower Danube would come out pretty poorly.

And yet the Austro-Hungarian naval battle flag does not wave a bit more proudly from the floating iron forts represented by our big battleships than it does from the masts of the nimble little Danube monitors, from whose guns—how long ago it now seems!—thundered the first shots of the great war. They were aimed at the Belgrade fort, which has been taken long ago. In the war against Serbia they got their first honorable scars; then they were guarding the famous crossing of the Danube that decided the Serbian war, and they united with Mackensen once again a year later when the Rumanian campaign began.

That this war with Rumania was sure to come was known no better by any one than by those on board the gray little warships. The young Hungarians in their crews have sharp eyes, and they did not lie on guard in the Bulgarian port of Rustchuk for months for nothing. From that point, and while making numerous scouting trips up and down the Danube, they saw how the Rumanians were beginning to prepare for the war which at that time nobody really wanted to believe was coming.

The monitors' crews are mainly composed of Hungarians, though Croatians and Italians of the coastal districts have also volunteered for service on the Danube flotilla. They are all genuine seadogs who have grown up on the water, are at home on the waves, and have the heavy, rolling gait of the true seaman, to whom any piece of floating plank is more comfortable than the solid land ashore. In time of peace the Croatians, Slovenians, and Italians among them are fishermen along the Adriatic; at home they have stood many a stormy blast, and the Serbian war was just the thing that gave them a chance to satisfy their innate love of adventures—wet adventures. The Hungarians among the crews come from the Danube, the Theiss, and the idyllic, reedy banks of Platten Lake. They, too, in the distant days of peace were fishermen, boatmen, boat builders, and ferrymen. They shot herons and wild geese with the rifle in one hand, so that the other did not have to release its hold on the unyielding, heavy wooden oar. Able, daring fellows, every one, made hard by hard service, and loving their watery element as the hunter loves the forest, they have a fierce joy in their profession and are well-tanned, sinewy, slender sons of Enoch, of the race of their forefathers who hollowed out the fallen trunks of primeval trees and gayly intrusted their lives to wind and waves.

There they sat, a year after the Serbian war, with their hands in their laps and their falconlike eyes fixed on the Rumanian shore, which for the time was not as yet a hostile shore. The Temes lay anchored for months in the harbor of Rustchuk. On her deck Hungarians and Bulgars became good friends, and this friendship grew to the strains of the monitor's Hungarian band, to the sounding of the Hungarian cymbals, and to the wildly exultant and passionately wailing notes of the Hungarian violins, whose melody brought a blank, dreamy look to the eyes of the brown, seasoned chaps in the dark blue sailors' uniforms.

And so the raw Spring of this year passed; it became Summer, and the days were doubly hot; the war hung in the

air; everybody felt it coming, almost saw it, and on board the monitors bets were made as to when it would finally break out, which were only a few days out of the way. In the course of the persistent scouting and reconnoitring trips they occasionally met Rumanian monitors in the neighborhood of Tutrakan; black, soot-spitting, ugly little things, with which they in the meantime got along very well. All kinds of news were signaled from boat to boat, greetings were exchanged in the language of the gay flags and of the colored signal lamps, and the Hungarian and Croatian youths sometimes cast dark looks toward one of these roving, waddling Rumanian patrol boats. In all eyes was the question that they did not dare translate into the language of the pennants and glowing lamps; the burning, fierce, threatening question: "When will it begin?"

And they began it—the Rumanians. They began it on the banks of the Danube the same way as their brothers began it in the passes near Kronstadt. On a Summer evening, one of the last in August, they fired from Giurgevo across the river. Columns of fire arose from the harbor of Rustchuk. This attack was the declaration of war, and in a jiffy the Austro-Hungarian monitors that were lying there with steam up hoisted their battle flags. The river had again become a field of action; the vessels steamed out of the harbor that was being bombarded by the Rumanians. "Clear the decks for action!" rang the commanders' orders through the speaking tubes over the steel-clad quarterdecks, and out through the enemy's badly aimed fire the fleet steamed upstream, shelled the Rumanian shore, destroyed what it could reach, sank some Rumanian ships under the fire of the Rumanian land forces, and reached the Hungarian Danube without having received the slightest scar in this initial battle. But not a man had seen the Rumanian monitors.

When the Rumanians, after the fall of Tutrakan and Silistria, made a desperate and hopeless attempt and crossed the Danube at Rahova, two of our Danube monitors, accompanied by four patrol boats, appeared in order to cut off the retreat over the Danube of the enemy, who had been utterly defeated by the Bulgars and the Germans. The six little ships bravely held their own against the fire of the artillery on the Rumanian shore, and soon the Rumanians began to fire upon them from the Bulgarian shore. But the Hungarians and the Croatians, in the midst of a hail of shells from both sides, lay in the centre of the stream and fired upon the Rumanian engineers' pontoon bridges as if they were merely at target practice during manoeuvres.

As the Rumanians, defeated by the Bulgars, were retreating in headlong flight over the bridges, our monitors, five kilometers below, shot the bridges to pieces. At that time thousands of dead Rumanians floated down the stream, and behind them came the pieces of the destroyed pontoon bridges. The Rumanians had experienced bad luck again.

After having done their work our monitors steamed up the mine-strewn Danube. Not one of the six ships was missing, nor had any sustained serious damage. One monitor had run aground during the heat of the battle, but it had not ceased firing for a single minute; and in the midst of a heavy bombardment by the Rumanians, who were now shooting much better, one of the little boats passed a line to the larger vessel and towed it to safety. The Rahova adventure had cost the Rumanians a small army; during the next few days the pitiless Danube washed the bodies of drowned soldiers to land by the hundreds. The lists of the losses of the Danube monitors on this day of bloody work totaled just eleven men.

The logbooks of his Majesty's Danube monitors contain many accounts of other heroic feats, which may never be made public. All the public may know is that the brave bluejackets down there are doing their duty, as they have been doing it for more than two years, and with steadfast hearts are waiting for the day on which, lined up in their well-tried battle array, they will steam down the conquered Danube with pennants flying, out of the Hungarian waters to the stone arches of the big bridge at Cernavoda.

This, the smallest of our squadrons, helped clear the Dobrudja of the enemy in two weeks; it was the ally of the Bulgars and the Germans in their drive from the walls of Tutrakan to the falling fortifications and ramparts of Constanza, and from the laurels crowning the troops that stormed the Dobrudja we may weave a heavy green wreath for his Majesty's monitors.

Wrecking Rumania's Oil Wells

Story of an Eyewitness

Hamilton Fyfe, special correspondent of The London Daily Mail, wrote from Jassy, Rumania, on Dec. 13, 1916:

DURING the last week I have been in bed only twice, so if these pictures and impressions are a little disjointed I think I may reasonably ask to be forgiven.

As I look back, these seven days seem like a nightmare born of the huge flares of burning petrol, lakes of petrol, rivers of petrol, set on fire of set purpose in order to prevent the enemy from getting lubrication oil.

I fancy it is the destruction of the petrol industry of Rumania which will leave the deepest imprint on my imagination. I have been with armies in retreat before. It is always a hateful experience. This retreat was hastier than the others I have seen, but in essentials not different. The attack on the oil fields was something entirely new. I had tried to picture it to myself beforehand, but without any success. The reality was such as no man's mind could have conceived in advance. Even to convey any idea of it is difficult after it has happened.

The whole business appears to me now so fantastic that I catch myself doubting if it really did happen. That it could be possible to wipe out so completely the slowly built-up result of years upon years of thought and labor, of highly trained intelligence and highly skilled labor, had never occurred to me. When I heard the talk first of what could be done to prevent the oil falling into the enemy's possession I had a vision of tanks set alight, of derricks at the well-heads demolished.

Destruction of that which has been created by man's energy for the satisfaction of the world's needs, of that which provides profit and wage for hundreds of thousands of people and so enables them to live, must be a hideous, saddening spectacle. That the wrecking was beyond all question necessary made the case no better. It added to it a horrid irony. We were forced to defend ourselves against barbarians by barbarous means. To leave the oil wells untouched would have been a crime. The Germans and their dupes need lubricants very badly. These were the only oil fields from which they could get them in any quantity. They would have benefited by the products of the Rumanian wells for as long as they occupied the oil region. Then they would have destroyed the industry themselves so as to prevent the Allies from making use of it.

It was therefore an urgent matter, when the enemy flood came pouring over the Rumanian plain, sweeping the Rumanian Army before it, to set about destruction with vigor. Fortunately a very vigorous man was sent out from England to direct it. Colonel Norton Griffiths surprised not only the Rumanians by his energetic methods: he surprised the Americans as well. To see him wielding a big hammer, swinging it around his head and smashing up machinery with it, just to show how the work ought to be done, made one poetical mine manager describe him as being "in love with ruin."

Neither weariness nor danger could daunt him. When the petrol in basins would not light quickly, he took bundles of straw, thrust them into it, and set them alight, escaping just in time. His helpers were worthy of their chief. The task of destruction was worse for them, since they were wrecking what they had

themselves helped to build; but they went at it with a fury of determination to leave nothing of what they had built to aid the enemy.

"It was pretty hard," one of them said, on the morning after the finish of the wrecking process at Moreny, the most productive of the oil districts; "it was pretty hard to break up one's home, furniture, books, grand piano, everything. But we did it thoroughly, by Jove! Millions of pounds' worth of property destroyed in a few days. Oil burned, wells blocked, machinery demolished, refineries put out of action. Some wreck, believe me." All over the country round about the smoke of the bonfires turned day into night. At Targovistea, twenty miles distant, there rolled over the town, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a dense black fog which hid the sky.

In Bucharest the population could searce believe the tale that came from Ploesti, the oil town. They had heard for the first time the day before the murmur of cannon, still far off. While they were trying to keep their spirits up they had the accounts of the wrecking. They knew now there was little hope of saving the capital.

A little before this a train had gone through the station filled with soldiers and refugees. Whenever I used the railway in these pitiful days I found crowds of refugees at every station. Rich and poor, old and young, women with tiny children, babies a few weeks old even, huddled together on the platforms and in the trains, cold and hungry, cramped and sore.

There was nothing whatever to eat at the railway stations. I saw a kindly American oil engineer sharing a loaf with a Rumanian Colonel and cutting off chunks of the bread for two boys who had been ordered, as all men between 18 and 46 were ordered, to leave a district that was in danger of occupation.

The prices that well-to-do people paid for vehicles to take them into safety even before there was any immediate danger were enormous. For a motor car to go from Bucharest to Ploesti £320 was paid. And, after all, Ploesti fell before Bucharest. For cabs many paid £60, £70, and £80. An Englishman and his wife drove in a cab from Bucharest to Galatz. They were eight days on the way. Another British couple, with a baby 2 weeks old, fought their way into a train.

How long a train will take to reach its destination cannot be guessed. One day I waited at Galatz station from 2 o'clock until 8, the stationmaster assuring me every hour that a train would come soon. It came at 8, started at 10, and made fairly good progress. At 6 in the morning we were within fifty miles of the town I was making for. But we did not get there until 6 in the evening.

On the roads there was more freedom of movement, but one was liable at any moment to get mixed up in a jam of ox wagons, motor transports, hay carts, driven cattle, and retreating troops. On the highway that leads northward from Buzeu, a few days before the enemy came to this region, four transport columns were struggling along at once. Among them, in an inextricable mess, were refugees in all kinds of vehicles, from small open cabs to lumbering farm wagons drawn by white oxen with magnificent horns.

I had been during the day at the village where the staff lived and worked. Toward evening I motored into Ploesti to get some food. Vain hope! At the railway station restaurant, where one could generally count upon a meal, there was nothing. Fortunately, a companion and I had provided ourselves with an emergency ration. We pulled out half a cold turkey, ordered glasses of tea, and fell to. While we were eating, the restaurant was invaded by the headquarters staff. Their special trains, which had been waiting for days with steam up, ready to start at any moment, had just come in. We shared our turkey with acquaintances and were invited to join the train.

British Campaigns in Turkey

By James B. Macdonald

THE population of Turkey at the present time is approximately 18,000,000, distributed thus: 2,750,000 in Turkey in Europe, 9,250,000 in Anatolia, 1,500,000 in Armenia and Kurdistan, 4,500,000 in Syria and Mesopotamia. Turks and Kurds represent a half of the population and Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, &c., the remainder, who, for various reasons, are more or less disaffected, but have nevertheless been impressed for military purposes.

Since the war commenced Turkey has mobilized between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000 men, yet half of these are accounted for by losses at the Dardanelles, in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and by ravages of cholera, typhus, and other diseases. The army is now reduced to 600,000 men, and is understood to be located as follows: 313,500 in Armenia and Mesopotamia, 85,500 in Syria and Arabia, 71,250 in Anatolia, Adrianople, and the Dardanelles, 28,500 in Galicia, 28,500 in Rumania, 14,250 in Macedonia; total active forces, 541,500; these, with 58,500 strategic reserves, make the grand total of 600,000.

Although the class of 1918 has already been called up, it is expected that other 200,000 men may be raked up from various sources during the next few months. In addition there are about 60,000 German and Austrian troops maintaining Enver Pasha and his colleagues in power at Constantinople, guarding the Cicilian gate, and complementing the Turkish armies elsewhere.

In normal times the attitude of the Turks to the aliens in their midst is that of tolerant masters, but under the stress of racial or religious excitement they occasionally break out into wholesale excesses which startle the Christian world. Until eight years ago enlistment in the army was open only to Moslems, and by this means the foreign elements were intimidated. The Old Turks welcomed the conversion of infidels to Islam, and were fairly tolerant to aliens so long as they left politics alone. The Young Turks do not profess to be religious, but they insist on the conversion of all foreign elements within the State into ready-made Turks, whether they will or no, and have drafted them into the army promiscuously with the Moslems. The reason of their action is less questionable than the method they have taken to remedy it.

The Turkish population was rapidly decreasing in numbers and its poorer members descending in the social scale, while all were becoming less and less capable of competing with the commercialized Armenians, Greeks, and Jews. This was attributed to the burden of recruitment for the army falling principally upon the Osmanli and the exemption of the aliens.

The New British Campaign

To appreciate the Winter campaign of the British in the East, we should remember that their misdirected efforts in the past have little bearing on the present position, which is totally different. Their army, after two years of schooling in modern warfare, has developed experienced soldiers, and the whole machine is working smoothly under the single direction of the General Staff. With the most perfect equipment of any army in the field, they have made long and careful preparation for a blow in the East and later in the West.

Karachi, the northern port of India, is only five days' steaming from Basra, the seabase of the army in Mesopotamia, and India, with its great resources, is behind these preparations.

Egypt is much more than a helpless dependency which has to be defended against weak attacks from Turks, Senoussi, and Darfur fanatics. It is the great central clearing camp for oversea troops from Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, and reinforcements from Great Britain, with a large native

SCENE OF NEW BRITISH ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE TURKS IN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

army in reserve. Egypt never was in any danger since the war commenced, because half of the Turkish Army has continuously been immobilized elsewhere, and the undivided energy of the whole was necessary to put up a respectable fight for the Suez Canal.

Troops can be dispatched from this distributing centre to Mesopotamia, Saloniki, Syria, or the Levant, as occasion may require.

It is a mistake to assume that the war in the East will be won or lost in the Balkans. While that region constitutes the corridor for Germany's entry into her projected Oriental Empire, her chief enemy can more easily reach the same goal by a different route. Britain has no use for the Balkan corridor as such, having her own private latchkey into Mesopotamia through her absolute dominion over the Persian Gulf and its littoral. What will it avail Germany if she gain the corridor, and even the ferry at Constantinople, and yet lose the land of promise itself, for which she has risked so much? Constantinople would be untenable with hostile artillery on the opposite (Asiatic) shore, and it is possible to get them there. Many of the great conquerors of the past have entered Constantinople by this route. At the point where Darius crossed by a bridge of boats, the Bosporus (which signifies ox-ford) is only 2,800 feet in breadth. The withdrawal from the Dardanelles did not mean that the objective had been abandoned, but rather that the undertaking had assumed a new direction.

It is Russia and Austria, and more recently Germany, who each believe the use of the Balkan alleyway is a prime necessity for its particular well-being.

The principal object which Austria had in initiating the war was to further her ambition to seize Saloniki and Albania. This might not be attained at one leap, but it would be advanced if Serbia were put out of business. With Saloniki as her principal seaport Austria would have the free run of the Mediterranean; and with the fine harbors of Albania and Dalmatia in her possession would dominate the Adriatic and become an important maritime and naval power.

Britain, France, and Italy, the naval powers of the Mediterranean, could not countenance this attempt to alter the *status quo* without even the politeness of "by your leave," and their prompt seizure of Saloniki and Valona foiled Austria-Hungary early in the war. The dual kingdom has consequently been fighting a losing game ever since. Bulgaria went to war to seize Monastir, and having lost it she also is in a quandary. These two powers are more ready for peace than any of the other belligerents, because they realize that they have little to gain and much to lose by continuing the war.

It is doubtful if the Turkish Government has yet attained this frame of mind, but certainly none of the remaining belligerents have.

The Issue in the East

It suited Germany's book to back Austria's adventure into Serbia because as long as the Balkan corridor was "in the family" it would enable her to consolidate her position in Turkey. Briefly, Germany intended to settle the Near and Middle Eastern questions in her own favor without consulting the other great powers, who had more important and long-standing interests involved than she had.

Apart from trade interests, Britain and France are the largest creditors of Turkey, and as such interested in the financial aspect of Constantinople. As the two leading naval powers in the Mediterranean, they could not acquiesce when a rival naval power like Germany moved to take possession of Constantinople without even consulting them.

Their ally Russia also had a much better claim to Constantinople and the strait than Germany had, and the Entente Powers have indorsed Russia's claim, which is one of the principal objects of the war.

It was not so much Constantinople as the derelict valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris that Germany was after, but she could not reach and maintain communication with the latter unless she was in de facto possession of the former. Britain, however, had asserted her predominance over this area long before Ger-

many appeared on the scene, hence the Teuton challenge made for war between the two countries. The position is similar to what would arise if Germany had challenged the Monroe Doctrine.

Germany has exposed her hand in Turkey only since the war began, and consequently this phase of the dispute is not so much before the public, but is none the less in evidence. While the invasion of Belgium was an immediate danger to England itself, the absorption of Asiatic Turkey by Germany was an equal danger to India and Egypt. In point of time the former decided Britain's action in declaring war on Germany, but the latter would probably have insured the same result.

So long as Germany holds to her Eastern ambitions, so long will Britain and Russia fight her, even if all other matters in dispute are removed. Germany has not yet abandoned hope, but the result of the fighting in Asiatic Turkey during the next few months may bring about a decision in that field.

Britain's interest in Asiatic Turkey, as we understand it, is primarily a military one. The policy of Downing Street has been to maintain Asia Minor as a buffer State for the protection of India against European aggression. This was the purport of the convention with Turkey in 1878, whereby Britain guaranteed the latter in the possession of Asia Minor in perpetuity and received a lease of the Island of Cyprus as consideration.

Now that the present Turkish Government has subverted the guarantee by throwing down the barriers and admitting Germany within the stronghold, Britain at war has to secure herself by seizing such a strategic frontier as will protect India and Egypt from the German danger. That is the military object of the operations which they are now conducting in the Middle East.

Where can such a defensive frontier be found? Beyond any doubt in the Taurus and Amanus Mountains. Should the British succeed in attaining that barrier during the present cold weather season, then they will securely possess, in the country behind them, that which Germany sought, and they will hold besides, in her conquered colonies and sequestered foreign trade, much which Germany already had; and the latter per contra would have nothing of theirs to offset these losses. That would be defeat as Germany understands it, although it would not be victory as Britain desires it, for the latter has never yet entered upon war in a huckstering spirit.

The issue in the Middle East is likely to be fought out at an early date on the plains of Mesopotamia and possibly also in the hills of Syria. Decisive results are more likely to be obtained here than elsewhere, because the British Empire can bring the maximum of force to bear at this point, and its enemies are not so favorably situated.

The Strategic Key—Adana

In Mesopotamia and on the Turco-Egyptian frontier the cold season, which corresponds to our Winter, is the only possible time for European troops. In December the British offensive was resumed in Mesopotamia and on the Sinai desert. Both operations may have a common objective, and be a mutual aid to each other. Should such be the case and success attend their arms, then the Euphrates and Syrian columns would converge and come together at Aleppo, while the Tigris column continued upstream to Mosul to establish contact with the Russian left wing.

The Adana vilayet is the strategic prize which the British, or the Russians, or both, must capture to vanquish Germany in the East and facilitate the complete conquest of Turkey.

The Taurus Mountains form a natural wall bisecting the Turkish Empire in Asia from the Gulf of Alexandretta to Trebizond on the Black Sea. In a military sense there are only three gates breaking the continuity—the Cilician Gate, Erzerum, and Trebizond. Whoever holds these has sallyports giving entrance into the neighboring territory. The two last mentioned have already been gained by Russia, and it is Britain's part to secure the Cilician Gate—the celebrated pass through the Taurus Mountains near Adana.

The vilayet of Adana embraces the

alluvial flats at the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta, which are entirely inclosed by the Taurus Mountains on the west and north and by the Amanus Mountains on the east. A landing from the sea would be a perilous undertaking, as the shore flats are commanded from the surrounding hills, which are understood to be strongly held.

Tunnels through these mountains are in course of construction, which when completed will link up the partly built Bagdad railway and the Syrian lines with the Konieh section, which runs through Anatolia to the Bosporus, opposite Constantinople. This brings the most vital railway communications in Turkey within twenty miles of the coast, and this critical area is guarded by at least one camp of 10,000 German troops. The Taurus Mountain tunnel is expected to take two more years to finish, and in the meantime the break in the railway is served by motor transport over a distance of forty-five miles. The Amanus Mountain tunnel is also unfinished, but German engineers during the last year have constructed a temporary light railway, twenty-six miles long, over the mountains.

Turkey's Railway Communications

The Turkish communications suffer from the fact that in several places they run near the sea and invite the attention of hostile seaplane squadrons. They have the further defect of being single line railways, and any interruption throws the whole system out of gear. London War Office announcements show that systematic raids have been made on weak points of the Turkish railway communications. One squadron dropped bombs on the Kule Burgas Bridge over the Maritza River between Adrianople and Constantinople; another bombed an important railway bridge fifteen miles north of Beersheba, (the Turkish base for the Egyptian and Arabian fronts,) and yet another destroyed the Chicalder Bridge, some eighteen miles east of Adana—the most vulnerable point of all. Previous exploits included the bombing of Homs and Afulch junctions on the Syrian railways.

The Campaign in Sinai

When the British annexed Egypt, on the declaration of war in 1914, it threw the onus on the Turks to recover it if they could. Two attempts have failed ignominiously, and although Enver Pasha recently announced that another would be made, it is not apparent where Turkey has the resources to back up his words.

The British command has taken up his gage and carried the war across the desert to the Turkish frontier. This feat is a notable one, carried out unostentatiously on a larger scale than the Turkish ventures and across the same route taken by Napoleon in 1799.

Economic Egypt lies to the west of the Suez Canal, and east of it lies the Sinai Peninsula, which is all desert as far as the Turco-Egyptian boundary, with the exception of a few waterholes. It is not entirely devoid of life, as goats can subsist on the desert shrub, and they pass for wealth with the nomad Arabs. History records that the children of Israel wandered in this "wilderness" for forty years.

This arid region has been the theatre of the Turkish invasion. There are three well-beaten tracks across the desert, which have been in continuous use since before the Christian era. The northern route runs along the Mediterranean coast from Kantara, on the Suez Canal, thirty miles south of Port Said, to Rafa, on the Turkish border. It is 120 miles long, with seven waterholes by the way. The central route, from Ismailia, on the canal, runs to Beersheba, the main Turkish base in Southern Palestine. It is about 140 miles to the boundary line and has six waterholes. The southern route runs from Suez to Akaba, on the gulf of that name, a distance of about 150 miles, with only three waterholes. From Nakhl, midway on the southern route, another road connects diagonally with the central route in Turkish territory, and runs alongside the Wady El Arish (the River of Egypt) part of the way.

The first Turkish attempt on the canal, in February, 1915, made use of all these roads, but the main advance was by the central one. The second Turkish effort, in July and August, 1916, was along the

northern route, supported by a column based upon the Maghara Hills, midway across the central route. Since then Anglo-Egyptian forces have broken up threatening concentrations of the Turks at the well of El Mazar and at the Maghara Hills.

On Dec. 21 a British force, by a surprise attack, captured the fortified town of El Arish, ninety miles east of the canal and thirty miles from the border. El Arish is on the northern road close to the coast, and between it and Nakhl stretches a dry watercourse called the Wady El Arish, (the River of Egypt of ancient times,) with a string of waterholes along its route. The town served as the Turkish forward base, and they had carried the railhead to it from Beersheba. The Turkish communiqué admits that the garrison abandoned El Arish without a fight, and inferentially that they left in a hurry.

Following up this advantage, the British pursued the Turks up the Wady to the waterhole of Magdhaba and captured 1,350 prisoners, 3 mountain guns, 7 Krupp guns, and other military stores. Another mobile column advanced through the Mftla Pass and destroyed the enemy's defenses and camps on the road to Nakhl.

On Jan. 9 Australian mounted troops and the Imperial Camel Corps crossed the Turkish border, and, after an all-day engagement, carried by assault six lines of intrenchments covering the town of Rafa, which they occupied. Later, reinforcements coming to the aid of the Turks were located and destroyed. According to the preliminary report, 1,600 unwounded prisoners and four mountain guns were captured.

These successes are more important than would appear from the cables. They signify that the vanguard of the British army in Egypt has crossed the desert, is now on the Turkish frontier, and within striking distance of Beersheba, the main Turkish base. An invasion of Palestine would appear to be imminent, since the British are laying a railway as they advance, and have seized the enemy's approaching railhead, which connects with the Syrian lines.

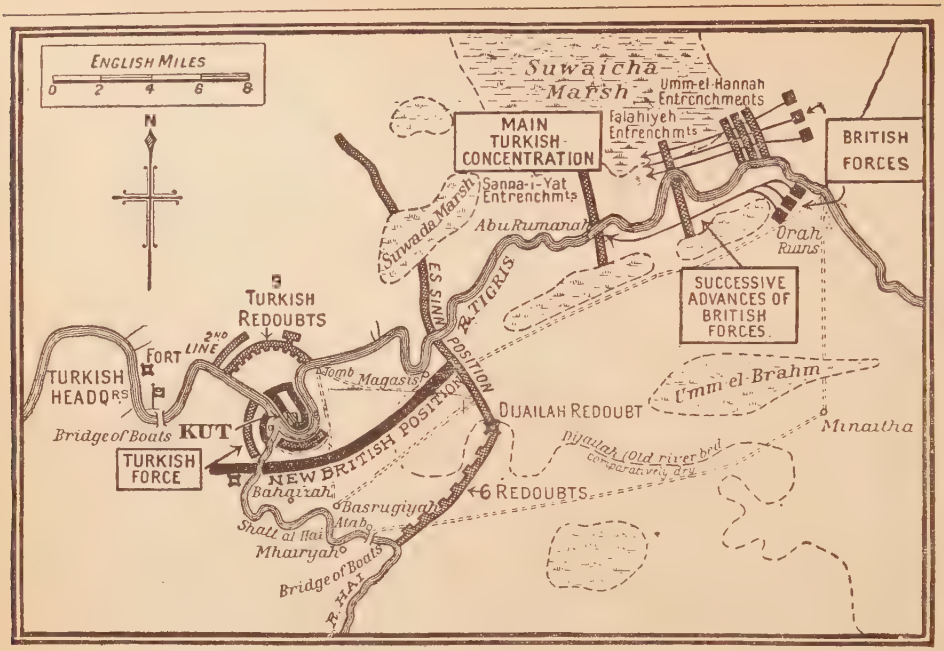
Campaign in Babylonia

That portion of lower Mesopotamia now occupied by the British was known in Biblical times as the "land of the Caldees," and the theatre of their immediate objective is familiarized as Babylonia, or the country inclosed by the bulge of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris before they come together near Kurna. It is a rich alluvial plain, formerly intensively cultivated and irrigated by numerous canals, but neglected since the Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, and Turks overran it in succession. The land resembles the central plains of India, and the two great rivers correspond to the Ganges and the Jumna. The heat, however, is more intense.

In ancient times the country was protected from flooding by embankments and artificial lakes, which ran off the overflow, but since these have been abandoned the rivers flow where they will, and much of the land at times becomes swamp and morass. One of the first things the British had to do was to construct a bund, or great embankment, several miles in extent to prevent the river from flooding out their base camp at Basra. A similar bund may be seen at Allahabad in India, which was built at the time of the Mogul conquest by the great Akhbar, and is still in use.

The dredging of the river bar having been seen to, two railways were pushed ahead—one to the Tigris front below Kut-el-Amara, and the other to the Euphrates front at Nasiriyeh. All the troops who had been through the terrible heat of the hot weather season in Babylonia were relieved, and their places taken by a fresh army. The country around Nasiriyeh is reputed to be the site of the Garden of Eden, but the Tommies stationed there firmly believe that a mistake has been made and that it really was the site of the other place.

The Euphrates River at Nasiriyeh is connected with the Tigris River at Kut-el-Amara by the Shatt-el-Hai, (River of Hai,) about a hundred miles long. Early in the war, the Turks came down the Shatt-el-Hai from Kut-el-Amara in an attempt to raise the seige of Nasiriyeh,



RECENT BRITISH OPERATIONS ON THE TIGRIS AT KUT-EL-AMARA. THE ARROWS INDICATE THE FORMER ATTEMPT TO BREAK THROUGH THE TURKISH LINES AT THE TIME WHEN GENERAL TOWNSHEND WAS BESIEGED IN KUT

but arrived too late. This stream has again come into prominence through the recent operations. The Es Sinn position on the right bank of the Tigris was abandoned by the Turks in May last, but the British made no move to occupy it.

On Sept. 9 a reconnoitring party from Nasiriyeh was attacked on the Shatt-el-Hai by Turkish irregulars, and two days later a mixed force drove the enemy northward with the loss of 200 dead. The long-expected British offensive was launched on Dec. 13 and 14, and, gaining possession of the bridge of boats at Atab on the Shatt-el-Hai, a few miles south of Kut-el-Amara, drove in the Turkish defenses south of the town. The cables do not divulge where this force came from; whether from the main body on the Tigris, or from the other base at Nasiriyeh.

General Maude, who is now in command, consolidated his new position from Kala Haji Fahan to Magasis, which brings him within a mile of the Tigris south of Kut-el-Amara. The British hold one side of the river and the Turks the other. Possession of the river is indispensable to the Turks if they would remain where they are, and it is equally indispensable to the British if they would move forward. Both depend on it for drinking water and transportation, and neither can move far from its banks. The war in these parts is essentially a struggle for possession of the rivers, and the rise or fall of the stream may make all the difference between success and failure to one side or the other.

The Tigris is usually at its lowest in September, October, and November. It rises about a foot, sometimes two feet, in consequence of the December rains, and keeps fairly high during January, February, and March. In April it begins to appreciate the melting of the snow in the Armenian hills, and in May and June it is in flood. In July and August the river falls again.

When General Townshend won the first battle of Kut-el-Amara, on Sept. 28, 1915, he was unable to follow on the heels of the routed Turks into Bagdad because the river was too low to permit of his transports ascending it. It was improbable, therefore, that General Maude would bring on a general engagement

until the river was sufficiently high to permit of his reaping the full benefit of a victory, or before he had freedom to manoeuvre on at least one of his flanks. These eventualities have now arisen: the cables reported moderate rainfall early in December and heavy downpour toward the end of the month; while the extension of his left flank to the junction of the River Hai with the Tigris gave him the desired freedom of movement to the north along the right bank of the Tigris—at least for his light Indian cavalry and Royal Horse Artillery, which are admirably suited to this style of warfare. Unlike the battles of last year, the coming fight is not primarily for possession of the town of Kut-el-Amara—that could probably have been captured any time in the last three months, as The London Times asserts.

The immediate military object of the invading army is the destruction of the organized Turkish forces in Babylonia and Persia. The strategy to this end is directed, not by the General on the spot but by the General Staff in Europe. The former, however, is the executive who controls the tactics and takes the credit from the public or bears the blame, as the case may be. The day is past when a General can evolve his own strategy as he approaches the field of battle or can fight for his own glory and advancement, and brilliant individual play has made way for combination teamwork in a war theatre which may cover continents.

The President's Peace Note

[A cartoon in verse.]

By OLIVER HERFORD

Suppose a Snake with threatening coils
  Hung o'er a Thrush's nest,
And while the Thrush against its toils
  Was battling her best
An angry Owl cried "Twit to whoo!
  You've spoiled my sleep! For shame!
The objects of each one of you
  Are virtually the same."

Suppose a Hoodlum who has felled
  A woman and a child
By angry citizens is held,
  When o'er the tumult wild
A voice is heard, "This hullaballoo
  Must stop—you're all to blame.
The objects of each one of you
  Are virtually the same!"

Suppose when Tell, the patriot Swiss,
  Shot at the apple tied
To his son's head, and knew to miss
  Would mean infanticide,
Suppose some yodeler had a fit
  And yelled as Tell took aim,
"Too loodle loo! Whate'er you hit
  'Tis virtually the same!"

Suppose that when we came to blows
  With George the Third and won
Our land of Liberty, suppose
  Instead of Washington
We'd had a gifted man of words
  Who cried, "Why fight? For shame!
Our objects and King George the Third's
  Are virtually the same."

The Turkish Soldier

By Lieutenant S. F. Bryant

United States Navy

Lieutenant Bryant, now of the President's yacht Mayflower, was on duty in Turkish waters for the last two years and a half—on board the Unites States steamship Scorpion. For part of that time he was unofficially attached to the American Embassy at Constantinople, looking after British prisoners in Turkey. This gave him opportunities for gathering the impressions of Turkish soldiers embodied in the present article, which is published with the official sanction of the Navy Department.

TO those who have not known him the makeup of the Turkish soldier may bring surprises. The real fighting man that fought in the front ranks at Gallipoli is the one under discussion, and is different from the inland police official that assisted in the attempt to move the Armenian people out of the range of war fronts and communications.

The striking arm of the Turkish defense is made up of the able-bodied peasants of the interior, who have not had their natures corrupted by the influence of city life. Uneducated, sincere, and most loyal in religion, long suffering in toil and hard times, the "fellaheen," or peasant, possesses some of the most necessary traits of a soldier. He is obedient, amenable to discipline, enduring under privation, and absolutely submissive to his superiors, from the drill commands of the Sergeant to the will of Almighty God Himself, who arranged all things for the soldier only as they should be.

The Turkish "askair," or private, is in nature simple, honest, lovable, and peaceful until he is fighting for country and religion. Then he can weather a hail of shrapnel with an unwavering, and even fiendish, courage. He believes and fears that the Russian—the traditional foe of the Ottoman—is descending upon his nation to try to swallow it up and that the Englishman from the south is assisting the Northern Bear in the attempt to destroy his home.

The Ottoman army may be divided into three parts: the fighting branch, composed of Turkish peasants in the main; the Greek, Jewish, and mixed-blood section, employed on construction work, such as roads; and the Armenian section, which is naturally too hostile to be trusted on any work outside of grave digging.

The character of the farmer soldier may best be illustrated by some stories from the city barracks, the hospitals, and the front. Almost all the large cities of the empire were garrisoned during the war, Constantinople in particular, as it was a base for reserve and transient troops. As the existing barracks were inadequate for the number of troops, every possible empty or requisitioned house, palace, mosque, hotel, dive, or tumbledown dwelling was at intervals used for quarters.

The commissariat was simplified to black bread, olives, and perhaps daily a soup stew. Uniforms were generally kept complete by making the initial kit regulation for constant and indefinite use. Pay consisted of 2 piastres (8 cents) a month at the beginning of the war. Later this was changed into an extra loaf of bread each day, which a soldier could sell. At the Stamboul bazaar a loaf of bread with a chunk bitten out of it was auctioned off at 6 piastres! The bread conditions varied. Generally the normal price of 6 cents a loaf was kept in force by the Government, and, with the exception of intervals when grain transportation was held up for military reasons, the supply was sufficient.

Pastimes of Turkish Soldiers

The soldier in his quarters had many privations owing to lack of the necessities of life. As comfort and luxury were unknown to him, he could not miss them. Drink was seldom even heard of among Moslem soldiers. Cigarettes were always in evidence and were furnished by the Government at 3 cents a package of

twenty for the "sixth" best quality. "Kef" was, of course, a great pastime, corresponding to the Italian "dolce far niente," and the sweet nothings a midshipman may think of lying in his bunk the ten minutes after reveille.

Story telling was another pastime. The Turkish sense of humor is ever ready, easy to satisfy, and appreciative. Here, for instance, are some of the Nasradin Hodja stories, as told by the mythical Turkish humorist:

Nasradin, the teacher, one day sent three pounds of meat to his wife for supper. Upon his return home he asked for the meat, but his wife, who had eaten it, said to him, "Oh, Kodjam, the meat is gone."

"Gone? Where?" demanded the Hodja.

"The cat ate it," replied his wife.

"Bring here the cat," said Nasradin.

The cat was produced, and Nasradin commanded sternly that it be weighed. The cat weighed three pounds.

"Oh, hanoum," cried Nasradin, "if this is the cat, where is the meat? If this is the meat, where is the cat?"

Another story probably had its origin among other than Turkish soldiers. One day Allah called up Mohammed on the telephone and asked him to go below and stop the war. But Mohammed replied that he could only stop his own people and that by doing so he would expose them to destruction by the Christians. The Christians, on the other hand, if they stopped fighting, would be destroyed by the Mohammedans. Therefore Allah called up Moses, but Moses replied that he had no influence on the war, because all the Jews had paid their exemption taxes.

"Alas, alas!" cried Allah; "I would go down and stop the war myself if the Kaiser would not, while I was away, seize my place!"

Another yarn was told of a Turkish soldier who died for his country at Gallipoli. As the supply of houris in his paradise had long ago become inadequate for the number of resurrected heroes, he made his way to the gate of heaven and knocked loudly for St. Peter. The gate was finally opened, and St. Peter grudgingly asked what was wanted, as heaven for the moment was full.

"I want to come in," replied the soldier.

"Have you a special permit or any contraband to declare?" asked St. Peter.

"Yes, Effendi. I have a Turkish police pass, but no contraband."

St. Peter examined the pass closely, and, calling his clerk, told him to search the record. After reading the record St. Peter said: "No, you can't enter here; the police pass says you were killed at the battle of Sedul-bahr and the record says that the official Turkish communiqué states for that battle that on the Turkish side only a donkey and a camel were wounded."

That story suggests another of a soldier in a hospital at Constantinople who kept up a clamor for a medal for having been the only soldier in a certain battle that nearly died for his country from the kick of a mule.

Caring for the Wounded

When the fighting at Gallipoli was at its height the hospitals in the capital were overflowing with wounded. The number of doctors and the supply of medicaments were then pitifully inadequate. Emergency dressings put on at the peninsula were not replaced by proper bandages until the men arrived at Constantinople. In one hospital in Scutari the wounded came in so fast that over a hundred cases had to be doubled up in the beds, and mixtures of wounded and typhoid, pneumonia, and dysentery cases had to be put in the same wards.

Young students in the medical school were given responsible work. Pharmacists were commissioned as doctors, and dentists as veterinary surgeons. A story is told of a dentist who was put in charge of eleven sick camels to nurse them back to health and strength. Not knowing how to make them kneel, he was forced to use a ladder in dressing the hump chafings. Upon being asked one day by a friend as to the progress of his work, he replied: "Oh, they will soon be all right; Allah has provided; eight have died already, and the other three won't last much longer!"

The hospital systems, considering the means available, were as well run as could be expected. During the rush work American and English women in the capital assisted as nurses. One of them said that the patience of the men under suffering was unlimited, that when a man was writhing in agony it was rare that he would cry out or even groan. Some times there would be a confused muttering of "Allah! oh, Allah, Allah!" but that was all.

They had great sympathy for one another. If it was evident from a man's expression and involuntary shrinking that the dressing of his wound or tearing away of the old bandage was unusually painful, men would raise themselves in their cots from all sides and watch with pitying eyes, sometimes even with their faces contorted with sympathetic suffering. Few could read, and those few seemed never-tiring in their willingness to help less fortunate brothers. Going through the wards, one could always find groups of convalescents around the bed of a learned neighbor, who would be reading old papers, letters, and scraps of all sorts to his eager audience.

Their love of flowers was surprising to a stranger. If a bouquet were left by a visitor on the table of a ward, in a very short time the vase would be empty and the flowers could be found tied to the bedposts or lying on the coverlet of a man who was not able to hold them, but could still enjoy the fragrance. Some women brought armfuls of flowers to the hospitals each week. It was touching to see the interest some of the men took in choosing just their particular kind and color from the pile. Sometimes they would hide their gift and pretend that they had been overlooked, begging for another by the never-failing sign language. Some one who exchanged a usual burden of flowers for oranges said that she was greeted with distinctly less enthusiasm than usual.

One old soldier had lost one arm and had but one finger left on the hand of the other. This finger he very proudly named his "Padischah," which signifies the Sultan, or the "only one."

Another soldier, with both legs amputated, was in great distress when he received a letter from his wife saying that she was in great need. After an anxious moment a happy thought struck him. "Allah has provided!" he exclaimed to the doctor. "Will you write to her, hakim, and tell her that all will be well, for now she can sell my Friday pants!"*

During the Winter of 1915 typhus spread among the soldiers in many districts. It was brought to the cities by recruits from the interior. While visiting a cemetery in Constantinople a gang of Armenians was found, over forty strong, digging graves and burying the dead for one hospital, from which the bodies arrived at the rate of over 130 a day. That scene, with the numaur, or priest, muttering prayers from his Koran at a safe distance, as the shrunken, withered corpses of the typhus victims, wrapped only in a layer of cheesecloth, were dropped side by side in long trenches, left a permanent impression of what war can bring.

Humane Acts at the Front

Of the conduct of the Turkish soldiers at the front many have read: perhaps of the time in Mesopotamia when, on evacuating a position, water was left in skins marked by the Ottomans, "for the wounded"; also of the time at Fellahié in Irak, when some English soldiers were caught between the trenches, too severely wounded to move and under a broiling sun that would have killed them, without water and shade. When the rescuers ran forward to recover them, exposing themselves directly in the line of fire, there was not a shot fired at them.

Once during a walk by moonlight between two Turkish villages a rickety soldier's cart overtook me. As I climbed aboard the two soldiers moved up to make room and wished me good evening, apologizing in a crude way for the lack of a seat. One of them rolled a cigarette. Instead of smoking it, he asked me to take it. I thanked him, and, as I left them at the crossroads, gave him my bag of tobacco. It was an interesting picture, as walking down the road I could

*Turkish Sunday occurs on Friday.

ELABORATE GERMAN WINTER QUARTERS BACK OF THE SOMME FRONT

Substantial Shelters for German Officers and Reserve Troops, Erected Beyond Range of the British and French Guns.

(© *Brown & Dawson.*)

AN AUSTRIAN OUTPOST IN THE HIGH ALPS

This Lonely Sentinel Is Equipped with a "Snow Shirt" to Render Him Less Visible to the Enemy, a Device Adopted by Both Austrians and Italians in the Alps; also by the Germans on the Russian Front.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

see the two soldiers salaaming and thanking, with the wagon silhouetted in the moonlight, and the soldiers chuckling over the bag. They not only offered to drive out of their way to take me to my destination, but invited me first to go to camp with them and be presented to their German commander, to whom, judging by their conversation, they seemed devoted. Unfortunately I had other views on the type of introduction that would be appropriate.

At the front there were hardships to bear that would not be possible to realize from mere description. They must be seen or experienced. At the Dardanelles there were times when, as in most military expeditions, the food gave out. During the Winter there was no food for two days in a section of the Gallipoli trenches. At one time in the Caucasus region the soldiers were so hungry that part of them deserted to the Russians simply from seeing loaves of bread stuck on the bayonets of the enemy to tempt them as the food projected over the trenches. The cold there was so bitter that at night there were occasions when the sentry could not stand watch over ten minutes on account of the danger of freezing. There was almost no coal or wood there. The fuel used was dried cow manure. The uniforms were made from raw sheepskins, including coverings for the feet. The typhus at Erzeroun carried off over 300 soldiers daily during that Winter of 1915, and in that region the losses exceeded 200,000 from that disease. The mortality was close to 90 per cent. The details of these conditions were related by Turkish officers who had been through them.

Victims of Vast Causes

One may ask, Why should these men have suffered and died? What did these poor, inorant, honest toilers of the soil know of the quadruple alliance? What did they know of the fact that the extension of German influence in the Orient might, by a combination of four countries, lead to the development of a powerful empire which would cut Europe in half and possess naval bases on every important body of water adjacent to Europe, with the exception of the White Sea? His was not to know, simply to obey. Rarely among these peasants was there insubordination, and never mutiny. With obedience and loyalty to their officers, even under the severest discipline and untold privations, these soldiers gave their lives unflinchingly for country and religion. They possessed ideals that were more to them than life itself.

The Turkish soldier in this war has surprised his enemies and prevented changes in geography and history that many had counted on. He has shown that the best man is the one who, when enduring most and when in greatest need, can keep his courage and fight the same. Though he has been somewhat overlooked among so many heroic high lights, he deserves to be remembered and appreciated, and, whatever may be his ultimate fate, he has earned a fair page in history.

President Wilson's Senate Address on Permanent Peace

PRESIDENT Wilson appeared unexpectedly before the United States Senate on Jan. 22 and delivered the following important address, at the same time announcing that the text of the speech had been transmitted to the American Ambassadors accredited to all the belligerent nations of Europe:

Gentlemen of the Senate: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the Governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy.

The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely, and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power, which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in those days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

America's Participation Certain

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government, ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot, in honor, withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

Need Force to Make Peace Secure

The present war must first be ended, but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged.

We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterward, when it may be too late.

No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war, and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American Governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical conviction which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American

Government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the Governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not only a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all, may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

Peace Without Victory

They imply first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.

Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory, of resources, there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace, which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

Access and Freedom of the Seas

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right

comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them.

The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe.

Limiting Armaments

And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these question are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings and come to stay.

Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve, and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am, in effect, speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and the Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment rather of all that we have professed or striven for.

Monroe Doctrine for the World

I am proposing that all nations henceforth should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am propsing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competition of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

Criticism of the President's Plan for "Peace Without Victory"

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address to the Senate on Jan. 22 aroused animated comment alike in the belligerent countries and in the United States. The Entente nations took vigorous exception to the phrase "peace without victory," and the Teutonic Powers, while rejoicing in that aspect, looked with disfavor upon the President's suggestion of autonomy for all nationalities, notably for the Poles. In the United States, on the other hand, the idea of abandoning the Monroe Doctrine and casting in our lot with a worldwide league for peace aroused deep and earnest dissent in many quarters. Pacifists everywhere praised the address. The vast variety of the comment it provoked is indicated by the fact that some of the President's admirers declared it to be the most important pronouncement of an American Executive since that of the Monroe Doctrine, while some of his critics called him a "German catspaw" and said his speech would "make Don Quixote wish he hadn't died so soon."

German opinion was generally favorable, but cautious in expressing itself. The President's views on "freedom of the seas" and on "peace without victory" were received with satisfaction, but German officials both in Washington and in Berlin refrained from public utterances on the subject. The press summary of Germany's view was to the effect that President Wilson's step, though well meant, was unsuitable for discussion at a time when the attitude of the Entente was making prosecution of the war inevitable.

Count Tisza's Reply

The Hungarian Premier, Count Stephen Tisza, made the frankest official reply for the Teutonic Powers when he said (Jan. 24) in answer to a question in the Parliament at Budapest:

In view of the fact that President Wilson in his address makes certain distinctions between our reply and our enemies' reply, I must especially state that the quadruple alliance declares that it is inclined to enter into peace negotiations, but at the same time it will propose terms which, in its opinion, are acceptable for the enemy and calculated to serve as a basis for a lasting peace.

On the other hand, the conditions of peace contained in our enemies' reply to the United States are equivalent at least to the disintegration of our monarchy and of the Ottoman Empire. This amounts to an official announcement that the war aims at our destruction, and we are, therefore, forced to resist with our utmost strength as long as this is the war aim of our enemies.

In such circumstances it cannot be doubted which group of powers by its attitude is the obstacle to peace, and this group approximates to President Wilson's conception. The President opposes a peace imposed by a conqueror, which one party would regard as a humiliation and an intolerable sacrifice. From this it follows clearly that so long as the powers opposed to us do not substantially change their war aims an antagonism that cannot be bridged stands between their viewpoint and the President's peace aims.

My second observation has to do with the principle of nationalities. I desire to be brief; therefore I will not dilate on the question of what moral justification England and Russia have to lay stress on the principle of nationalities in a peace program, which would destroy the Hungarian Nation and deliver the Mohammedan population of the Bosporus region into Russian domination. But I say that the whole public opinion in Hungary holds to the principle of nationalities in honor.

The principle of nationalities in the formation of national States, however, can only prevail unrestrictedly where single nations live within sharply marked ethnographical boundaries in compact masses and in regions suited to the organization of a State. In territories where various races live intermingled it is impossible that every single race can form a national State. In such territories it would only be possible to create a State without national character, or one in which a race by its numbers and importance predominates, thus imprinting its national character.

In such circumstances, therefore, only that limited realization of the principle of nationalities is possible which the President of the United States rightly expresses in demanding that security of life and religion and individual and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples. I believe that nowhere is this demand realized to such a degree as in both States of the monarchy. I believe that in the regions of Southeastern

Europe, which are inhabited by a varied mixture of peoples and nations, the demand for free development of nations cannot be more completely realized than it is by the existence and domination of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

We feel ourselves, therefore, completely in agreement with the President's demands. We shall strive for the realization as far as possible of this principle in the regions lying in our immediate neighborhood. I can only repeat that, true to our traditional foreign policy and true to the standpoint we took in our peace action in conjunction with our allies, we are ready to do everything that will guarantee to the peoples of Europe the blessings of a lasting peace.

Ruffini Answers for Italy

Italy's answer to the President's utterance took the form of a published statement from Francesco Ruffini, Minister of Public Instruction, reported in a cable dispatch from Rome on Jan. 28. After stating that Italy heartily approved the idea of free nationalities, Signor Ruffini added that the aims of Italy in this regard were indispensable conditions of peace. He continued:

Italy having laboriously emerged from bondage by driving out the Austrians, has among her war aims the attainment of complete unity. This is justified historically, and its completion will be a proper act, because Italy does not wish to live by the grace of others. She has already been able to constitute her national solidarity, and is working today to settle finally the question of her unity.

President Wilson could not find a better exemplification of these principles than the war in which Italy is fighting beside her allies. Italy's aims can be attained only by victory, since her enemy never for an instant has hidden or modified the principles of tyranny and oppression which would negative absolutely the principles proclaimed by the President.

In fact, the statement of Premier Tisza of Hungary shows that Austria-Hungary not only wishes to continue oppression of the various nationalities, but desires to extend it to the Balkans, over Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. All this is monstrous, and particularly repulsive to Italy, whose situation, on account of the Italians still under Austrian rule, is unique. These Italians do not form a separate nation subject to Austria, like Bohemia, but are a suffering and bleeding part of a nation the greatest part of which has attained its freedom. Italy would be unworthy of her liberty and strength if she permitted unchanging Austria forever to grind down her Italian brethren.

Americans, who enjoy entire independence, cannot fail to understand Italy's position in the conflict—why Italy cannot lay down her arms until a common victory signalizes realization of those aims which are indispensable conditions for a future peace. It is inadmissible that lasting peace could emerge from a situation which would represent the consolidation of oppression and violence. It is inadmissible that the just desire for peace which inspires even neutrals could coincide with submission to brutal and truculent power.

Comments of Entente Powers

The preponderance of sentiment in the Entente countries was unfavorable, if not actively hostile, to the proposition of "peace without victory." The French press generally praised President Wilson's ideals, but pronounced them Utopian and incapable of bringing peace to the world in the present crisis. The British newspapers were respectfully hostile, with very few exceptions. The phrase "freedom of the seas" was as unwelcome as "peace without victory." Frederic Harrison published in The Morning Post a satirical fable in the form of a letter in which the Emperor of Brazil was represented as having written to President Lincoln in the darkest hour of the American civil war, urging "peace without victory" and the rest of it. The official reply of the British Government to the President's utterance was made by Bonar Law and is published in full elsewhere in these pages.

Russia was politely appreciative, but the press generally agreed in saying that the President's address brought peace no nearer. The Russian Foreign Office at Petrograd issued this formal statement

Russia always has been in full sympathy with the broad humanitarian principles expressed by the President of the United States, and his message to the Senate, therefore, has made a most favorable impression upon the Russian Government. Russia will welcome all suitable measures which will help prevent a recurrence of the world war. Accordingly we can gladly indorse President Wilson's communication.

President Wilson's views on free access to the seas find an advocate in Russia, because she considers it necessary to have free access to the seas.

The President's proposal regarding limited armament has the support of Russia, who made representations of this nature at The Hague Conference. In expressing these convictions the President of the United States

is at the same time expressing the point of view of Russia.

The Russian Government notes with satisfaction that President Wilson makes a sharp contrast between the definite reply of the Entente Allies to his first communication and the evasive note of the Central Powers.

Russia already has definitely announced her unalterable determination regarding the future of Poland. The Russian Emperor has declared that one of the objects of the war is a free Poland, consisting now of three separated provinces.

As to the nature of the peace to be concluded, whether it be a peace without victory or not, one should remember that it never has been the aim of the Allies to crush their enemies, and that they have never insisted upon victory in that sense over Germany. It is Germany who has taken that point of view and who wishes to dictate peace as a victor.

Arouses Debate at Home

President Wilson's address called forth a violent diversity of opinion in the United States. The cleavage for the most part followed party lines. Leading Democratic newspapers pronounced the utterance epoch-making, a message to mankind, a summary of the broad principles of liberty and justice upon which alone a durable peace is possible. Republican papers for the most part condemned it as untimely, harmful, or at best an "oration on the millennium." Elihu Root declared himself in sympathy with the President's ideals, but added that our entry into a league for peace would be worthless and meaningless without ships and soldiers to do our part in enforcing its mandates. Theodore Roosevelt issued an attack on the President's proposition, concluding with this passage:

When fear of the German submarine next moves Mr. Wilson to declare for "peace without victory" between the tortured Belgians and their cruel oppressors and taskmasters, when such fear next moves him to utter the shameful untruth that each side is fighting for the same things, and to declare for neutrality between wrong and right, let him think of the prophetess Deborah, who, when Sisera mightily oppressed the children of Israel with his chariots of iron, and when the people of Meroz stood neutral between the oppressed and the oppressor, sang of them:

"Curse ye, Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

President Wilson has earned for this nation the curse of Meroz, for he has not dared to stand on the side of the Lord against the wrongdoings of the mighty.

In the Senate the President's address, especially the portion of it relating to our entrance into a world league to enforce peace, aroused Republican opposition, which took formal shape in a resolution introduced by Senator Cummins of Iowa, calling for a discussion of the President's proposals. The resolution was combated by the Democratic leaders, and finally on Jan. 30 it was tabled by a strict party vote of 38 to 30.

Meanwhile, Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a somewhat different resolution on Jan. 25, calling upon the Senate to reaffirm its faith in the Monroe Doctrine and in the policy of nonintermeddling in European politics advocated by Washington and Jefferson. At his own request the resolution was allowed to lie on the table to be called up whenever he wished to discuss it. In a public address in Washington the next day he denounced the President's peace league idea as vicious and dangerous, stating his reasons for this belief in part as follows:

If the people of this country want to enter European politics, take part in European controversies, become entangled in its dynastic dissensions; if they want to furnish money and soldiers, ships and men to be subject to the call of some tribunal or league, in which tribunal we will have but one vote, very well. The people have a right to enter that perilous course if they choose, for this is the people's Government. But let us understand perfectly what it means before we take the step. Let us not be deceived nor deceive ourselves. We should debate and consider every step before we take it, for these are the steps which once taken it is impossible for a people to retrace.

Once in the maelstrom of European politics, it will be almost impossible to get out. Once involved in the matter of economically boycotting or in the matter of enforcing decrees of military force, it will be practically impossible to get back to the policy under which we have lived and strengthened for more than a century.

The whole subject was swept into the background shortly afterward by Germany's proclamation of unrestricted submarine warfare and the breaking of diplomatic relations with that Government.

Bonar Law's Answer to President Wilson's Speech on Permanent Peace

ANDREW BONAR LAW, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the British War Council, delivered an address at Bristol on Jan. 24 in which he made this frank reply to President Wilson's Senate message:

The end of war is peace. The Germans made us what they have called an offer of peace. It received from the allied Governments the reply which it deserved—the only possible reply.

Most of you have, however, I presume, read the speech by President Wilson, which appeared in yesterday's papers. It is a frank speech, and it is right that any member of one of the allied Governments who refers to it should speak with equal frankness. It is impossible that he and we can look on it from the same point of view.

The head of a great neutral nation, whatever his private views may be—and I know as little as any of you what they are—must adopt a neutral attitude. America is very far removed from the horrors of this war. We are in the midst of them. America is neutral; we are not neutral. We believe that the essence of this conflict is a question which is as old as time—the difference between right and wrong. We believe, we know that this is a war of naked aggression, that crimes which have accompanied the conduct of the war, which have been unknown in the world for centuries, are small in comparison with the initial crime of plunging the world into war by cold-blooded calculation because those responsible thought it would pay.

President Wilson's speech had this aim—to gain peace now and secure peace for the future. That is our aim, and our only aim. He hoped to secure this by a league of peace, and he not only spoke in favor of such a league, but he is trying to induce the American Senate to take the steps necessary to give effect to it. It would not be right to regard this proposal as something altogether Utopian.

You know that almost up to our own day dueling continued, and just as the settling of private disputes by the sword has now become unthinkable, so, I think, we may hope that the time will come when all the nations of the world will play the part which Cromwell described as his life work—to act as constable and keep peace. That time will come, I hope.

But this whole subject is not an abstract question for the future. It is a question of life and death now. In judging whether that result can be secured by his methods it is impossible for us to forget the past. For generations humane men, men of good-will among all nations, have striven by The Hague Convention, by peace conferences, and by all other means to make war impossible, or at least to mitigate the horrors of war, When war comes, by what means can these barriers built up against barbarism be made effective? They cannot be preserved by the belligerents, if any of them choose to ignore them. It is only from neutral States that effective sanction can be given to them.

What happened? At the very outbreak of the war the Germans swept aside every one of these barriers. They tore up treaties which they had themselves solemnly signed. They strewed mines in the open sea. They committed every atrocity on sea and land against The Hague Convention, which they had themselves signed. They made war on women and children. They destroyed neutrals as ruthlessly as they did their enemies. They are at this moment driving the population of conquered territories into slavery, and, worse even than that, they are making some of the subjects of their enemies take up arms against their own country.

All this has been done, and no neutral power has been able to stop it. No neutral power, indeed, has made any protest against it. We must, then, take other means to secure the future peace of the world.

We have rejected the German offer to enter into negotiations, not from lust of conquest or desire for shining victories. We have rejected it, not from a spirit of vindictiveness, or a desire for revenge, but because peace now would mean a peace based on [German?] victory. It would be a peace which would leave the military machine unbroken, with the halo of success surrounding it. It would leave the control of that machine in the hands of the same men who for a generation prepared for war, who would make the same preparation again, and who would choose their own time to plunge the world into the horrors which we are now enduring.

Our aims are the same as President Wilson's. What he is longing for we are fighting for, our sons and brothers are risking their lives for, and we mean to secure it. The hearts of the people of this country are longing for peace. We are praying for peace, for a peace which will bring back to us in safety those who are fighting our battles, and a peace which will mean that those who will not come back have not laid down their lives in vain.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY

Will Russia Make a Separate Peace?

Russia's Official Reply

FOLLOWING is the official reply made in the Duma by N. N. Pokrovsky, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the German peace proposal of Dec. 12. It has been specially translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

Gentlemen of the Duma: Coming before you immediately after my appointment to the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs, I cannot, of course, give you a complete and detailed account of the present political situation. But I feel myself under obligation to inform you, by the wish of his Majesty, of the relation of the Russian Government to the step of our enemies which you learned from last night's telegrams.

Words concerning peace, resounding from the camp on which lies all the heavy responsibility for kindling this world conflagration, unprecedented in history, in spite of their strangeness, were not unexpected by the Allies.

During the two and a half years that the war has lasted, Germany has repeatedly spoken of peace. She has spoken of it to her armies and to her people, before each aggressive operation that was to decide the war. After each military success, which did not bring a wider success, she felt out the ground for peace, now on this, now on that side. And the press of neutral countries was very active in the same direction. But all these attempts, set in motion by the Germans, met with a quiet and decided refusal.

At the present time, since she has lost all hope of smashing a breach in our indissoluble alliance, Germany comes forward with an official proposal to begin peace negotiations.

In order to be able to estimate the value of this proposal, we must consider both its character and the circumstances under which it has been made. In reality, the German proposal contains no substantive indications of the character of the peace which is referred to in it. It repeats the worn-out legend that the war was forced upon the Central Empires. The victories of the Austro-German armies are spoken of, and the impossibility of resisting them. Proposing, therefore, to enter into peace negotiations, the Central Powers express the conviction that the conditions which they would be able to accept must guarantee the existence, honor, and free development of "their" peoples, and that these conditions will suffice to establish world peace. This is all the communication contains, except the threat to continue the war to a victorious end, and, in case of our refusal, to transfer to us and to our allies the responsibility for further bloodshed.

Under what circumstances do the Germans make this proposal? The armies of our enemies have devastated and occupied Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, a part of France, Russia, and Rumania. The Austro-Germans have just announced the autonomy of a part of Poland, and are trying in this way to get the whole Polish people into their hands. For whom, except for Germany, can such a situation be favorable for beginning peace negotiations?

But the motives of Germany's action become still clearer if we take into consideration the internal situation of our enemy. To try at the last moment to gain an advantage from his temporary seizures of territory, before his internal weakness has become manifest—this is the real purpose of the German proposal. In case of failure, our enemies will use the refusal of our allies to make peace, to raise the fainting spirits of their people.

There is also another illogical aim—in their failure to comprehend the true spirit which inspires Russia, our enemies flatter themselves with the hope that among us cowards may be found who, even for a moment, may allow themselves to be deceived by lying proposals. This will not happen!

No Russian heart is quaking. With greater unity than before will all Russia rise and stand like a wall around its supreme leader, who, at the beginning of the war, declared that "he would not make peace until the last enemy soldier had left Russian soil."

With still greater energy will the Russian Government strive to master the problems announced at your first meeting, the performance of the common task, as the only true means of reaching the goal dear to the heart of each of us—the final conquest of our enemy!

And the Russian Government rejects with indignation the thought of the base possibility of ceasing the struggle now, and merely giving to Germany the possibility of availing herself of the last chance to subject all Europe to her hegemony. All the countless sacrifices that we have made would be rendered unavailing by the premature conclusion of peace with an enemy whose forces are impaired but not yet rendered innocuous, and who seeks a breathing spell under the lying pretext of peace.

In this unshakable determination, Russia finds herself in complete unity of spirit with her glorious allies. We are all penetrated with the necessity, vital for us, of bringing the war to a victorious issue. And on that path we shall not allow ourselves to be stopped by any craft of our enemies.

The declaration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs received the unanimous

support of the Duma. The Council of State, after hearing the communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, resolved:

Having heard the communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Council of State unanimously joins in the decisive refusal of the Entente Governments to enter into peace discussions of any kind, in the present circumstances; and, believing, on their own part, that the German offer of peace is merely a further proof of the increasing weakness of our foes, and a hypocritical move, not calculated to bring any practical results, but to relieve the German Government of blame from German public opinion for beginning and continuing the war; that untimely peace would prove to be nothing but a brief armistice, bringing the danger of another sanguinary war and yet heavier sacrifices on the part of the people, and that a lasting peace is only possible after a definite victory over the military might of our foes, and after Germany has definitely renounced the tendencies which made it responsible for the world war with its accompanying horrors, the Council of State proceeds with the business of the day.

Pokrovsky's Later Address

M. Pokrovsky, the Foreign Minister, later made this further declaration regarding the policy of the Russian Government:

The course of Russia's foreign policy remains as before. No changes in the personnel of the Government can cause either change or hesitation with regard to the path chosen, once for all, for Russia to tread, in accordance to the directions traced by our supreme leader. War, fierce and unprecedented in its dimensions, continues as before to strain the strength of the contending nations to the utmost.

The attitude of the (Russian) Imperial Government toward the enemies' peace proposal was made known by my address before the Duma. That address pointed out that neither the contents of the recent proposal nor the circumstances under which it was made could admit of any conclusion except that the Germans desired to take advantage of their temporary territorial gains in order to raise the fainting spirits of their people in case the Allies refused to discuss peace; and, further, that they misunderstood the true spirit of Russia, if they have counted on the chance of faint-heartedness on our part.

President Wilson's Proposal

President Wilson's proposal concerning peace does not change the political situation created by the insincere and meaningless offer of peace made by Germany. We readily pay tribute to the humane purposes of the President of the United States, and we realize how neutral interests are affected by the war, especially in view of the methods of the enemy. However, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the American proposal came almost at the same time as the German. Nominally, Germany's proposal is a peace proposal, but in reality it is a piece of military strategy, because, while stating no conditions of peace in its note, the German Government proudly stands forth as the conqueror. Peace negotiations with Germany under such circumstances would presuppose our acceptance of that fact. Yet we are not conquered, and consequently we cannot accept any such assumption. As a counterweight to the vain thoughts of the Germans, we can show, as a guarantee of the successful ending of the war, the brilliant valor of our army, tempered in the fire of heavy trials, and, behind the army, the whole mighty Russian Nation, permeated throughout by the single thought that our land must be saved and the freedom of our future development guaranteed.

The one pledge and condition of victory is the unshakable strength of the bond which unites us to our brother allies. On the banks of the Meuse and of the Somme, on the heights about Gorizia and the Macedonian front they press against our common foe, and Russia rejoices to pay the tribute of her just admiration to their bravery and their self-sacrifice. Each of the Allies knows what we owe to each other and how imperative is the necessity of our close union in order that our common cause may be successful. With unshaken fortitude Russia will fight hand in hand with her allies until the enemy is brought low.

When Peace Comes

More than this: When peace comes, Russia hopes to maintain close relations with her present friends. The entente with France and England, widened by the accession of Italy, will remain the cornerstone of our foreign policy even after the war. The proof of the strength of the bond between the Allies lies in the agreement concerning the future of Constantinople and the strait, mentioned by the Prime Minister in his declaration before the Duma.

The friendly and peaceful collaboration of all our present friends is highly desirable in the future on economic grounds, its foundation having been already laid at the recent international conference at Paris, during which the Allies invested in common the means of ridding themselves from German domination in the sphere of commerce and finance after the end of the war, all decisions being built on the idea of the free collaboration of the Allies.

An end must be put to the economic as well as to the political hegemony of Germany. For us one of the most important purposes of this war is to secure to Russia the opportunity to pursue our economic aims in free-

dom; until now we have been bound hand and foot by our commercial agreements with Germany. The future conditions of Russia's foreign trade should assure to us the untrammeled development of the inexhaustible productive resources of our land and the completion of our economic machinery.

The Balkan Nations

The interests of all Slavs will be ever near to Russia's heart. At present, more than ever before, Russia's strong support and help are particularly needed for the regeneration and national growth of the Slavonic nations who arose with us for the defense of right and justice.

Recent events in Greece have perturbed public opinion in Russia as well as abroad —and this is easily understood. From the very beginning of the war, the guaranteeing powers, in whose hands rests the fate of Greece, and to whom Greece owes her national existence, relying on the repeated assurances of the Greek Government, were without doubt justified in expecting from Greece, if not a friendly attitude toward themselves, at least conduct conforming to reason. But, owing to the intrigues of our enemies and the light-minded tolerance of the authorities, the magnanimity of the powers, whose attitude toward Grece was that of the strong toward the weak, was wrongly interpreted in certain circles in Greece and taken as a sign of weakness. You know the circumstances under which detachments of soldiers of our allies have been attacked in Athens and the strife and bloodshed thereby caused in the Athenian streets.

Besides, at this time the Allies cannot for one moment allow the possible creation of conditions contrary to their military existence. Accordingly, the powers have at present the intention to add to the measures already taken by them further measures of a more definitely military character, calculated to end the indecision of Greece.

As to Rumania: The expectation of our enmy that his easy geographical victories might confuse the Rumanian people, shaking their resolve to fight on in the ranks of the Allies, have not been realized in the slightest degree. The Rumanians have faced with fortitude and courage the temporary trials which were sent to them. You know, no doubt, that Russia has hastened in a whole-hearted way to the rescue of her ally. The participation of the Russian Nation with its army in the destiny of Rumania ought to dissipate the wicked insinuations of the enemy that Rumania has been abandoned to her fate. At present, more than ever, Russia and Rumania present an unbroken front, both politically and in a military sense.

Russia and Japan

In the Far East the chief factor of our international situation is our relation with Japan, a part of the general relation between the Allies. During the present war the Government of Japan continues to be of the utmost service to us, in the task of furnishing our armies with certain supplies, which can be mentioned only with the liveliest gratitude. Our political collaboration with Japan, under the agreement of July 30, 1916, completes the chain which binds Russia, France, England, and Japan together, and is the source of the perfect stability of the situation in the Far East.

The victorious termination of the world war is the goal on which all the faculties of Russia are bent. Russian public opinion realizes this quite clearly, and the Russian press faithfully reflects the general conviction. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs draws strength necessary for the arduous tasks intrusted to it from the firm belief that, in this historical moment of her growth, Russia will preserve all her rights unimpaired.

The Czar's Rescript

Emperor Nicholas of Russia addressed to Prince Galitzine, President of the Council of Ministers, the following important rescript, which was published at Petrograd on Jan. 21:

Having intrusted to you the responsible post of President of the Council of Ministers, I deem the time opportune to indicate to you the immediate problems whose solution should be the aim of the principal efforts of the Government.

In the present stage of the evolution of the great war all the thoughts of all the Russias without distinction of nationality or of class are directed toward the brave and glorious defenders of our country, who, with keen expectation, are awaiting the decisive encounter with the enemy. In absolute solidarity with our faithful allies, admitting no thought of peace before definitive victory, I believe firmly that the Russian people, supporting with abnegation the burden of this war, will do their duty to the last without stopping at any sacrifice.

The resources of Russia are inexhaustible. They eliminate the danger of the country's exhaustion, a danger which apparently confronts our adversaries. But the question of the distribution of provisions, which is so important, is evidently complicated under present conditions. I therefore especially charge the Government unified in your person to have care alike for the revictualing of my brave armies and for the lessening of the inevitable difficulties that attend the furnishing of military supplies back of the firing line in this world war of nations.

I trust that the common efforts of all members of the Government will be concentrated upon the realization and development on a large scale of the measures recently adopted to that end. The task of provisioning the armies and the population demands co-operation in the measures adopted both by the authorities at the front and by the dif-

ferent departments unified under the direction of the Council of Ministers.

Another problem to which I attach predominant importance is that of the administration and ultimate bettering of railway and river transport. The Council of Ministers should work out decisive measures in this domain, assuring the complete utilization of all means of transport, in order to be able to furnish promptly all the necessary supplies for the army, both at the front and at the rear, thanks to the co-ordinated activities of all departments.

While indicating to you these immediate problems for your attention and labor, it gives me pleasure to believe that the activities of the Council of Ministers under your Presidency will have the support of the Imperial Council and of the Duma, united in a unanimous and ardent desire to carry on the war to a victorious end. I consider it the duty of all persons called to the service of the State to act with good-will, justice, and dignity as regards legislative institutions.

In the coming activities in organizing the nation's economic life the Government will find an indispensable support in the zemstvos, which, by their labors in time of peace and in time of war, have proved that they piously cherish the brilliant traditions of my grandfather, the Emperor Alexander II. of imperishable memory.

Turkey's Note to Neutrals

At the time when Germany and Austria issued notes to the neutrals in virtual retort to the Entente's reply of Dec. 12 to President Wilson, Turkey followed suit with a note which has finally reached the public through the French press. After remarking that Turkey has no reason to desire a hasty end of the war, "since no part of its territory is occupied by the enemy," the note continues:

The world knows the pretensions of France regarding Syria and Alsace-Lorraine, of Russia regarding Constantinople, the strait, and a great part of Anatolia, and the pretensions of England regarding Mesopotamia and Arabia. Equally well known are the intrigues of the Entente to hinder the natural development of Turkey. The Entente's plan of partition is contrary to the principle of nationalities, for the Entente no longer concerns itself with such principles when it is a matter of its own interests. The English protectorate over Egypt is contrary to those principles, for the Egyptian population has no relation with the English race. The annexation of Egypt, which is not English; the annexation of Tripoli, which is not Italian; the fantastic plan of Russia regarding Constantinople and the basin of the Sea of Marmora, a region whose inhabitants are largely Turkish and Mesopotamian—all these are violations of the principle of nationalities.

Like its allies, Turkey has been obliged to take up arms to defend its territory, its liberty, and its independence. Today, like its allies, Turkey believes its ends attained. The enemy powers, on the contrary, seeing the realization of their plans growing more and more remote, are correspondingly opposed to accepting reasonable propositions. The responsibility for the continuation of the sanguinary struggle must be laid at their door.

Vatican's Protest Against Belgian Deportations

A letter to Cardinal Mercier, written by the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, states that Pope Benedict has appealed to Germany to return the deported Belgians. The letter was sent on Nov. 29, 1916, and was read from the pulpit by the famous Archbishop of Malines, but has only recently been published in other countries. Cardinal Gasparri wrote as follows to Cardinal Mercier:

"The Pontiff, whose fatherly heart is deeply moved by all the sufferings of the well-beloved Belgian people, has instructed me to inform your Eminence that, taking a vivid interest in your people, who have been so harshly put on trial, he has already pleaded in their favor with the Imperial German Government, and that he will do everything in his power in order that an end may be put to the deportations, and that those who have already been carried off far from their country may soon be back amid their mourning families.

"His Holiness has also been pleased to intrust me with the agreeable mission of sending to your Eminence and the faithful diocese of Malines his very special benediction."

Peace Propagandas of Past Centuries

By Dr. Alfred Fried

Editor of the official Peace Organ, Friedenswarte, published in Zurich, Switzerland

President Wilson's efforts toward permanent peace have aroused worldwide interest, but few of those who praise or condemn his ideas have been aware of the vast perspective of similar peace propagandas in past centuries. The story of these is ably summarized for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Dr. Fried in the subjoined article.

THE idea of universal peace may be traced far back in the history of mankind. We find it appearing in the earliest ages of all peoples, and in the course of the centuries it has never been entirely obliterated. The idea, however, which lies at the bottom of the modern peace movement, concerning itself not merely with the glorification of peace and its advantages, but seeking for means by which to insure to mankind an establishment and perpetuation of its rights, began to make a distinct path for itself only when the modern idea of the State had begun to make itself felt. Not until State jurisprudence had found a firm footing could there be any thought of international jurisdiction or of any organization of civil corporations for the maintenance of peace.

The earliest traces of this idea lead us back to the great Utopians of the various empires of the world. A universal monarchy was the cherished idea of the apostles of peace of the Middle Ages and the earlier modern era. Many of the would-be reformers sought to establish universal peace by bringing the entire world under one yoke.

At the head of these peace precursors we find the great Dante, (1265-1321,) who in his book "De Monarchia" recommends a universal federation in which mankind was to live in peace and freedom under one monarch or President. Similar ideas appear now and again in the "Divina Commedia." Marsilius of Padua (1325) defended this idea, and the Abbé Honoré Bonnor, at the close of the fourteenth century, in his book the "Arbre de Bataille"—which he wrote at the suggestion of the French King, Charles the Wise—went so far as to advocate the subjection of his royal master to the Emperor, whom he regarded as the sole sovereign of the world. He supported his position by the teachings of the Bible.

On the threshold of modern times stands the Bohemian King, Podiebrad, who strove to bring about a European empire of peace between 1462 and 1463, the chief object of which was to be the subjugation of the Turks, who shortly before had overrun Europe. The inspirer of the idea was his Councilor, Anton de Marini of Grenoble. The leadership of this new Europe was to be assumed by the King of France. A federative council, to be chosen from the various nations, was to control the workings of this universal kingdom, and all controversies were to be settled by a court of arbitration. King Podiebrad's plan was shattered by the opposition it met from the Pope and the Emperor.

Peace Efforts of Erasmus

The great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536) did not fail to touch upon the idea of universal peace in his writings. He was a declared enemy of warfare, and in his works "Adagia," (1498,) "Antipolemos," the "Substitutio Principis Christiani," (1516,) as well as in the "Querela Pacis," (1516,) attacked its horrors with vehemence and severity. Especially in the "Querela" he left on record one of the most remarkable polemics of all time against warfare, which he regarded as fratricide when participated in by Christians, and as something which could only appeal to heathen and barbarians. He suggested a scheme for a universal Kingdom of Europe, in which peace should be established and maintained. To the rulers of his age he made the following invocation: "Everything calls for peace, first of all the natural human emotions and feelings; secondly the teachings of Christ, the lawmaker

and author of all human happiness; and thirdly the multitude of advantages which peace brings in her train, compared with the many disadvantages of war. If you estimate the cost you will find, even when you have been the victors, that you have lost more than you have gained."

Thomas More, (1478-1535,) the friend and contemporary of Erasmus and the author of the famous "Utopia," gave expression to his ideas on the subject of warfare by the attitude which he allowed the inhabitants of his island to assume. He characterized war as "brutal savagery," and declared fame won in battle to be a disgrace. The Utopians carried on their wars by means of barbaric mercenaries, considering themselves much too good for participation in the same.

About the year 1518 the English Cardinal and statesman Wolsey (1474-1536) was fired by the ambition of carrying out the idea of King Podiebrad, by making his master, Henry VIII., the head of a universal monarchy. At the close of the sixteenth century Giulio Ferrero of Ravenna gave expression to the same idea in a book on the science of warfare published in Vienna; in this case, however, the Pope was to be the head of the peace federation.

Plans of Henry IV.

The ideas of the age found their most pregnant expression in the great plans framed by Henry IV. of France (1589-1610) for the establishment of a universal monarchy. His scheme involved a political system by which all of Europe was to be organized and ruled as one big family. In the year 1602 Henry IV. put himself in touch with Queen Elizabeth of England, who is said to have cherished the same idea, and who supported the plans of the French monarch. In his undertaking he also had the co-operation of his Minister Rosny, Duke of Sully, (1560-1641,) whose publication, entitled "Memoires des sages et royales economies d'estat Henry le Grand," first made known the scope of the King's plans. For a long time the opinion was generally held that the entire project originated in Sully's brains, and that in order to inspire more confidence in his (Sully's) idea he accredited them to his royal master. More recently, however, a number of letters written by Henry to the Queen of England have come to light, which prove the incorrectness of this supposition. Henry's plan consisted in uniting fifteen of the greatest ruling Governments of his time into one Christian republic.

The States to be thus united were the six hereditary monarchies — France, Great Britain, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies—the Papal See, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, and the four republics—Venice, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Central Italy. Freedom of trade and religion was to be granted, and a Senate was to adjust controversies by arbitration.

Cologne or Metz was to be raised to the dignity of the capital of the empire, and the chief object of this peace federation was the subjugation of Turkey. For the rest, Henry's chief idea was to break the power of the Hapsburgs and set himself up as the ruler of united Europe, all of which plans were frustrated by the dagger of Ravaillac.

In the year 1623 a Frenchman, Emeric de Lacrois, (1590-1648,) under the pseudonym of Emericus Cruceus, published a work called the "Neue Cynee." The title alludes to the Greek statesman, Cineas, who advised his master, King Pyrrhus, to abandon his plans of conquest and live at peace with his neighbors. In the same way Lacrois advised the rulers of his century to govern their lands in peace, and to this purpose suggested a council, to be composed of representatives of all countries, to convene in Venice. The council was to have for its object the adjustment of the controversies of the various rulers, "whose heinous passions was the chief cause of war." Free trade he regarded as one of the chief factors in the preservation of peace, and he was the first to advocate the freedom and security of the high seas. National prejudice seemed to him absurd. The most significant feature of this scheme was the detailed manner in which he had worked out the idea of universal federation and permanent international jurisdiction. He further suggested that the Pope and the

King of France take the initiative in developing the idea.

Foundations Laid by Grotius

The Thirty Years' War, which brought to Europeans a full realization of the scourges of war, had a decided influence upon the peace movement, as it was there that the foundation of modern civil law was laid. The work of the Netherlander, Hugo Grotius, (1583-1645,) "De jure belli ac pacis," set forth for the first time the fundamental principles of international law, which were to hold good in time of war as well as in time of peace. He sketched out certain humane regulations, by virtue of which his labors were of great value, even though he did not work directly toward an idea of universal peace. His work reached its culminating point in the recognition of the common interests of the nations, and in expressing this idea Grotius was the first to lay down a fundamental principle for the modern conception of pacification.

He believed that when war became inevitable it could still be controlled by the laws of mankind and humanity, and his work marks the beginning of the restriction and retrenchment of warfare. If he did not propose any great scheme for the establishment of a universal monarchy, he at least pioneered the path along which future developments have been made. It was by following out his suggestions that civil rights developed gradually into international rights and became a powerful weapon against the injustice and injury of war. Grotius openly advocated that the highest duty of a Christian sovereign was not to improve the methods of warfare, but to abolish it entirely. "It is the chief duty of Christian sovereigns and States to pursue a path which leads to the avoidance of taking up arms." He suggested means by which war could be prevented, one of these, curiously enough, being the duel; but he also recommended congresses and courts of arbitration.

About the year 1640 the Bohemian philosopher and pedagogue, Amos Comenius, (1592-1670,) published a treatise, "Panegersia," in which he adjured mankind to unite in bringing about a peaceful solution of political controversies. The impulse to this appeal he received from "the barbaric scourge of war, at present unleashed throughout Europe." The cause of these frightful disorders he declared to be the fact that "neither rulers nor subjects know how to obey the laws, nor understand how to subordinate their passions to justice." The persons whose business it is to preserve peace and maintain justice must be aroused to a sense of their duty. He also gave clear expression to the idea of European arbitration conferences, but his entire appeal was drowned in the stormy waves of the Thirty Years' War.

One of the most conspicuous Generals of this war, Landgrave Ernst von Hessan Rheinfels, (1623-1693,) put himself on record both in his printed works and in his correspondence with Leibniz as being a friend of universal pacification. He sketched a plan for the establishment of a tribunal, the seat of which should be in Lucerne, as this city would serve as a suitable neutral point between Austria and France, the two greatest Catholic powers of the age.

Pufendorf's Arbitration System

One of the chief perpetuators of the ideas of Hugo Grotius was the German jurist, Samuel Baron von Pufendorf, (1631-1694,) who worked out a complete system of international arbitration. In the year 1680, during the time of the English revolution, Duke Charles of Lorraine (1604-1685) framed his political testament, which contained a plan for the maintenance of peace in Europe, and which, in more than one point, suggests the earlier plans of Henry IV. The testament was composed of twenty-six articles and provided for an Academy of thirteen politicians, whose protector was to be the King of Hungary.

A short time before this—1670—Spinoza (1632-1677) had opposed the idea of warfare in his political tracts. About 1676 the English diplomat, William Temple, (1628-1699,) made a plea for a European federation in his work "Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands."

John Bellers, a Quaker of Gloucester,

England, published a treatise in 1710 bearing the title "Some Reasons for a European States," &c. Bellers also suggests a congress, senate, or parliament which should have representation. His plans comprised a complete scheme for a European confederation.

St. Pierre's Elaborate Plan

At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was again a Frenchman who came forward with a comprehensive project for the establishment of a great peace federation of the European States. The French Abbé Castel de Saint Pierre (1658-1743) was moved by the Peace of Utrecht to develop his plans, to which he had already given publicity in a work called "Projet de la Paix perpetuel." St. Pierre also recommends a European Senate, to be composed of twenty-four Deputies sent by the various powers. A big European alliance was to protect the nations and insure to them the elimination of future warfare. Every State was to desist from going to war, and a tribunal, supported by all the States, was to be given full executive power in deciding all controversies.

St. Pierre's project is the most comprehensive one ever written on the subject. It created a great sensation among his contemporaries, and was commented upon in detail by the most conspicuous writers of the day. The great philosopher Leibnitz (1646-1716) greeted the work of the abbé with extreme cordiality. "I have read your work with close attention, and cherish the conviction that such a project is not only possible of execution, but that its accomplishment would be of the most incalculable benefit to humanity"; so he writes to the author. In his own work on "Jurisprudence" Leibnitz comes back to the idea of universal peace. Montesquieu (1687-1755) occupies himself with the subject of war in his "Reflexions sur la Monarchie Universelle," which appeared in 1724. War he regards as justifiable under certain conditions, but deplores the sad results, and recommends humane principles and greater moderation in the conduct of war.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the great common-law scholar Christian von Wolff (1679-1754) and Vattel (1714-1767) carried the ideas of Grotius still further. The former in his work "Le but des états naturel" and "Institutionis juris natural et gentium" developed the idea of international rights and international intercourse; the latter in his "Völkerrecht" advocated the advantages of arbitration, which he characterized as "the most rational and natural means of adjusting controversies."

Early German Pacifists

In the year 1764 were published the writings of a Göttingen scholar, Professor Trotze, under the title of "Der einige und der allgemeine Friede in dem durch ein beständiges Bündniss zu einem Staatskörper zu vereinigenden Europa," ("A universal peace through a union of the European nations into one State by means of a permanent alliance,") in which allusion is again made to the peace ideas of Henry IV. In the year 1766 the French Academy received anonymous instructions to offer a prize for the best treatise directed against warfare. This contest was undoubtedly the inspiration of more than one examination into the peace problem. As a direct result of it there appeared in Germany Lilienfels's "Neues Staatsgebäude," ("A New State Structure,") with a strongly marked anti-war tendency; "Gedanken zur Verbesserung der menschlichen Gesellschaft," ("Thoughts on the Bettering of Human Society,") by Loen, and in Holland van der Marken's "Rechten von den Mensch," ("Rights of Man.")

About this time the most conspicuous French statesman and finance politician, Turgot, (1727-1781,) made a plea for the plan of a European federative republic. Free trade, centralization of power, a militia for the enforcement of decrees form the cornerstones of this not uninteresting system. In 1769 an anonymous work appeared in London under the title of "Essai sur les préjugés," in which so vehement an attack was made upon war as to provoke an incisive reply from Frederick the Great.

In 1777 "Tableau politique et littéraire de l'Europe," by Mayer, appeared, setting forth the necessity of an organ-

AN OASIS IN THE LAND WHERE BRITONS AND TURKS ARE FIGHTING

This Beautiful Scene in Egypt Is Near Cairo and the Pyramids of Gizeh. A Hundred Miles to the East, Across the Desert, the Turks Have Been Vainly Attacking the British Forces Guarding the Suez Canal.

(© *Brown & Dawson.*)

ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN SEEN FROM AN AEROPLANE

This Remarkable View of the Great Cathedral at Rome Was Taken from a Point Over the Tiber. In the Centre Are the Piazza San Pietro and St. Peter's Itself, and on the Right Is the Vatican, with the Pontifical Palace Extending to the Extreme Right.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

ized state of peace, together with the need of a European congress. In the same year Richard Price, in England, laid out the fundamental principles of an international senate, which was to adjust controversies between the nations. The Marquis of Condocet, (1743-1794,) a friend of Turgot's and one of the "Encyclopedists," directed a sharp attack against war in his "Lobrede auf Pascal," ("Eulogy of Pascal,") Later he declared war to be the greatest of all crimes and expressed the hope that it would gradually disappear.

Between 1790 and 1795 the French National Assembly occupied itself repeatedly with the question of peace and war, the discussions often leading to the severe condemnation of the latter. The Constitution of Sept. 3, 1791, contains the resolution to abandon wars of conquest.

Kant on Perpetual Peace

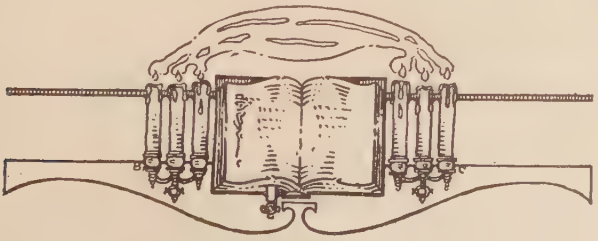
In the year 1795 Immanuel Kant's great philosophic work, "Zum ewigen Frieden," ("For Perpetual Peace,") appeared. As early as 1784, in a treatise "Die Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltburgerlichen Absicht," ("The Idea of a General History from a Cosmopolitan Viewpoint,") as well as in the essay "Ueber das Verhältnis der Theorie zur Praxis," ("The Relation of Theory to Practice,") he had defended the idea of a natural and necessary development of mankind into a federated commonwealth, and also the necessity of a general league, composed of all the nations, for the maintenance of eternal peace.

In the last-named writing he gave expression to his firm conviction that in the course of historic development the nations would be forced to enter into federative relations, which would entirely eliminate war. The work "Zum ewigen Frieden" is in the form of a treatise on international law. Kant regards war as a natural condition; as long as men carry on warfare they have not grown out of their primitive natural state. Peace, on the other hand, he regards as an institution; Kant would prescribe a day of repentance after each war, and emphasizes the strict immorality in dedicating thankofferings and hymns of victory to the chiefs of the conquering armies. He gives three articles as fundamental principles in this institution of peace:

1. The civil constitution in every State must be republican. [Kant here means democratic.—Ed.]
2. International law must be based on a federation of free States.
3. International rights of citizenship must rest upon conditions of universal hospitality.

The Peace League shall be no federative State, but a union of free States held together by a peace contract—the effort of the union being not to end one particular war by the terms of this contract, but to abolish war entirely.

"Permanent peace," writes Kant, "will be assured when the most powerful of the world have a constitution of representation. * * * International law must be founded on a federation of such free States. The federation would be given a firm foundation if two or three of the most powerful of these States would declare: 'There shall be no more war between us!' Such a peace league alone can lead us away from the lawless conditions which accompany war, provided the various civilized nations subject themselves to its constitutional restrictions."



Forcing Belgians to Work in Germany

New Documents in the Case

THE protest of the United States Government against the Belgian deportations was answered by the German Government on Dec. 13, 1916, and the text of that reply, as given out to the German press, was printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The official text, since made public by the State Department at Washington, is substantially the same as that just referred to, except that it adds the following paragraphs inviting the United States Government to send a member of its Berlin Legation to make a personal investigation of the conditions among the Belgians now working in Germany:

The unemployed are being sent from the central receiving places, which have been established at Altengrabow, Guben, Cassel, Maschede, Münster, Saltau, and Wittenberg, to their working places, where they are to be employed in agricultural and industrial establishments.

Employments to which a hostile population cannot be coerced, in accordance with international law, are, of course, excluded. If the Government of the United States attaches importance to it a member of its embassy in Berlin will be permitted with pleasure to inform himself by a personal visit about the conditions under which these persons are living.

The German Government greatly deplores that, by a slandering press campaign of her enemies, the conditions as explained above have been completely distorted by the United States. The German Government would likewise extremely deplore, not the least in the interest of the Belgian population, if by these distortations the highly beneficial action of the Relief Committee should be hampered.

The German Government, finally, feels obliged to point out the fact that the deportation of the German population from parts of Germany and from German colonies occupied by hostile troops, especially the deportation of women, children, and old persons from Eastern Prussia to Siberia, as far as it is known here, has not given the neutral States any inducements to take steps against the respective Governments similar to those now being taken against Germany. At all events, there can be no doubt that the enemy measures mentioned were gross violations of the laws of humanity and of the rules of international law, while, after the explanations given, the measures of the German Government are absolutely in accordance with these principles.

The State Department at Washington announced on Jan. 24 that it had instructed Ambassador Gerard to accept the German Government's offer to permit an investigation. At that time the deportations totaled more than 125,000 and were still proceeding. A week later came the break of diplomatic relations and the recall of Mr. Gerard, before any thorough steps could be taken to accomplish the task.

Hunted Down by Soldiers

At the close of January a dispatch via The Hague stated that deportations from Brussels were being made at the rate of 350 men daily, and that many of these were skilled workmen who had been engaged at least a part of the time in their trades. The dispatch continues:

In some provinces the Belgians are adopting methods of passive resistance in efforts to escape deportation. This resistance takes the form of failing to appear at the appointed place of examination. Out of 1,700 men called in five communes near Malines, not more than one-half presented themselves. Thereupon the German military authorities arrested three prominent men in each commune, holding them as hostages until the appearance of the absentees, who in the meantime were hunted by squads of soldiers. In Brussels many of the summoned men who failed to appear are now in hiding.

About 1,000 Belgians connected with the work of the American Relief Commission—members of provincial and communal committees or helpers in storehouses, mills, or soup kitchens—have been deported to Germany over the strong protest of the commission. As a result of vigorous protests, however, a few of these men have been returned to their homes, and no others are being taken.

At the same time the Belgian Government at Havre received information that when a large number of laborers had been assembled in Berlaer, Santhoven, Viersel, and other towns, the men, frightened by the German methods, suddenly fled into the neighboring woods, where they were pursued unsuccessfully by the German soldiers. In reprisal the

Germans seized the Mayors and other prominent citizens and imprisoned them at Mechlin. Troops were also billeted on the wealthier people, and, as further punishment, the residents of these towns were forbidden to leave their homes after 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Sufferings of Ghent Victims

Twenty workmen of Ghent, who had been deported to Germany, returned home in January and afterward drew up a sworn report of their experiences, which was transmitted secretly to the Belgian Government at Havre and made public by the Ministry of Justice. The report reads in part as follows:

Our journey from Germany to France was made in closed cars, each containing forty men and women. Arriving in France late one afternoon we were compelled to march on a muddy road in the dark in such a way that we had to support one another to avoid falling into the ditches. Six hundred and fifty workmen found lodgings in barns and stables, sleeping on straw and covered with hay. Our journey from Germany occupied sixteen and a half hours, and this was followed by an hour's hard march, when many fell down too exhausted to eat even such little food as they could get.

It was absolute slavery. We had no fire, no light, no medical or nursing attendance for the sick. We worked with spades, shovels, and picks assisting the German military engineers. Great difficulty was encountered by the German authorities in compelling us to work. We had been assured in Ghent that no military work would be required of us. We had been assured also that we should work in Belgium and not elsewhere, and therefore we refused to work.

For two days we were left in peace. Then came a peremptory call at 6:30 one morning for us to report in a body. Tools were brought to us by some twenty pioneer soldiers. We declined to respond, arguing that we were badly cared for, that we were in France and not in Belgium, and that the proposed work had a military purpose. Our commander, an affable man, said that unless we worked he feared that we would suffer unhappy consequences. Presently the chief of the pioneers appeared on horseback together with another officer, who ordered us to work. Again there was a general refusal. Thereupon the two men on horseback rushed upon us, whipped us and pressed us back into a meadow close by. The soldiers also assaulted us, kicking us with great violence.

Nevertheless we refused to work, insisting that the promises made to us in Ghent should be fulfilled. The chief of the pioneers then ordered us to advance in order to have a talk with him. A dozen left the ranks and reminded the commandant of the promises he had previously made that we should be well fed and lodged and not be compelled to work outside of Belgium nor for a military purpose. Thereupon the chief of the pioneers ordered a squad of soldiers to load their rifles, raise them to their shoulders, and take aim. Overcome by terror many gave way, and an hour afterward everybody was at work, unable to resist the pressure of the menace.

We worked in the rain, wind, and sleet with soaked garments. It was impossible to dry our clothing by night in the barn, and we put them on again in the morning still wet. Everybody suffered terribly from hunger. Laborers had raw cabbages and potatoes. Even a hedgehog was fetched at night and prepared on a stove. Men were so weak they were unable to move, and the sick lay in heaps. Fresh promises were made but never carried out.

At every stage we stubbornly opposed the authorities, yielding only when we were threatened with rifle fire. At night to protect the ill from the frightful cold we covered them with blankets, while those who were stronger walked up and down to keep warm. The seesaw struggle continued for a long stretch of days and nights. At times the sick were compelled to drag the field kitchens from Montigny to a neighboring village.

Finally our release came, followed by a long and agonizing journey by way of Laon, Guise, Le Cateau, Aulnoy, Valenciennes, Courtrai, and Deynize. During the whole journey we received neither food nor drink.

We feel bound to report these facts in the hope of causing an amelioration of the conditions under which our fellow-countrymen are still suffering.

Text of German Memorial Defending Belgian Deportations

THE following memorial in defense of the deportation and forced employment of Belgian workingmen was communicated by the German Government on Jan. 20 to the State Department at Washington and to the Foreign Offices of other neutral nations:

The compulsory employment of Belgian workmen in German establishments is being seized upon by our enemies as a welcome opportunity for inflaming public opinion in the

neutral and hostile countries against this alleged latest violation of the Belgian people. This effort at arousing sentiment against Germany is threatening to assume considerable proportions, and it may even be considered probable that the Entente will attempt to move neutral Governments or high personages in neutral countries to make a formal protest. It seems therefore necessary, to prevent a one-sided judgment on this question from being formed, to elucidate the causes and the effects of the measures to which exception is being taken.

Those who are far removed from the war theatres and can therefore form only a superficial opinion of the conditions obtaining in the occupied territories in the west may not, perhaps, readily understand that the measures which have been adopted are not only in no wise detrimental to the population from an economic point of view, but that they have become, as it were, a social necessity in view of the peculiar conditions which prevail there. Those who wish to comprehend these facts will first of all have to gain a clear conception of the extent of unemployment in Belgium and its consequences.

The principal cause for this unemployment is to be found in the ruthless application of the British blockade even as against Belgium. Belgian industries are dependent on the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured goods to such an extent that the almost complete throttling of Belgium's foreign trade by England was bound to lead automatically to the closing down of by far the greater part of the Belgian factories.

Blockade Cripples Industries

This is especially true of the important iron and steel industry, the textile and clothing industries, the ceramic and glass industries, which altogether employ over half a million workmen in peace times; it is also true of the leather, tobbaco, paper, and chemical industries. The fishing industry also has ceased completely as a result of the blockade. A number of other enterprises had to close down because the materials employed, as well as their transportation, had become so dear that they were working at a loss; this happened, for example, in the building industry (which in peace time employs 95,000 workers) and in the wood and furniture industry, (which normally employs 80,000 workers.) That the important mining industry is still able to employ nine-tenths of its 145,000 workers is due solely to the extensive coal exports to Germany; similarly the quarries employ one-third of their former working force of 35,000, chiefly in order to fill German orders.

It is frequently asserted in Belgium that German requisitions of raw materials and machinery had considerably increased the lack of employment. This assertion is not in accordance with the facts because these requisitions were made chiefly in such factories as, for one or another of the reasons enumerated, were unable to continue at work.

Due to the above-mentioned causes it has come about that out of 1,200,000 men and women who before the war were working in Belgian industrial establishments, comprising approximately one-half of the total population of Belgium engaged in gainful pursuits, 505,000 people (including 158,000 women) are totally unemployed, while 150,000 (including 46,000 women) are only partially employed. Thus in all 655,000 persons who formerly were earning their living as industrial workers are now dependent upon public charity. If, moreover, 293,000 wives and 612,000 children of the unemployed are added, the figure rises to 1,560,000 people in need of asistance—approximately one-fifth of the total Belgian population.

"Workers Tempted Into Idleness"

It is obvious that in a highly developed industrial country like Belgium the conditions described, which are without parallel in history, must of necessity lead to the gravest economic and social evils. The sums so far expended in procuring the minimum of subsistence for the unemployed and their dependents reach a total of 300,000,000 francs, and they promise in future to amount to no less than 20,000,000 francs monthly. And although foreign countries undertook to finance this relief work, in the last analysis the burden must be borne by the national economy of Belgium. Not only are the values thus unproductively expended a total loss to Belgium's economic life, but they also do it much harm. Owing to the relief granted them, the workers are tempted into continued idleness, with the result that today Belgian employers are with difficulty able to obtain the workmen necessary to keep their concerns going.

In view of the great number of the unemployed, this fact throws into strong relief the economic evils which have arisen in Belgium because of unemployment. But from the social point of view the present state of affairs must be characterized as absolutely intolerable, if the consequences are considered which permanent idleness is bound to produce among the laboring people themselves. It is self-evident that the skilled worker will in course of years lose his skill through lack of practice, and his usefulness to Belgian industry after the war will therefore be considerably diminished. Likewise, the unskilled worker, accustomed to a regular expenditure of energy, will deteriorate physically through prolonged idleness. Morally, the continuance of present conditions would have truly disastrous results. The laboring classes would end by losing entirely the sense of humiliation which all morally sound people feel when they are obliged to appeal to the charity of strangers for their sustenance; they would

lose their pride in being able to support their families by their own efforts. The old proverb that idleness is the fruitful mother of vice is being confirmed to an unusual degree in the Belgian workman, who is inclined to consider life from the materialistic aspect. In wide circles of these classes of the population idleness is resulting in drunkenness and moral abandonment, which engender manifold dangers to the family life.

To all these circumstances must be added the ever-increasing misery of the working-class families, who have used up their last savings and are now granted the means for no more than the satisfaction of the barest material necessities. Such conditions cannot but lead to a weakening of the fibre, material, and morale of the Belgian people.

The Governor General of Belgium, Baron von Bissing, realized at an early date the grave importance of this question for the population of the territory under his administration, and turned his entire attention to it from the beginning of his tenure of office. So far as the demands of a state of war permitted, he promoted the revival of trade and industry and favored all such importation and exportation as had not been rendered impossible by the British blockade. He also urged the Belgian municipalities to undertake emergency works of public utility in so far as this could be done without overburdening the municipal finances. The ever-growing dimensions which relief for the unemployed were assuming was of constant concern to him, for he had long since recognized that this dependence upon charity was bound to encourage laziness and increase the number of unemployed. Consequently he took occasion again and again to remind the authorities subordinate to him to take care that the aid granted to the unemployed did not militate against the resumption of work, and he also urged the heads of the relief committees to bear this in mind.

Denies Forcing Military Work

By means of all these measures the evil could be restricted but it could not be eliminated, for the deeper-lying cause of it, the British blockade, was making itself felt more and more as time went on. Hence the Governor General was obliged in the preceding year to resort to more effective means in order to check the idleness which was increasing among the population. At the initiative of clear-sighted Belgians and with the cooperation of the competent Belgian Ministry, he issued in August, 1915, an ordinance against idleness, which was supplemented and made more rigorous in March, 1916. These ordinances provided for the compulsory removal of workers to places of work only in those cases in which the unemployed person refuses, without satisfactory reason, to perform work of which he is capable and for which he is offered adequate remuneration; every reason for refusal based on international law is regarded as satisfactory. A laborer cannot, therefore, be forced to participate in work of a military character. The ordinances are directed, in the first place, against certain organized influences that are trying to keep the laborers from voluntarily accepting remunerative work for no other reason than that it is offered by the Germans. The ordinances are based on the scund legislative consideration that the liberty of the individual should be restricted in the interest of the common weal.

Now that the evils which gave rise to these ordinances have developed absolutely intolerable conditions, the ordinances have to be carried into effect on a larger scale than heretofore. Before they are applied the unemployed are given an opportunity to enter of their own will into remunerative labor contracts, and coercive measures are resorted to only in cases of obstinate refusal, which in most instances are found to be the result of instigation. The unemployed who are sent to Germany are placed there on the same footing with the German laborers and are receiving higher wages than were ever given in Belgium. Provision has been made that a part of these wages be turned over to the relatives who have remained at home. The laborers are also permitted to correspond with their families, and they are granted home leaving at regular intervals. On request they may even take their families with them to Germany. Religious services are provided in their native tongue.

The great advantages which accrue to the Belgian laborers from the opportunity to work thus granted them, in contrast to their previous lamentable condition, are so obvious that for a long time past thousands of them have voluntarily made use of the offer and have found profitable work in Germany. Happy to have escaped the misery resulting from the many months of unemployment and the humiliation of public support, they have been able to regain their physical and moral strength through their return to their normal occupation. They are enabled to better their economic condition and provide for their families by the labor of their own hands, and once more to lay by savings for the future. Their temporary transplantation to another country does not frighten them; Belgian laborers are accustomed to travel from place to place, and in time of peace they were wont to hire themselves out, frequently for many months, to employers in the southern industrial districts of their country or in those of Northern France for a far smaller increase in wage than is offered them today.

Belgian Legation's Reply to German Memorandum

EMMANUEL HAVENITH, the Belgian Minister to the United States, issued a statement on Jan. 28—with the approval of his Government—in rejoinder to the German defense of the Belgian deportations. The statement, a copy of which was filed with the State Department at Washington, is as follows:

In a communication recently published in the newspapers in the United States the German Government declares that the deportation of Belgians is a social necessity, on account of the great number of unemployed Belgians, and that this situation has been caused by the British blockade.

The legation of Belgium, thinking that its silence might give currency to this false statement, deems it its duty to point out some of the absolutely erroneous assertions made in that communication.

According to the German Government, the principal cause of the great number of unemployed in Belgium is the British blockade, so that it is incorrect to say that the requisition by Germany of raw materials and machinery has in great part caused this situation. According to the statement of the German Government, the machinery and raw materials were seized only because of lack of workmen.

In reality what has happened is the exact contrary to the statement of Germany, and, as in the case of the deportations, it is the Germans who have created a state of affairs upon which they have afterward endeavored to establish the justification of the illegal measures taken by them.

On June 30, 1915, the legation of the King (the Belgian Legation at Washington) officially protested against the seizure of raw materials amounting to the sum of $17,000,000. Other official protests have been made under dates of Dec. 29, 1914, March 4, 1915, and Oct. 29, 1915, against the seizure of machines and tools requisitioned by the Germans in Belgium and sent into Germany. Belgian industries having been thus prevented from continuing work, there followed an increase in the number of unemployed, due entirely to the action of Germany, who has not hesitated to sacrifice Belgian interests, as, indeed, General von Bissing openly acknowledged when he recently declared that he was not in Belgium to watch over the interests of that country but to take care of the interests of Germany.

[After discussing financial conditions and the war tax of $8,000,000 a month imposed on Belgium, the statement says:]

When Germany had thus reduced to idleness a large number of workmen she decided to export them into Germany in order to liberate in this way an equal number of German workmen, who would rejoin the German Army in the field. This plan was conceived a long time in advance, as one may see by reading the official orders of the German Government.

[After quoting orders to bear out its contention, the statement says:]

Today it is no longer a question of forced labor in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

Today it is no longer a question only of the deportation of the unemployed. According to information received by the Government of the King, employed and unemployed—all those whom the German Government thinks that it can utilize—are deported into Germany.

The number of these unfortunates is today more than 120,000.

This, again, Germany, after having created a situation, makes of it a pretext for the justification of her illegal actions, for these actions are illegal, whatever may have been the cause which created the situation. The German note handed to the Government of the United States declares:

These ordinances provided for the compulsory removal of workers to places of work only in those cases in which the unemployed person refuses, without satisfactory reason, to perform work of which he is capable and for which he is offered adequate remuneration; every reason for refusal based on international law is regarded as satisfactory. A laborer cannot, therefore, be forced to participate in work of a military character.

This false statement is the strongest condemnation of the German system of deportation. What higher motive, based upon international law, could exist than the refusal of a Belgian citizen to go and work in Germany when he knows that this work will liberate a German workman, who will rejoin the enemy army and fight against his brothers? * * *

These unfortunate workmen are being deported into Germany, where they are employed on work of a military or semi-military nature, such as in lime-kilns and cement plants, when they are sent near the firing line. However that may be, their presence in Germany liberates German workmen, who go to rejoin the army in the field; it is, therefore, a violation of international law in spirit and in letter.

It is a return to an institution which has been definitely suppressed by civilized nations. The United States especially, in order

to assure the abolition of this institution, did not hesitate to give its utmost resources and to sacrifice the blood of its noblest sons: the greatest among these, Lincoln, died a martyr to this cause, and his name is forever linked with this victory of humanity over the darkness of the past.

Today a nation which calls itself civilized wishes to reintroduce this abomination in the twentieth century. A fact more grave, if it is possible that anything could be more grave, is that she wishes to justify her re-establishment of the institution upon the principles of international law—this code of civilization which the peoples of the earth have drawn up by common accord to open to humanity the path of progress.

If this theory should be accepted it would mean the shipwreck of all the acquisitions, of all the progress that civilization has made during these recent centuries, for it would be an admission that all the efforts made in the past for the advancement and progress of humanity, and which are set forth in the various treaties and conventions, could be used as justification for the re-establishment of the most hideous evil from which humanity has suffered.

German Methods in Northern France

Personal Experiences of Repatriated Citizens of Roubaix and Tourcoing

FIFTEEN HUNDRED French civilians from the occupied portions of Northern France, chiefly from the neighborhood of Roubaix and Tourcoing, were sent back into France by way of Switzerland in the first week of January. A representative of Le Temps, Paris, talked with a man and wife who had been allowed to leave Roubaix after closing up their home, and they told him this pitiful story:

The young people of Roubaix, including the son of these parents, had been taken away by the Germans to a reconcentration camp. A few days before leaving for Switzerland this couple learned that the young men and women were to return to their homes. They did return, but before being given back to their families they were herded in a barrack of the "kommandatur." The son in question, succumbing to fatigue, fell asleep. Suddenly armed guards noisily entered the hall where the young men were confined. The son, waked by the noise of this sudden irruption, instinctively raised his arms in a gesture of self-defense. The soldiers seem to have seen in this gesture either a movement of revolt or an intention of irony. At any rate, one of them, furious, ran his bayonet through the young man's body. The next day they delivered to the parents the dead body, absolutely naked, robbed of its clothes and of everything that the young man had possessed.

The bereaved parents furnished to Le Temps the following details regarding the German methods of administration in the occupied districts:

"Every man and woman, regardless of age, has received a 'house card' and a personal number to prevent the inhabitants from leaving their homes. Each house has nailed to its threshold an official placard with the full names, ages, and sexes of all its inhabitants.

"The boys and young men of fourteen years or more are sent to the concentration camps. The young women and girls likewise are torn from their families and assembled in groups, pell-mell with women of evil life, with the lowest prostitutes. Thence they are sent into the camps, where they are 'divided' according to the tasks imposed upon them, as, for example, 'serving the officers.' On arriving at their destinations they are systematically deprived of the right to communicate with their families. Young married couples have thus been separated without the husband and wife being able to know what has become each of the other.

"In Germany the heaviest kind of labor is imposed on the deported people, accompanied by a severe régime of terrorism and penalties, wounds, blows with rifle stocks, insufficient and impossible food, barbarous punishments. A single wooden bowl serves alike for containing food and for the elementary needs of

cleanliness. Most of the victims sleep on the ground, without shelter, exposed to all the biting winds. Under this régime many become worn out, lose flesh, and succumb to fatal disease. The rest fall into a state of frightful emaciation.

"As for the levies in mass, this is how the Germans operate: In the evening they warn the occupants of a house to have themselves in readiness early the next morning before the door of their home. The next day at the appointed hour they are all obliged to range themselves in front of the house and remain there, however long the time may be, whatever the weather, rain or snow, sometimes for several hours, waiting until the officers have made their choice among them. Old men, who under no circumstances ought to be taken out of their homes, have died of cold after vain protests, having been unable to obtain permission to go inside. After the choice of victims has been made by the officers, the separations, of course, are heartrending.

"It frequently happens that the officers, passing the inhabitants of a house in review, notice women and girls whose beauty or prettiness piques their attention. Woe to them! Their names are inscribed on a special list and sent to the 'Kommandatur,' which will not delay to invite them to the officers' quarters. Those who refuse to go will be punished promptly with a month's imprisonment. At the expiration of that time, if they refuse again, it is the fortress that closes upon them. Finally, a further refusal brings upon them a veritable sentence to forced labor.

"Last Summer, during the offensive on the Somme, the inhabitants of Roubaix and Tourcoing heard the cannon thundering and cherished high hopes. Liberty seemed near to them. The Germans themselves expected to see their lines pierced. Becoming very amiable, they announced their coming departure, saying: 'The French are great warriors. We are raising carrots, but you will eat them without us.' In the banks all the papers were tied up ready to be sent away. The rear-guard troops had taken their stations for the evacuation of the occupied territory. Everybody asked, meanwhile, why the French did not break through the German lines. The inhabitants had boarded up all their windows and taken stoves and provisions down into their cellars, hoping for the bombardment that would free them, preferring this bombardment of Frenchmen by Frenchmen rather than the nightmare of not knowing whether they could sleep another night in their own beds, of being exposed to the worst reprisals at the slightest frown of the 'Kommandatur.'

"Now all is changed. The enemy has fortified all his works of defense. The inhabitants have been compelled to labor on these fortifications without pay, the withholding of food being for our enemies the surest means of compelling our unhappy compatriots to give this indispensable assistance.

"Every time that their troops report a little military success, apparent or real, the Germans ring the bells. For a long time we had not heard them at Roubaix and Tourcoing. On the day of the taking of Bucharest they rang for two hours.

"The Germans have become more arrogant than ever. They starve the population through the enormous prices of all provisions. One cannot get a kilo of meat (about 2¼ pounds) for less than 25 francs, ($5.) A kilo of potatoes costs 20 francs, an egg 1½ francs, (30 cents,) a pair of shoes 75 francs, ($15;) so almost everybody is shod with hemp slippers or sandals. A zone a kilometer wide has been established along the Belgian frontier to prevent the passing of certain provisions, such as butter and milk, which we had previously procured at better rates. The inhabitants of that zone are not allowed to keep in their houses more than two days' supply of food. All in excess of that is confiscated under the pretext of feeding those who have nothing. In reality it is the Germans who utilize it.

"The people of Roubaix and Tourcoing have access only to two German newspapers, which publish false news. If they wish French journals they can sometimes succeed in buying them from the German officers themselves, who sell them very dear—$10 a copy!"

An English Mother and Her Dead Boy

Harold Begbie's Tribute

Mr. Begbie recently contributed to The London Chronicle this touching tribute to the tens of thousands of British youths who have perished in great waves on the battle front.

THE other day there died in France a boy from Clayesmore School, who had been loved by all who knew him. He was a boy's hero, a mother's hero, and the pride of his regiment. He had won the Military Cross and the D. S. O. And he died in the flush and rapture of his youth. His mother's letter to the headmaster, which has been printed in the school magazine, tells the story of his end in language so moving and so beautiful that I wish to give it to a wider public. This boy was in the Rifle Brigade and his Colonel said of him, "He was the best company commander by far that I have seen out here. * * * As I said in my recommendation of him for a D. S. O., he was the finest type of fighting officer I have ever seen."

A telegram from the War Office came to this boy's home one day, telling his parents that he was seriously wounded and that they might visit him at Abbeville. The father was unable to go, but an hour after the telegram arrived the mother and another son had started for France. They arrived an hour and a half too late, and yet not too late for such a farewell as will live in their souls forever. This is what the mother says:

We saw him in the mortuary looking such a soldier, and the dear forehead was hardly cold when I kissed it. He was covered with the union jack and lay in front of the little altar, just the supreme sacrifice. We stayed to the funeral early Thursday, when a Captain Johnson and three privates shared the same service. One other mother was there, who had nursed her boy for some days ere he went, and we three mourners stood in the glorious sunshine, the blue sky piled with grand banks of white clouds; and when the service was over the buglers saluted us and them, and, standing between us and the open graves, sounded the "Last Post" and the "Reveille" as I have never heard it before and never shall again. It must have rolled beyond the clouds and down the vaults of heaven till J. himself must have heard it. Then we hastened back to England to tell the news we dared not wire.

When you read these few words do you not seem to see in this one mother and this one son the whole human tragedy and also the whole human glory of war? The boy was what he was because of that breast which had fed him, those arms which had held him, that love which had enriched him, inspired him, and consecrated his young soul. And this devotion of the mother has for its end a grave in France. There was the brave parting in England when he went out to fight, and then the last kiss on the dear forehead which was hardly cold. And yet there is no agonized cry of revolt from the mother, no furious imprecations, no bitterness of soul. For the son, death in the glory and beauty of his youth: for the mother, a memory of all he was to her, from infancy to the hour of farewell. "He was covered with the union jack and lay in front of the little altar, just the supreme sacrifice."

So England stoops and kisses the dear foreheads of her youth, covering them with her flag, laying them before the altar of God's judgment, leaving them there as just the supreme sacrifice. She has mothered them from infancy under Summer and Winter skies, giving them her roses to love, her hedgerows to hunt, her hills to climb, her great winds to make them strong, and her history for a tradition and an inspiration. She is bereft of her youth. She hears the "Last Post" sounding for them, and wonders if "reveille" will sound for us.

Shall it be in vain
His dazzling courage, his piteous pain?
Shall our glorious flag that he flung so high
Slide down but an inch in the starry sky?

There is only one thing in England more moving than the death of these glorious children. It is the courage of their mothers. And that courage for us who remain should sound an eternal, a resistless reveille in our souls.

The Greatest Battle in History

Text of General Sir Douglas Haig's Report on the Battle of the Somme

THE British War Office made public on Dec. 29, 1916, an exhaustive and important dispatch, which had been received by Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War, from General Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British forces in France. That dispatch, here published in full, covers the British operations on the Somme from May 19 to Nov. 15, 1916. It is the first official story in proper sequence of the battles for Pozières, Contalmaison, Guillemont, Combles, Ginchy, Delville Wood, Longueval, Martinpuich, Flers, Courcelette, Thiepval, and a score of other fights, which will for long years to come stir the blood in British veins. The results of this desperate struggle the British Commander in Chief summarizes as follows:

GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects.

The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year. Neither the victors nor the vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense.

Sir Douglas Haig states that the object of the Allies' offensive on the Somme was threefold:

1. To relieve the pressure on Verdun.

2. To assist Britain's allies in other theatres of war by stopping the transfer of German troops.

3. To wear down the strength of the enemy.

All these objects, he says, have been achieved, and any one of them is sufficient to justify forcing the enemy to battle. The full official text of the document follows:

General Headquarters,
Dec. 23, 1916.

My Lord: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command since May 19, the date of my last dispatch.

1. The principle of an offensive campaign during the Summer of 1916 had already been decided on by all the Allies. The various possible alternatives on the western front had been studied and discussed by General Joffre and myself, and we were in complete agreement as to the front to be attacked by the combined French and British armies. Preparations for our offensive had made considerable progress; but as the date on which the attack should begin was dependent on many doubtful factors, a final decision on that point was deferred until the general situation should become clearer.

Subject to the necessity of commencing operations before the Summer was too far advanced, and with due regard to the general situation, I desired to postpone my attack as long as possible. The British armies were growing in numbers and the supply of munitions was steadily increasing. Moreover, a very large proportion of the officers and men under my command were still far from being fully trained, and the longer the attack could be deferred the more efficient they would become. On the other hand, the Germans were continuing to press their attacks at Verdun, and both there and on the Italian front, where the Austrian offensive was gaining ground, it was evident that the strain might become too great to be borne unless timely

action were taken to relieve it. Accordingly, while maintaining constant touch with General Joffre in regard to all these considerations, my preparations were pushed on, and I agreed, with the consent of his Majesty's Government, that my attack should be launched, whenever the general situation required it, with as great a force as I might then be able to make available.

2. By the end of May the pressure of the enemy on the Italian front had assumed such serious proportions that the Russian campaign was opened early in June, and the brilliant successes gained by our allies against the Austrians at once caused a movement of German troops from the western to the eastern front. This, however, did not lessen the pressure on Verdun. The heroic defense of our French allies had already gained many weeks of inestimable value and had caused the enemy very heavy losses; but the strain continued to increase. In view, therefore, of the situation in the various theatres of war, it was eventually agreed between General Joffre and myself that the combined French and British offensive should not be postponed beyond the end of June.

Objects and Preparations

The object of that offensive was threefold:

(i.) To relieve the pressure on Verdun.

(ii.) To assist our allies in the other theatres of war by stopping any further transfer of German troops from the western front.

(iii.) To wear down the strength of the forces opposed to us.

3. While my final preparations were in progress the enemy made two unsuccessful attempts to interfere with my arrangements. The first, directed on May 21 against our positions on the Vimy Ridge, south and southeast of Souchez, resulted in a small enemy gain of no strategic or tactical importance; and rather than weaken my offensive by involving additional troops in the task of recovering the lost ground, I decided to consolidate a position in rear of our original line.

The second enemy attack was delivered on June 2 on a front of over one and a half miles from Mount Sorrell to Hooge, and succeeded in penetrating to a maximum depth of 700 yards. As the southern part of the lost position commanded our trenches, I judged it necessary to recover it, and by an attack launched on June 13, carefully prepared and well executed, this was successfully accomplished by the troops on the spot.

Neither of these enemy attacks succeeded in delaying the preparations for the major operations which I had in view.

4. These preparations were necessarily very elaborate and took considerable time.

Vast stocks of ammunition and stores of all kinds had to be accumulated beforehand within a convenient distance of our front. To deal with these many miles of new railways—both standard and narrow gauge—and trench tramways were laid. All available roads were improved, many others were made, and long causeways were built over marshy valleys. Many additional dugouts had to be provided as shelter for the troops, for use as dressing stations for the wounded, and as magazines for storing ammunition, food, water, and engineering material. Scores of miles of deep communication trenches had to be dug, as well as trenches for telephone wires, assembly and assault trenches, and numerous gun emplacements and observation posts.

Important mining operations were undertaken, and charges were laid at various points beneath the enemy's lines.

Except in the river valleys, the existing supplies of water were hopelessly insufficient to meet the requirements of the numbers of men and horses to be concentrated in this area as the preparations for our offensive proceeded. To meet this difficulty many wells and borings were sunk, and over one hundred pumping plants were installed. More than one hundred and twenty miles of water mains were laid, and everything was got ready to insure an adequate water supply as our troops advanced.

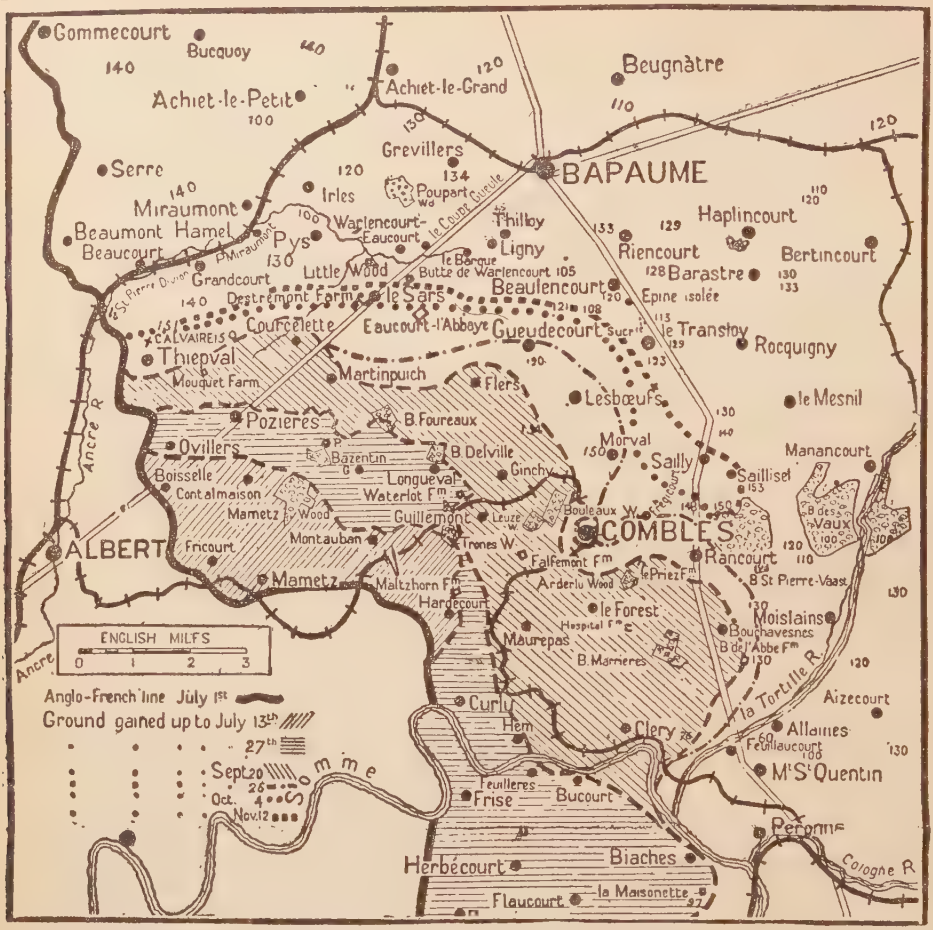
Much of this preparatory work had to be done under very trying conditions, and was liable to constant interruption from the enemy's fire. The weather, on the whole, was bad, and the local accommodation totally insufficient for housing the troops employed, who consequently had to content themselves with such rough shelter as could be provided in the circumstances. All this labor, too, had to be carried out in addition to fighting and to the everyday work of maintaining existing defenses. It threw a very heavy strain on the troops, which was borne by them with a cheerfulness beyond all praise.

The German Positions

5. The enemy's position to be attacked was of a very formidable character, situated on a high, undulating tract of ground, which rises to more than 500 feet above sea level, and forms the watershed between the Somme on the one side and the rivers of Southwestern Belgium on the other. On the southern face of this watershed, the general trend of which is from east-southeast to west-northwest, the ground falls in a series of long irregular spurs and deep depressions to the valley of the Somme. Well down the forward slopes of this face the enemy's first system of defense, starting from the Somme near Curlu, ran at first northward for 3,000 yards, then westward for 7,000 yards to near Fricourt, where it turned nearly due north, forming a great salient angle in the enemy's lines.

Some 10,000 yards north of Fricourt the trenches crossed the River Ancre, a tributary of the Somme, and, still running northward, passed over the summit of the watershed, about Hébuterne and Gommecourt, and then down its northern spurs to Arras.

On the 20,000-yard front between the Somme and the Ancre the enemy had a strong second system of defense, sited generally on or near the southern crest of the



BATTLE OF THE SOMME: THE BLACK LINE ON THE LEFT SHOWS THE ORIGINAL LINE OF ATTACK, JULY 1, 1916, AND THE SHADED SECTIONS INDICATE THE SUCCESSIVE ADVANCES BEFORE THE CAPTURE OF ST. PIERRE DIVION, BEAUCOURT, AND BEAUMONT HAMEL.

highest part of the watershed, at an average distance of from 3,000 to 5,000 yards behind his first system of trenches.

During nearly two years' preparation he had spared no pains to render these defenses impregnable. The first and second systems each consisted of several lines of deep trenches, well provided with bomb-proof shelters and with numerous communication trenches connecting them. The front of the trenches in each system was protected by wire entanglements, many of them in two belts forty yards broad, built of iron stakes interlaced with barbed wire, often almost as thick as a man's finger.

The numerous woods and villages in and between these systems of defense had been turned into veritable fortresses. The deep cellars, usually to be found in the villages, and the numerous pits and quarries common to a chalk country were used to provide cover for machine guns and trench mortars. The existing cellars were supplemented by elaborate dugouts, sometimes in two stories, and these were connected up by passages as much as thirty feet below the surface of the ground. The salients in the enemy's lines, from which he could bring enfilade fire across his front, were made into self-contained forts, and often protected by mine fields, while strong redoubts and concrete machine-gun emplacements had been constructed in positions from which he could sweep his own trenches should these be taken. The ground lent itself to good artillery observation on the enemy's part, and he had skillfully arranged for crossfire by his guns.

Complete Defensive System

These various systems of defense, with the fortified localities and other supporting points between them, were cunningly sited to afford each other mutual assistance and to admit of the utmost possible development of enfilade

and flanking fire by machine guns and artillery. They formed, in short, not merely a series of successive lines, but one composite system of enormous depth and strength.

Behind this second system of trenches, in addition to woods, villages, and other strong points prepared for defense, the enemy had several other lines already completed; and we had learned from aeroplane reconnoisance that he was hard at work improving and strengthening these and digging fresh ones between them and still further back.

In the area above described, between the Somme and the Ancre, our front-line trenches ran parallel and close to those of the enemy, but below them. We had good direct observation on his front system of trenches and on the various defenses sited on the slopes above us between his first and second systems; but the second system itself, in many places, could not be observed from the ground in our possession, while, except from the air, nothing could be seen of his more distant defenses.

North of the Ancre, where the opposing trenches ran transversely across the main ridge, the enemy's defenses were equally elaborate and formidable. So far as command of ground was concerned we were here practically on leval terms, but, partly as a result of this, our direct observation over the ground held by the enemy was not so good as it was further south. On portions of this front the opposing first-line trenches were more widely separated from each other, while in the valleys to the north were many hidden gun positions from which the enemy could develop flanking fire on our troops as they advanced across the open.

Offensive's Three Phases

6. The period of active operations dealt with in this dispatch divides itself roughly into three phases. The first phase opened with the attack of July 1, the success of which evidently came as a surprise to the enemy and caused considerable confusion and disorganization in his ranks. The advantages gained on that date and developed during the first half of July may be regarded as having been rounded off by the operations of July 14 and three following days, which gave us possession of the southern crest of the main plateau between Delville Wood and Bazentin-le-Petit.

We then entered upon a contest lasting for many weeks, during which the enemy, having found his strongest defenses unavailing, and now fully alive to his danger, put forth his utmost efforts to keep his hold on the main ridge. This stage of the battle constituted a prolonged and severe struggle for mastery between the contending armies, in which, although progress was slow and difficult, the confidence of our troops in their ability to win was never shaken. Their tenacity and determination proved more than equal to their task, and by the first week in September they had established a fighting superiority that has left its mark on the enemy, of which possession of the ridge was merely the visible proof.

The way was then opened for the third phase, in which our advance was pushed down the forward slopes of the ridge and further extended on both flanks until, from Morval to Thiepval, the whole plateau and a good deal of ground beyond were in our possession. Meanwhile our gallant allies, in addition to great successes south of the Somme, had pushed their advance, against equally determined opposition and under most difficult tactical conditions, up the long slopes on our immediate right, and were now preparing to drive the enemy from the summit of the narrow and difficult portion of the main ridge which lies between the Combles Valley and the River Tortille, a stream flowing from the north into the Somme just below Péronne.

7. Defenses of the nature described could only be attacked with any prospect of success after careful artillery preparation. It was accordingly decided that our bombardment should begin on June 24, and a large force of artillery was brought into action for the purpose.

Artillery bombardments were also carried out daily at different points on the rest of our front, and during the period from June 24 to July 1 gas was discharged with good effect at more than forty places along our line upon a frontage which in total amounted to over fifteen miles. Some seventy raids, too, were undertaken by our infantry between Gommecourt and our extreme left north of Ypres during the week preceding the attack, and these kept me well informed as to the enemy's dispositions, besides serving other useful purposes.

On June 25 the Royal Flying Corps carried out a general attack on the enemy's observation balloons, destroying nine of them, and depriving the enemy for the time being of this form of observation.

Joint Attack Launched

8. On July 1, at 7:30 A. M., after a final hour of exceptionally violent bombardment, our infantry assault was launched. Simultaneously the French attacked on both sides of the Somme, co-operating closely with us.

The British main front of attack extended from Maricourt on our right, round the salient at Fricourt, to the Ancre in front of St. Pierre Divion. To assist this main attack by holding the enemy's reserves and occupying his artillery, the enemy's trenches north of the Ancre, as far as Serre, inclusive, were to be assaulted simultaneously, while further north a subsidiary attack was to be made on both sides of the salient at Gommecourt.

I had intrusted the attack on the front from Maricourt to Serre to the Fourth Army, under the command of General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson, Bart., K. C. B., K. C. V. O., with five army corps at his disposal. The subsidiary attack at Gommecourt was carried out by troops from the army commanded by General Sir E. H. H. Allenby, K. C. B.

Just prior to the attack the mines which had been prepared under the enemy's lines were exploded, and smoke was discharged at many places along our front. Through this smoke our infantry advanced to the attack with the utmost steadiness in spite of the very heavy barrage of the enemy's guns. On our right our troops met with immediate success, and rapid progress was made. Before midday Montauban had been carried, and shortly afterward the Briqueterie, to the east, and the whole of the ridge to the west of the village were in our hands. Opposite Mametz part of our assembly trenches had been practically leveled by the enemy artillery, making it necessary for our infantry to advance to the attack across 400 yards of open ground. None the less they forced their way into Mametz, and reached their objective in the valley beyond, first throwing out a defensive flank toward Fricourt on their left. At the same time the enemy's trenches were entered north of Fricourt, so that the enemy's garrison in that village was pressed on three sides. Further north, though the village of La Boisselle and Ovillers for the time being resisted our attack, our troops drove deeply into the German lines on the flanks of these strongholds, and so paved the way for their capture later.

Leipsic Salient Stormed

On the spur running south from Thiepval the work known as the Leipsic Salient was stormed, and severe fighting took place for the possession of the village and its defenses. Here and north of the valley of the Ancre, as far as Serre, on the left flank of our attack, our initial successes were not sustained. Striking progress was made at many points, and parties of troops penetrated the enemy's positions to the outer defenses of Grandcourt, and also to Pendant Copse and Serre; but the enemy's continued resistance at Thiepval and Beaumont Hamel made it impossible to forward reinforcements and ammunition, and in spite of their gallant efforts our troops were forced to withdraw during the night to their own lines.

The subsidiary attack at Gommecourt also forced its way into the enemy's positions, but there met with such vigorous opposition that as soon as it was considered that the attack had fulfilled its object our troops were withdrawn.

9. In view of the general situation at the end of the first day's operations I decided that the best course was to press forward on a front extending from our junction with the French to a point half way between La Boisselle and Contalmaison, and to limit the offensive on our left for the present to a slow and methodical advance. North of the Ancre such preparations were to be made as would hold the enemy to his positions and enable the attack to be resumed there later if desirable. In order that General Sir Henry Rawlinson might be left free to concentrate his attention on the portion of the front where the attack was to be pushed home, I also decided to place the operations against the front, La Boisselle to Serre, under the command of General Sir Hubert de la P. Gough, K. C. B., to whom I accordingly allotted the two northern corps of Sir Henry Rawlinson's army. My instructions to Sir Hubert Gough were that his army was to maintain a steady pressure on the front from La Boisselle to the Serre road and to act as a pivot on which our line could swing as our attacks on his right made progress toward the north.

10. During the succeeding days the attack was continued on these lines. In spite of strong counterattacks on the Briqueterie and Montauban, by midday on July 2 our troops had captured Fricourt, and in the afternoon and evening stormed Fricourt Wood and the farm to the north. During July 3 and 4 Bernajay and Caterpillar Woods were also captured, and our troops pushed forward to the railway north of Mametz. On these days the reduction of La Boisselle was completed after hard fighting, while the outskirts of Contalmaison were reached on July 5. North of La Boisselle also the enemy's forces opposite us were kept constantly engaged, and our holding in the Leipsic Salient was gradually increased.

First Line Captured

To sum up the results of the fighting of these five days, on a front of over six miles, from the Briqueterie to La Boisselle, our troops had swept over the whole of the enemy's first and strongest system of defense, which he had done his utmost to render impregnable. They had driven him back over a distance of more than a mile, and had carried four elaborately fortified villages. The number of prisoners passed back at the close of July 5 had already reached the total of ninety-four officers and 5,724 other ranks.

11. After the five days' heavy and continuous fighting just described it was essential to carry out certain readjustments and reliefs of the forces engaged. In normal conditions of enemy resistance the amount of progress that can be made at any time without a pause in the general advance is necessarily limited. Apart from the physical exhaustion of the attacking troops and the considerable distance separating the enemy's successive main systems of defense, special artillery preparation was required before a successful assault could be delivered. Meanwhile, however, local operations were continued in spite of much unfavorable weather. The attack on Contalmaison and Mametz Wood was undertaken on July 7, and after three days' obstinate fighting, in the course of which the enemy delivered several powerful counterattacks, the village and the whole of the wood, except its northern border, were finally secured. On July 7 also a footing was gained in the other defenses of Ovillers, while on July 9, on our extreme right, Maltz Horn Farm—an important point on the spur north of Hardecourt—was secured.

A thousand yards north of this farm our troops had succeeded at the second attempt in establishing themselves on July 8 in the southern end of Trones Wood. The enemy's positions in the northern and eastern parts of this wood were very strong, and no less than eight powerful German counterattacks were made here during the next five days. In the course of this struggle portions of the wood changed hands several times; but we were left eventually, on July 13, in possession of the southern part of it.

Operations of July 14

12. Meanwhile Mametz Wood had been entirely cleared of the enemy, and with Trones Wood also practically in our possession we were in a position to undertake an assault upon the enemy's second system of defense. Arrangements were accordingly made for an attack to be delivered at daybreak on the morning of July 14 against a front extending from Longueval to Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, both inclusive. Contalmaison Villa, on a spur 1,000 yards west of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, had already been captured to secure the left flank of the attack, and advantage had been taken of the progress made by our infantry to move our artillery forward into new positions. The preliminary bombardment had opened on July 11. The opportunities offered by the ground for enfilading the enemy's lines were fully utilized, and did much to secure the success of our attack.

13. In the early hours of July 14 the attacking troops moved out over the open for a distance of from about 1,000 to 1,400 yards, and lined up in the darkness just below the crest and some 300 to 500 yards from the enemy's trenches. Their advance was covered by strong patrols, and their correct deployment had been insured by careful previous preparations. The whole movement was carried out unobserved and without touch being lost in any case. The decision to attempt a night operation of this magnitude with an army, the bulk of which had been raised since the beginning of the war, was perhaps the highest tribute that could be paid to the quality of our troops. It would not have been possible but for the most careful preparation and forethought, as well as thorough reconnoissance of the ground, which was, in many cases, made personally by divisional, brigade, and battalion commanders and their staffs before framing their detailed orders for the advance.

The actual assault was delivered at 3:25 A. M. on July 14, when there was just sufficient light to be able to distinguish friend from foe at short ranges, and along the whole front attacked our troops, preceded by a very effective artillery barrage, swept over the enemy's first trenches and on into the defenses beyond.

On our right the enemy was driven from his last foothold in Trones Wood, and by 8 A. M. we had cleared the whole of it, relieving a body of 170 men who had maintained themselves all night in the northern corner of the wood, although completely surrounded by the enemy. Our position in the wood was finally consolidated, and strong patrols were sent out from it in the direction of Guillemont and Longueval. The southern half of this latter village was already in the hands of the troops who had advanced west of Trones Wood. The northern half, with the exception of two strong points, was captured by 4 P. M. after a severe struggle.

In the centre of our attack Bazentin-le-Grand village and wood were also gained, and our troops pushing northward captured Bazentin-le-Petit village and the cemetery to the east. Here the enemy counterattacked twice about midday without success, and again in the afternoon, on the latter occasion momentarily reoccupying the northern half of the village as far as the church. Our troops immediately returned to the attack and drove him out again with heavy losses. To the left of the village Bazentin-le-Petit Wood was cleared, in spite of the considerable resistance of the enemy along its western edge, where we successfully repulsed a counterattack. In the afternoon further ground was gained to the west of the wood, and posts were established immediately south of Pozières.

The enemy's troops, who had been severely handled in these attacks and counterattacks, began to show signs of disorganization, and it was reported early in the afternoon that it was possible to advance to High Wood. General Rawlinson, who had held a force of cavalry in readiness for such an eventuality, decided to employ a part of it. As the fight progressed small bodies of this force had pushed forward gradually, keeping in close touch with the development of the action, and prepared to seize quickly any opportunity that might occur. A squadron now came up on the flanks of our infantry, who entered High Wood at about 8 P. M., and, after some hand-to-hand fighting, cleared the whole of the wood with the exception of the northern apex. Acting mounted in cooperation with the infantry, the cavalry came into action with good effect, killing several of the enemy and capturing some prisoners.

Fight for Longueval

14. On July 15 the battle still continued, though on a reduced scale. Arrow Head Copse, between the southern edge of Trones Wood and Guillemont, and Waterlot Farm on the Longueval-Guillemont road, were seized, and Delville Wood was captured and held against several hostile counterattacks. In Longueval fierce fighting continued until dusk for the possession of the two strong points and the orchards to the north of the village. The situation in this area made the position of our troops in High Wood somewhat precarious, and they now began to suffer numerous casualties from the enemy's

heavy shelling. Accordingly orders were given for their withdrawal, and this was effected during the night of July 15-16 without interference by the enemy. All the wounded were brought in.

In spite of repeated enemy counterattacks further progress was made on the night of July 16 along the enemy's main second-line trenches northwest of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood to within 500 yards of the northeast corner of the village of Pozières, which our troops were already approaching from the south.

Meanwhile the operations further north had also made progress. Since the attack of July 7 the enemy in and about Ovillers had been pressed relentlessly and gradually driven back by incessant bombing attacks and local assaults, in accordance with the general instructions I had given to General Sir Hubert Gough. On July 16 a large body of the garrison of Ovillers surrendered, and that night and during the following day, by a direct advance from the west across No Man's Land, our troops carried the remainder of the village and pushed out along the spur to the north and eastward toward Pozières.

New British Line

15. The results of the operations of July 4 and subsequent days were of considerable importance. The enemy's second main system of defense had been captured on a front of over three miles. We had again forced him back more than a mile, and had gained possession of the southern crest of the main ridge on a front of 6,000 yards. Four more of his fortified villages and three woods had been wrested from him by determined fighting, and our advanced troops had penetrated as far as his third line of defense. In spite of a resolute resistance and many counterattacks, in which the enemy had suffered severely, our line was definitely established from Maltz Horn Farm, where we met the French left, northward along the eastern edge of Trones Wood to Longueval, then westward past Bazentin-le-Grand to the northern corner of Bazentin-le-Petit and Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, and then westward again past the southern face of Pozières to the north of Ovillers. Posts were established at Arrow Head Copse and Waterlot Farm, while we had troops thrown forward in Delville Wood and toward High Wood, though their position was not yet secure.

I cannot speak too highly of the skill, daring, endurance, and determination by which these results had been achieved. Great credit is due to Sir Henry Rawlinson for the thoroughness and care with which this difficult undertaking was planned; while the advance and deployment made by night without confusion, and the complete success of the subsequent attack, constitute a striking tribute to the discipline and spirit of the troops engaged, as well as to the powers of leadership and organization of their commanders and staffs.

During these operations and their development on the 15th a number of enemy guns were taken, making a total capture since July 1 eight heavy howtizers, four heavy guns, forty-two field and light guns and field howitzers, thirty trench mortars, and fifty-two machine guns. Very considerable losses had been inflicted on the enemy, and the prisoners captured amounted to over 2,000, bringing the total since July 1 to over 10,000.

16. There was strong evidence that the enemy forces engaged on the battle front had been severely shaken by the repeated successes gained by ourselves and our allies; but the great strength and depth of his defenses had secured for him sufficient time to bring up fresh troops, and he had still many powerful fortifications, both trenches, villages, and woods, to which he could cling in our front and on our flanks.

We had, indeed, secured a footing on the main ridge, but only on a front of 6,000 yards, and desirous though I was to follow up quickly the successes we had won, it was necessary first to widen this front.

West of Bazentin-le-Petit the villages of Pozières and Thiepval, together with the whole elaborate system of trenches around, between and on the main ridge behind them, had still to be carried. An advance further east would, however, eventually turn these defenses, and all that was for the present required on the left flank of our attack was a steady, methodical, step by step advance as already ordered.

An Undesirable Salient

On our right flank the situation called for stronger measures. At Delville Wood and Longueval our lines formed a sharp salient, from which our front ran on the one side westward to Pozières, and on the other southward to Maltz Horn Farm. At Maltz Horn Farm our lines joined the French, and the allied front continued still southward to the village of Hem, on the Somme.

This pronounced salient invited counterattacks by the enemy. He possessed direct observation on it all around from Guillemont on the southeast to High Wood on the northwest. He could bring a concentric fire of artillery to bear not only on the wood and village, but also on the confined space behind, through which ran the French communications as well as ours, where great numbers of guns, besides ammunition and impedimenta of all sorts, had necessarily to be crowded together. Having been in occupation of this ground for nearly two years, he knew every foot of it, and could not fail to appreciate the possibilities of causing us heavy loss there by indirect artillery fire; while it was evident that, if he could drive in the salient in our line and so gain direct observation on the ground behind, our position in that area would become very uncomfortable.

If there had not been good grounds for confidence that the enemy was not capable of driving from this position troops who had

shown themselves able to wrest it from him, the situation would have been an anxious one. In any case it was clear that the first requirement at the moment was that our right flank, and the French troops in extension of it, should swing up into line with our centre. To effect this, however, strong enemy positions had to be captured both by ourselves and by our allies.

From Delville Wood the main plateau extends for 4,000 yards east-northeast to Les Boeufs and Morval, and for about the same distance southeastward to Leuze and Bouleau Woods, which stand above and about 1,000 yards to the west of Combles. To bring my right up into line with the rest of my front it was necessary to capture Guillemont, Falfemont Farm, and Leuze Wood, and then Ginchy and Bouleau Woods. These localities were naturally very strong, and they had been elaborately fortified. The enemy's main second-line system of defense ran in front of them from Waterlot Farm, which was already in our hands, southeastward to Falfemont Farm, and thence southward to the Somme. The importance of holding us back in this area could not escape the enemy's notice, and he had dug and wired many new trenches, both in front of and behind his original lines. He had also brought up fresh troops, and there was no possibility of taking him by surprise.

Allies' Difficult Task

The task before us was, therefore, a very difficult one and entailed a real trial of strength between the opposing forces. At this juncture its difficulties were increased by unfavorable weather. The nature of the ground limited the possibility of direct observation of our artillery fire, and we were consequently much dependent on observation from the air. As in that element we had attained almost complete superiority, all that we required was a clear atmosphere; but with this we were not favored for several weeks. We had rather more rain than is usual in July and August, and even when no rain fell there was an almost constant haze and frequent low clouds.

In swinging up my own right it was very important that the French line north of the Somme should be advanced at the same time in close combination with the movement of the British troops. The line of demarkation agreed on between the French commander and myself ran from Maltz Horn Farm due eastward to the Combles Valley and then northeastward up that valley to a point midway between Sailly-Saillisel and Morval. These two villages had been fixed upon as objectives, respectively, of the French left and of my right. In order to advance in co-operation with my right, and eventually to reach Sailly-Saillisel, our allies had still to fight their way up that portion of the main ridge which lies between the Combles Valley on the west and the River Tortille on the east. To do so they had to capture, in the first place, the strongly fortified villages of Maurepas, Le Forest, Rancourt, and Fregicourt, besides many woods and strong systems of trenches. As the high ground on each side of the Combles Valley commands the slopes of the ridge on the opposite side, it was essential that the advance of the two armies should be simultaneous and made in the closest co-operation. This was fully recognized by both armies, and our plans were made accordingly.

To carry out the necessary preparations to deal with the difficult situation outlined above a short pause was necessary, to enable tired troops to be relieved and guns to be moved forward; while at the same time old communications had to be improved and new ones made. Intrenchments against probable counterattacks could not be neglected, and fresh dispositions of troops were required for the new attacks to be directed eastward.

It was also necessary to continue such pressure on the rest of our front, not only on the Ancre, but further south, as would make it impossible for the enemy to devote himself entirely to resisting the advance between Delville Wood and the Somme. In addition, it was desirable further to secure our hold on the main ridge west of Delville Wood by gaining more ground to our front in that direction. Orders were therefore issued in accordance with the general considerations explained above, and, without relaxing pressure along the enemy's front from Delville Wood to the west, preparations for an attack on Guillemont were pushed on.

Fight for the Woods

17. During the afternoon of July 18 the enemy developed his expected counterattack against Delville Wood, after heavy preliminary shelling. By sheer weight of numbers, and at very heavy cost, he forced his way through the northern and northeastern portion of the wood and into the northern half of Longueval, which our troops had cleared only that morning. In the southeast corner of the wood he was held up by a gallant defense, and further south three attacks on our positions in Waterlot Farm failed.

This enemy attack on Delville Wood marked the commencement of the long, closely contested struggle which was not finally decided in our favor till the fall of Guillemont on Sept. 3, a decision which was confirmed by the capture of Ginchy six days later. Considerable gains were indeed made during this period, but progress was slow, and bought only by hard fighting. A footing was established in High Wood on July 20, and our line linked up thence with Longueval. A subsequent advance by the Fourth Army on July 23 on a wide front from Guillemont to Pozières found the enemy in great strength all along the line, with machine guns and forward troops in shell holes and newly constructed trenches well in front of his main defenses. Although ground was won, the

strength of the resistance experienced showed that the hostile troops had recovered from their previous confusion sufficiently to necessitate long and careful preparation before further successes on any great scale could be secured.

An assault delivered simultaneously on this date by General Gough's army against Pozières gained considerable results, and by the morning of July 25 the whole of that village was carried, including the cemetery, and important progress was made along the enemy's trenches to the northeast. That evening, after heavy artillery preparation, the enemy launched two more powerful counterattacks, the one directed against our new position in and around High Wood and the other delivered from the northwest of Delville Wood. Both attacks were completely broken up with very heavy losses to the enemy.

On July 27 the remainder of Delville Wood was recovered, and two days later the northern portion of Longueval and the orchards were cleared of the enemy, after severe fighting, in which our own and the enemy's artillery were very active.

Guillemont

18. On July 30 the village of Guillemont and Falfemont Farm to the southeast were attacked, in conjunction with a French attack north of the Somme. A battalion entered Guillemont, and part of it passed through to the far side; but as the battalions on either flank did not reach their objectives, it was obliged to fall back, after holding out for some hours on the western edge of the village. In a subsequent local attack on Aug. 7 our troops again entered Guillemont, but were again compelled to fall back owing to the failure of a simultaneous effort against the enemy's trenches on the flanks of the village.

The ground to the south of Guillemont was dominated by the enemy's positions in and about that village. It was therefore hoped that these positions might be captured first, before an advance to the south of them in the direction of Falfemont Farm was pushed further forward. It had now become evident, however, that Guillemont could not be captured as an isolated enterprise without very heavy loss, and, accordingly, arrangements were made with the French Army on our immediate right for a series of combined attacks, to be delivered in progressive stages, which should embrace Maurepas, Falfemont Farm, Guillemont, Leuze Wood, and Ginchy.

An attempt on Aug. 16 to carry out the first stage of the prearranged scheme met with only partial success, and two days later, after a preliminary bombardment lasting thirty-six hours, a larger combined attack was undertaken. In spite of a number of enemy counterattacks—the most violent of which, leveled at the point of junction of the British with the French, succeeded in forcing our allies and ourselves back from a part of the ground won—very valuable progress was made, and our troops established themselves in the outskirts of Guillemont village and occupied Guillemont Station. A violent counterattack on Guillemont Station was repulsed on Aug. 23, and next day further important progress was made on a wide front north and east of Delville Wood.

19. Apart from the operations already described, others of a minor character, yet involving much fierce and obstinate fighting, continued during this period on the fronts of both the British armies. Our lines were pushed forward wherever possible by means of local attacks and by bombing and sapping, and the enemy was driven out of various forward positions from which he might hamper our progress. By these means many gains were made which, though small in themselves, in the aggregate represented very considerable advances. In this way our line was brought to the crest of the ridge above Martinpuich, and Pozières Windmill and the high ground north of the village were secured, and with them observation over Martinpuich and Courcelette and the enemy's gun positions in their neighborhood and around Le Sars. At a later date our troops reached the defenses of Mouquet Farm, northwest of Pozières, and made progress in the enemy's trenches south of Thiepval. The enemy's counterattacks were incessant and frequently of great violence, but they were made in vain and at heavy cost to him. The fierceness of the fighting can be gathered from the fact that one regiment of the German Guards Reserve Corps which had been in the Thiepval salient opposite Mouquet Farm is known to have lost 1,400 men in fifteen days.

20. The first two days of September on both army fronts were spent in preparation for a more general attack, which the gradual progress made during the preceding month had placed us in a position to undertake. Our assault was delivered at 12 noon on Sept. 3, on a front extending from our extreme right to the third enemy trenches on the right bank of the Ancre, north of Hamel. Our allies attacked simultaneously on our right.

Guillemont was stormed and at once consolidated, and our troops pushed on unchecked to Ginchy and the line of the road running south to Wedge Wood. Ginchy was also seized, but here, in the afternoon, we were very strongly counterattacked. For three days the tide of attack and counterattack swayed backward and forward among the ruined houses of the village, till, in the end, for three days more the greater part of it remained in the enemy's possession. Three counterattacks made on the evening of Sept. 3 against our troops in Guillemont all failed, with considerable loss to the enemy. We also gained ground north of Delville Wood and in High Wood, though here an enemy

counterattack recovered part of the ground won.

On the front of General Gough's army, though the enemy suffered heavy losses in personnel, our gain in ground was slight.

Falfemont Farm and Ginchy

21. In order to keep touch with the French who were attacking on our right the assault on Falfemont Farm on Sept. 3 was delivered three hours before the opening of the main assault. In the impetus of their first rush our troops reached the farm, but could not hold it. Nevertheless, they pushed on to the north of it, and on Sept. 4 delivered a series of fresh assaults upon it from the west and north.

Ultimately this strongly fortified position was occupied piece by piece, and by the morning of Sept. 5 the whole of it was in our possession. Meanwhile further progress had been made to the northeast of the farm, where considerable initiative was shown by the local commanders. By the evening of the same day our troops were established strongly in Leuze Wood, which on the following day was finally cleared of the enemy.

22. In spite of the fact that most of Ginchy and of High Wood remained in the enemy's hands, very noteworthy progress had been made in the course of these four days' operations, exceeding anything that had been achieved since July 14. Our right was advanced on a front of nearly two miles to an average depth of nearly one mile, penetrating the enemy's original second line of defense on this front, and capturing strongly fortified positions at Falfemont Farm, Leuze Wood, Guillemont, and southeast of Delville Wood, where we reached the western outskirts of Ginchy. More important than this gain in territory was the fact that the barrier which for seven weeks the enemy had maintained against our further advance had at last been broken. Over 1,000 prisoners were taken and many machine guns captured or destroyed in the course of the fighting.

23. Preparations for a further attack upon Ginchy continued without intermission, and at 4:45 P. M., on Sept. 9, the attack was reopened on the whole of the Fourth Army front. At Ginchy and to the north of Leuze Wood it met with almost immediate success. On the right the enemy's line was seized over a front of more than 1,000 yards from the southwest corner of Bouleau Woods, in a northwesterly direction to a point just south of the Guillemont-Morval tramway. Our troops again forced their way into Ginchy, and passing beyond it carried the line of enemy trenches to the east. Further progress was made east of Delville Wood and south and east of High Wood.

Over 500 prisoners were taken in the operations of Sept. 9 and following days, making the total since July 1 over 17,000.

A Disillusioned Enemy

24. Meanwhile the French had made great progress on our right, bringing their line forward to Louage Wood (just south of Combles)-Le Forest-Clery-sur-Somme, all three inclusive. The weak salient in the allied line had therefore disappeared and we had gained the front required for further operations.

Still more importance, however, lay in the proof afforded by the results described of the ability of our new armies, not only to rush the enemy's strongest defenses, as had been accomplished on July 1 and 14, but also to wear down and break his power of resistance by a steady, relentless pressure, as they had done during the weeks of this fierce and protracted struggle. As has already been recounted, the preparations made for our assault on July 1 had been long and elaborate; but though the enemy knew that an attack was coming, it would seem that he considered the troops already on the spot, secure in their apparently impregnable defenses, would suffice to deal with it. The success of that assault, combined with the vigor and determination with which our troops pressed their advantage, and followed by the successful night attack of July 14, all served to awaken him to a fuller realization of his danger. The great depth of his system of fortification, to which reference has been made, gave him time to reorganize his defeated troops, and to hurry up numerous fresh divisions and more guns. Yet in spite of this, he was still pushed back, steadily and continuously. Trench after trench, and strong point after strong point were wrested from him. The great majority of his frequent counterattacks failed completely, with heavy loss; while the few that achieved temporary local success purchased it dearly, and were soon thrown back from the ground they had for the moment regained.

The enemy had, it is true, delayed our advance considerably, but the effort had cost him dear; and the comparative collapse of his resistance during the last few days of the struggle justified the belief that in the long run decisive victory would lie with our troops, who had displayed such fine fighting qualities and such indomitable endurance and resolution.

On the Main Ridge

25. Practically the whole of the forward crest of the main ridge on a front of some 9,000 yards, from Delville Wood to the road above Mouquet Farm, was now in our hands, and with it the advantage of observation over the slopes beyond. East of Delville Wood, for a further 3,000 yards to Leuze Wood, we were firmly established on the main ridge, while further east, across the Combles Valley, the French were advancing victoriously on our right. But though the centre of our line was well placed, on our flanks there was still difficult ground to be won.

From Ginchy the crest of the high ground runs northward for 2,000 yards, and then eastward, in a long spur, for nearly 4,000

yards. Near the eastern extremity of this spur stands the village of Morval, commanding a wide field of view and fire in every direction. At Leuze Wood my right was still 2,000 yards from its objective at this village, and between lay a broad and deep branch of the main Combles Valley, completely commanded by the Morval spur, and flanked, not only from its head northeast of Ginchy, but also from the high ground east of the Combles Valley, which looks directly into it.

Up this high ground beyond the Combles Valley the French were working their way toward their objective at Sailly-Saillisel, situated due east of Morval, and standing at the same level. Between these two villages the ground falls away to the head of the Combles Valley, which runs thence in a southwesterly direction. In the bottom of this valley lies the small town of Combles, then well fortified and strongly held, though dominated by my right at Leuze Wood and by the French left on the opposite heights. It had been agreed between the French and myself that an assault on Combles would not be necessary, as the place could be rendered untenable by pressing forward along the ridges above it on eitheir side.

The capture of Morval from the south presented a very difficult problem, while the capture of Sailly-Saillisel, at that time some 3,000 yards to the north of the French left, was in some respects even more difficult. The line of the French advance was narrowed almost to a defile by the extensive and strongly fortified Wood of St. Pierre Vaast on the one side, and on the other by the Combles Valley, which, with the branches running out from it and the slopes on each side, is completely commanded, as has been pointed out, by the heights bounding the valley on the east and west.

On my right flank, therefore, the progress of the French and British forces was still interdependent, and the closest co-operation continued to be necessary in order to gain the further ground required to enable my centre to advance on a sufficiently wide front. To cope with such a situation unity of command is usually essential, but in this case the cordial good feeling between the allied armies, and the earnest desire of each to assist the other, proved equally effective, and removed all difficulties.

On my left flank the front of General Gough's army bent back from the main ridge near Mouquet Farm down a spur descending southwestward, and then crosed a broad valley to the Wonderwork, a strong point situated in the enemy's front-line system near the southern end of the spur on the higher slopes of which Thiepval stands. Opposite this part of our line we had still to carry the enemy's original defenses on the main ridge above Theipval, and in the village itself, defenses which may fairly be described as being as nearly impregnable as nature, art, and the unstinted labor of nearly two years could make them.

Our advance on Thiepval and on the defenses above it had been carried out up to this date, in accordance with my instructions given on July 3, by a slow and methodical progression, in which great skill and much patience and endurance had been displayed with entirely satisfactory results. General Gough's army had, in fact, acted most successfully in the required manner as a pivot to the remainder of the attack. The Thiepval defenses were known to be exceptionally strong, and as immediate possession of them was not necessary to the development of my plans after July 1, there had been no need to incur the heavy casualties to be expected in an attempt to rush them. The time was now approaching, although it had not yet arrived, when their capture would become necessary; but from the positions we had now reached and those which we expected shortly to obtain, I had no doubt that they could be rushed when required without undue loss. An important part of the remaining positions required for my assault on them was now won by a highly successful enterprise carried out on the evening of Sept. 14, by which the Wonderwork was stormed.

The "Tanks" in Action

26. The general plan of the combined allied attack which was opened on Sept. 15 was to pivot on the high ground south of the Ancre and north of the Albert-Bapaume road, while the Fourth Army devoted its whole effort to the rearmost of the enemy's original systems of defense between Morval and Le Sars. Should our success in this direction warrant it I made arrangements to enable me to extend the left of the attack to embrace the villages of Martinpuich and Courcelette. As soon as our advance on this front had reached the Morval line, the time would have arrived to bring forward my left across the Thiepval Ridge. Meanwhile on my right our allies arranged to continue the line of advance in close co-operation with me from the Somme to the slopes above Combles, but directing their main effort northward against the villages of Rancourt and Frégicourt, so as to complete the isolation of Combles and open the way for their attack upon Sailly-Saillisel.

27. A methodical bombardment was commenced at 6 A. M. on Sept. 12, and was continued steadily and uninterruptedly till the moment of attack.

At 6:20 A. M. on Sept. 15 the infantry assault commenced, and at the same moment the bombardment became intense. Our new heavily armored cars, known as "tanks," now brought into action for the first time, successfully co-operated with the infantry, and, coming as a surprise to the enemy rank and file, gave valuable help in breaking down their resistance.

The advance met with immediate success on

almost the whole of the front attacked. At 8:40 A. M. " tanks " were seen to be entering Flers, followed by large numbers of troops. Fighting continued in Flers for some time, but by 10 A. M. our troops had reached the north side of the village, and by midday had occupied the enemy's trenches for some distance beyond. On our right our line was advanced to within assaulting distance of the strong line of defense running before Morval, Les Boeufs, and Gueudecourt, and on our left High Wood was at last carried after many hours of very severe fighting, reflecting great credit on the attacking battalions. Our success made it possible to carry out during the afternoon that part of the plan which provided for the capture of Martinpuich and Courcelette, and by the end of the day both these villages were in our hands. On Sept. 18 the work of this day was completed by the capture of the Quadrilateral, an enemy stronghold which had hitherto blocked the progress of our right toward Morval. Further progress was also made between Flers and Martinpuich.

28. The result of the fighting of Sept. 15 and following days was a gain more considerable than any which had attended our arms in the course of a single operation since the commencement of the offensive. In the course of one day's fighting we had broken through two of the enemy's main defensive systems and had advanced on a front of over six miles to an average depth of a mile. In the course of this advance we had taken three large villages, each powerfully organized for prolonged resistance. Two of these villages had been carried by assault with short preparation in the course of a few hours' fighting. All this had been accomplished with a small number of casualties in comparison with the troops employed, and in spite of the fact that, as was afterward discovered, the attack did not come as a complete surprise to the enemy.

The total number of prisoners taken by us in these operations since their commencement on the evening of Sept. 14 amounted at this date to over 4,000, including 127 officers.

Fall of Morval and Combles

29. Preparations for our further advance were again hindered by bad weather, but at 12:35 P. M. on Sept. 25, after a bombardment commenced early in the morning of the 24th, a general attack by the Allies was launched on the whole front between the Somme and Martinpuich. The objectives on the British front included the villages of Morval, Les Boeufs, and Gueudecourt, and a belt of country about 1,000 yards deep curving round the north of Flers to a point midway between that village and Martinpuich. By nightfall the whole of these objectives were in our hands, with the exception of the village of Gueudecourt, before which our troops met with very serious resistance from a party of the enemy in a section of his fourth main system of defense.

On our right our allies carried the village of Rancourt, and advanced their line to the outskirts of Frégicourt, capturing that village also during the night and early morning. Combles was therefore nearly surrounded by the allied forces, and in the early morning of Sept. 26 the village was occupied simultaneously by the allied forces, the British to the north and the French to the south of the railway. The capture of Combles in this inexpensive fashion represented a not inconsiderable tactical success. Though lying in a hollow, the village was very strongly fortified, and possessed, in addition to the works which the enemy had constructed, exceptionally large cellars and galleries, at a great depth under ground, sufficient to give effectual shelter to troops and material under the heaviest bombardment. Great quantities of stores and ammunition of all sorts were found in these cellars when the village was taken.

On the same day Gueudecourt was carried, after the protecting trench to the west had been captured in a somewhat interesting fashion. In the early morning a " tank " started down the portion of the trench held by the enemy from the northwest, firing its machine guns and followed by bombers. The enemy could not escape, as we held the trench at the southern end. At the same time an aeroplane flew down the length of the trench, also firing a machine gun at the enemy holding it. These then waved white handkerchiefs in token of surrender, and when this was reported by the aeroplane the infantry accepted the surrender of the garrison. By 8:30 A. M. the whole trench had been cleared, great numbers of the enemy had been killed, and 8 officers and 362 of the ranks made prisoners. Our total casualties amounted to five.

Thiepval and Ridge Captured

30. The success of the Fourth Army had now brought our advance to the stage at which I judged it advisable that Thiepval should be taken, in order to bring our left flank into line and establish it on the main ridge above that village, the possession of which would be of considerable tactical value in future operations.

Accordingly at 12:25 P. M. on Sept. 26, before the enemy had been given time to recover from the blow struck by the Fourth Army, a general attack was launched against Thiepval and the Thiepval Ridge. The objective consisted of the whole of the high ground still remaining in enemy hands extending over a front of some 3,000 yards north and east of Thiepval, and including, in addition to that fortress, the Zollern Redoubt, the Stuff Redoubt, and the Schwaben Redoubt, with the connecting lines of trenches.

The attack was a brilliant success. On the right our troops reached the system of enemy trenches which formed their objectives without great difficulty. In Thiepval and the strong works to the north of it the enemy's

resistance was more desperate. Three waves of our attacking troops caried the outer defenses of Mouquet Farm, and, pushing on, entered Zollern Redoubt, which they stormed and consolidated. In the strong point formed by the buildings of the farm itself, the enemy garrison, securely posted in deep cellars, held out until 6 P. M., when their last defenses were forced by a working party of a pioneer battalion acting on its own initiative.

On the left of the attack fierce fighting, in which "tanks" again gave valuable assistance to our troops, continued in Thiepval during that day and the following night, but by 8:30 A. M. on Sept. 27 the whole of the village of Thiepval was in our hands.

Nearly 10,000 Prisoners Taken

Some 2,300 prisoners were taken in the course of the fighting on the Thiepval Ridge on these and the subsequent days, bringing the total number of prisoners taken in the battle area in the operations of Sept. 14-30 to nearly 10,000. In the same period we had captured 27 guns, over 200 machine guns, and some 40 trench mortars.

31. On the same date the south and west sides of Stuff Redoubt were carried by our troops, together with the length of trench connecting that strong point with Schwaben Redoubt to the west and also the greater part of the enemy's defensive line eastward along the northern slopes of the ridge. Schwaben Redoubt was assaulted during the afternoon, and in spite of counterattacks, delivered by strong enemy reinforcements, we captured the whole of the southern face of the redoubt and pushed out patrols to the northern face and toward St. Pierre Divion.

Our line was also advanced north of Courcelette, while on the Fourth Army front a further portion of the enemy's fourth system of defense northwest of Gueudecourt was carried on a front of a mile. Between these two points the enemy fell back upon his defenses running in front of Eaucourt l'Abbaye and Le Sars, and on the afternoon and evening of Sept. 27 our troops were able to make a very cosiderable advance in this area without encountering serious opposition until within a few hundred yards of this line. The ground thus occupied extended to a depth of from 500 to 600 yards on a front of nearly two miles between the Bazentin-le-Petit, Lingy, Thilloy, and Albert-Bapaume roads.

Destremont Farm, southwest of Le Sars, was carried by a single company on Sept. 29, and on the afternoon of Oct. 1 a successful attack was launched against Eaucourt l'Abbaye and the enemy defenses to the east and west of it, comprising a total front of about 3,000 yards. Our artillery barrage was extremely accurate, and contributed greatly to the success of the attack. Bomb fighting continued among the buildings during the next two days, but by the evening of Oct. 3 the whole of Eaucourt l'Abbaye was in our hands.

32. At the end of September I had handed over Morval to the French, in order to facilitate their attacks on Sailly-Saillisel, and on Oct. 7, after a postponement rendered necessary by three days' continuous rain, our allies made a considerable advance in the direction of the latter village. On the same day the Fourth Army attacked along the whole front from Les Boeufs to Destremont Farm in support of the operations of our allies.

The village of Le Sars was captured, together with the quarry to the northwest, while considerable progress was made at other points along the front attacked. In particular, to the east of Gueudecourt, the enemy's trenches were carried on a breadth of some 2,000 yards, and a footing gained on the crest of the long spur which screens the defenses of Le Transloy from the southwest. Nearly 1,000 prisoners were secured by the Fourth Army in the course of these operations.

33. With the exception of his positions in the neighborhood of Sailly-Saillisel, and his scanty foothold on the northern crest of the high ground above Thiepval, the enemy had now been driven from the whole of the ridge lying between the Tortille and the Ancre.

Possession of the northwestern portion of the ridge north of the latter village carried with it observation over the valley of the Ancre between Miraumont and Hamel and the spurs and valleys held by the enemy on the right bank of the river. The Germans, therefore, made desperate efforts to cling to their last remaining trenches in this area, and in the course of the three weeks following our advance made repeated counterattacks at heavy cost in the vain hope of recovering the ground they had lost. During this period our gains in the neighborhood of Stuff and Schwaben Redoubts were gradually increased and secured in readiness for future operations; and I was quite confident of the ability of our troops, not only to repulse the enemy's attacks, but to clear him entirely from his last positions on the ridge whenever it should suit my plans to do so. I was, therefore, well content with the situation on this flank.

Along the centre of our line from Gueudecourt to the west of Le Sars similar considerations applied. As we were already well down the forward slopes of the ridge on his front, it was for the time being inadvisable to make any serious advance. Pending developments elsewhere all that was necessary or indeed desirable was to carry on local operations to improve our positions and to keep the enemy fully employed.

Fighting in Rivers of Mud

On our eastern flank, on the other hand, it was important to gain ground. Here the enemy still possessed a strong system of trenches covering the villages of Le Transloy and Beaulencourt and the town of Bapaume; but, although he was digging with feverish haste, he had not yet been able to create any very formidable defenses behind this line. In

this direction, in fact, we had at last reached a stage at which a successful attack might reasonably be expected to yield much greater results than anything we had yet attained. The resistance of the troops opposed to us had seriously weakened in the course of our recent operations, and there was no reason to suppose that the effort required would not be within our powers.

The last completed system of defense, before Le Transloy, was flanked to the south by the enemy's positions at Sailly-Saillisel, and screened to the west by the spur lying between Le Transloy and Les Boeufs. A necessary preliminary, therefore, to an assault upon it was to secure the spur and the Sailly-Saillisel heights. Possession of the high ground at this latter village would at once give a far better command over the ground to the north and northwest, secure the flank of our operations toward Le Transloy, and deprive the enemy of observation over the allied communications in the Combles Valley. In view of the enemy's efforts to construct new systems of defense behind the Le Transloy spur was extended and secured, time in dealing with the situation.

Unfortunately, at this juncture, very unfavorable weather set in and continued with scarcely a break during the remainder of October and the early part of November. Poor visibility seriously interfered with the work of our artillery, and constant rain turned the mass of hastily dug trenches for which we were fighting into channels of deep mud. The country roads, broken by countless shell craters, that cross the deep stretch of ground we had lately won, rapidly became almost impassable, making the supply of food, stores, and ammunition a serious problem. These conditions multiplied the difficulties of attack to such an extent that it was found impossible to exploit the situation with the rapidity necessary to enable us to reap the full benefits of the advantages we had gained.

None the less, my right flank continued to assist the operations of our allies against Saillisel, and attacks were made to this end, whenever a slight improvement in the weather made the co-operation of artillery and infantry at all possible. The delay in our advance, however, though unavoidable, had given the enemy time to reorganize and rally his troops. His resistance again became stubborn and he seized every favorable opportunity for counterattacks. Trenches changed hands with great frequency, the conditions of ground making it difficult to renew exhausted supplies of bombs and ammunition, or to consolidate the ground won, and so rendering it an easier matter to take a battered trench than to hold it.

34. On Sept. 12 and 18 further gains were made to the east of the Les Boeufs-Gueudecourt line and east of Le Sars, and some hundreds of prisoners were taken. On these dates, despite all the difficulties of ground, the French first reached and then captured the villages of Sailly-Saillisel, but the moment for decisive action was rapidly passing away, while the weather showed no signs of improvement. By this time, too, the ground had already become so bad that nothing less than a prolonged period of drying weather, which at that season of the year was most unlikely to occur, would suit our purpose.

In these circumstances, while continuing to do all that was possible to improve my position on my right flank, I determined to press on with preparations for the exploitation of the favorable local situation on my left flank. At midday on Oct. 21, during a short spell of fine, cold weather, the line of Regina Trench and Stuff Trench, from the west Courcelette-Pys road westward to Schwaben Redoubt, was attacked with complete success. Assisted by an excellent artillery preparation and barrage, our infantry carried the whole of their objectives very quickly and with remarkably little loss, and our new line was firmly established in spite of the enemy's shell fire. Over one thousand prisoners were taken in the course of the day's fighting, a figure only slightly exceeded by our casualties.

On Oct 23, and again on Nov. 5, while awaiting better weather for further operations on the Ancre, our attacks on the enemy's positions to the east of Les Boeufs and Gueudecourt were renewed, in conjunction with French operations against the Sailly-Saillisel heights and St. Pierre Vaast Wood. Considerable further progress was achieved. Our footing at the crest of Le Transloy Spur was extended and secured, and the much-contested tangle of trenches at our junction with the French left at last passed definitely into our possession. Many smaller gains were made in this neighborhood by local assaults during these days, in spite of the difficult conditions of the ground. In particular, on Nov. 10, after a day of improved weather, the portion of Regina Trench lying to the east of the Courcelette-Pys road was carried on a front of about one thousand yards.

Throughout these operations the enemy's counterattacks were very numerous and determined, succeeding indeed in the evening of Oct. 23 in regaining a portion of the ground east of Le Sars taken from him by our attack on that day. On all other occasions his attacks were broken by our artillery or infantry and the losses incurred by him in these attempts, made frequently with considerable effectives, were undoubtedly very severe.

Attack on the Ancre

35. On Nov. 9 the long-continued bad weather took a turn for the better, and thereafter remained dry and cold, with frosty nights and misty mornings, for some days. Final preparations were therefore pushed on for the attack on the Ancre, though, as the ground was still very bad in places, it was

necessary to limit the operations to what it would be reasonably possible to consolidate and hold under the existing conditions.

The enemy's defenses in this area were already extremely formidable when they resisted our assault on July 1, and the succeeding period of four months had been spent in improving and adding to them in the light of the experience he had gained in the course of our attacks further south. The hamlet of St. Pierre Divion and the villages of Beaucourt-sur-Ancre and Beaumont Hamel, like the rest of the villages forming part of the enemy's original front in this district, were evidently intended by him to form a permanent line of fortifications, while he developed his offensive elsewhere. Realizing that his position in them had become a dangerous one, the enemy had multiplied the number of his guns covering this part of his line, and at the end of October introduced an additional division on his front between Grandcourt and Hébuterne.

36. At 5 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 11 the special bombardment preliminary to the attack was commenced. It continued with bursts of great intensity until 5:45 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 13, when it developed into a very effective barrage covering the assaulting infantry.

At that hour our troops advanced on the enemy's position through dense fog, and rapidly entered his first-line trenches on almost the whole of the front attacked, from east of Schwaben Redoubt to the north of Serre. South of the Ancre, where our assault was directed northward against the enemy's trenches on the northern slopes of the Thiepval Ridge, it met with a success altogether remarkable for rapidity of execution and lightness of cost. By 7:20 A. M. our objectives east of St. Pierre Divion had been captured, and the Germans in and about that hamlet were hemmed in between our troops and the river. Many of the enemy were driven into their dugouts and surrendered, and at 9 A. M. the number of prisoners was actually greater than the attacking force. St. Pierre Divion soon fell, and in this area nearly 1,400 prisoners were taken by a single division at the expense of less than 600 casualties. The rest of our forces operating south of the Ancre attained their objectives with equal completeness and success.

Struggle North of the Ancre

North of the river the struggle was more severe, but very satisfactory results were achieved. Though parties of the enemy held out for some hours during the day in strong points at various places along his first line and in Beaumont Hamel, the main attack pushed on. The troops attacking close to the right bank of the Ancre reached their second objectives to the west and northwest of Beaucourt during the morning, and held on there for the remainder of the day and night, though practically isolated from the rest of our attacking troops. Their tenacity was of the utmost value, and contributed very largely to the success of the operations. At nightfall our troops were established on the western outskirts of Beaucourt, in touch with our forces south of the river, and held a line along the station road from the Ancre toward Beaumont Hamel, where we occupied the village. Further north the enemy's first-line system for a distance of about half a mile beyond Beaumont Hamel was also in our hands. Still further north—opposite Serre—the ground was so heavy that it became necessary to abandon the attack at an early stage, although, despite all difficulties, our troops had in places reached the enemy's trenches in the course of their assault.

Next morning, at an early hour, the attack was renewed between Beaucourt and the top of the spur just north of Beaumont Hamel. The whole of Beaumont was carried, and our line extended to the northwest along the Beaucourt road across the southern end of the Beaumont Hamel spur. The number of our prisoners steadily rose, and during this and the succeeding days our front was carried forward eastward and northward up the slopes of the Beaumont Hamel spur.

The results of this attack were very satisfactory, especially as before its completion bad weather had set in again. We had secured the command of the Ancre Valley on both banks of the river at the point where it entered the enemy's lines, and, without great cost to ourselves, losses had been inflicted on the enemy which he himself admitted to be considerable. Our final total of prisoners taken in these operations, and their development during the subsequent days, exceeded 7,200, including 149 officers.

37. Throughout the period dealt with in this dispatch the rôle of the other armies holding our defensive line from the northern limits of the battle front to beyond Ypres was necessarily a secondary one, but their task was neither light nor unimportant. While required to give precedence in all respects to the needs of the Somme battle, they were responsible for the security of the line held by them and for keeping the enemy on their front constantly on the alert. Their rôle was a very trying one, entailing heavy work on the troops and constant vigilance on the part of commanders and staffs. It was carried out to my entire satisfaction, and in an unfailing spirit of unselfish and broad-minded devotion to the general good, which is deserving of the highest commendation.

Some idea of the thoroughness with which their duties were performed can be gathered from the fact that in the period of four and a half months from July 1 some 360 raids were carried out, in the course of which the enemy suffered many casualties and some hundreds of prisoners were taken by us. The largest of these operations was undertaken on July 19 in the neighborhood of Armentières. Our troops penetrated deeply into the enemy's defenses, doing much damage to his works and inflicting severe losses upon him.

Objects Achieved by Somme Battle

38. The three main objects with which we had commenced our offensive in July had already been achieved at the date when this account closes, in spite of the fact that the heavy Autumn rains had prevented full advantage from being taken of the favorable situation created by our advance, at a time when we had good grounds for hoping to achieve yet more important successes.

Verdun had been relieved, the main German forces had been held on the western front, and the enemy's strength had been very considerably worn down.

Any one of these three results is in itself sufficient to justify the Somme battle. The attainment of all three of them affords ample compensation for the splendid efforts of our troops and for the sacrifices made by ourselves and our allies. They have brought us a long step forward toward the final victory of the allied cause.

The desperate struggle for the possession of Verdun had invested that place with a moral and political importance out of all proportion to its military value. Its fall would undoubtedly have been proclaimed as a great victory for our enemies, and would have shaken the faith of many in our ultimate success. The failure of the enemy to capture it, despite great efforts and very heavy losses, was a severe blow to his prestige, especially in view of the confidence he had openly expressed as to the results of the struggle.

Information obtained both during the progress of the Somme battle and since the suspension of active operations has fully established the effect of our offensive in keeping the enemy's main forces tied to the western front. A movement of German troops eastward, which had commenced in June as a result of the Russian successes, continued for a short time only after the opening of the allied attack. Thereafter the enemy forces that moved east consisted, with one exception, of divisions that had been exhausted in the Somme battle, and these troops were always replaced on the western front by fresh divisions. In November the strength of the enemy in the western theatre of was was greater than in July, notwithstanding the abandonment of his offensive at Verdun. It is possible that if Verdun had fallen large forces might still have been employed in an endeavor further to exploit that success. It is, however, far more probable, in view of developments in the eastern theatre, that a considerable transfer of troops in that direction would have followed. It is therefore justifiable to conclude that the Somme offensive not only relieved Verdun but held large forces which would otherwise have been employed against our allies in the east.

The third great object of the allied operations on the Somme was the wearing down of the enemy's powers of resistance. Any statement of the extent to which this has been attained must depend in some degree on estimates. There is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence to place it beyond doubt that the enemy's losses in men and material have been very considerably higher than those of the Allies, while morally the balance of advantage on our side is still greater.

During the period under review a steady deterioration took place in the morale of large numbers of the enemy's troops. Many of them, it is true, fought with the greatest determination, even in the latest encounters, but the resistance of still larger numbers became latterly decidedly feebler than it had been in the earlier stages of the battle. Aided by the great depth of his defenses and by the frequent reliefs which his resources in men enabled him to effect, discipline and training held the machine together sufficiently to enable the enemy to rally and reorganize his troops after each fresh defeat. As our advance progressed, four-fifths of the total number of divisions engaged on the western front were thrown one after another into the Somme battle, some of them twice, and some three times; and toward the end of the operations, when the weather unfortunately broke, there can be no doubt that his power of resistance had been very seriously diminished.

Tribute to British Troops

The number of prisoners taken by us in the Somme battle between July 1 and Nov. 18 is just over 38,000, including over 800 officers. During the same period we captured 29 heavy guns, 96 field guns and field howitzers, 136 trench mortars, and 514 machine guns.

So far as these results are due to the action of the British forces, they have been attained by troops the vast majority of whom had been raised and trained during the war. Many of them, especially among the drafts sent to replace wastage, counted their service by months, and gained in the Somme battle their first experience of war. The conditions under which we entered the war had made this unavoidable. We were compelled either to use hastily trained and inexperienced officers and men, or else to defer the offensive until we had trained them. In this latter case we should have failed our allies. That these troops should have accomplished so much under such conditions, and against an army and a nation whose chief concern for so many years has been preparation for war, constitutes a feat of which the history of our nation records no equal. The difficulties and hardships cheerfully overcome, and the endurance, determination, and invincible courage shown in meeting them, can hardly be imagined by those who have not had personal experience of the battle, even though they have themselves seen something of war.

The events which I have described in this dispatch form but a bare outline of the more important occurrences. To deal in any detail even with these without touching on the smaller fights and the ceaseless work in the trenches continuing day and night for five

months is not possible here. Nor have I deemed it permissible in this dispatch, much as I desired to do so, to particularize the units, brigades, or divisions especially connected with the different events described. It would not be possible to do so without giving useful information to the enemy. Recommendations for individual rewards have been forwarded separately, and in due course full details will be made known. Meanwhile, it must suffice to say that troops from every part of the British Isles, and from every dominion and quarter of the empire, whether regulars, territorials, or men of the new armies, have borne a share in the battle of the Somme. While some have been more fortunate than others in opportunities for distinction, all have done their duty nobly.

Among all the long roll of victories borne on the colors of our regiments there has never been a higher test of the endurance and resolution of our infantry. They have shown themselves worthy of the highest traditions of our race and of the proud records of former wars.

Against such defenses as we had to assault —far more formidable in many respects than those of the most famous fortresses in history—infantry would have been powerless without thoroughly efficient artillery preparation and support. The work of our artillery was wholly admirable, though the strain on the personnel was enormous. The excellence of the results attained was the more remarkable in view of the shortness of the training of most of the junior officers and of the N. C. O.'s and men. Despite this, they rose to a very high level of technical and tactical skill, and the combination between artillery and infantry, on which, above everything, victory depends, was an outstanding feature of the battle. Good even in July, it improved with experience, until in the latter assaults it approached perfection.

The Royal Flying Corps

In this combination between infantry and artillery the Royal Flying Corps played a highly important part. The admirable work of this corps has been a very satisfactory feature of the battle. Under the conditions of modern war the duties of the Air Service are many and varied. They include the regulation and control of artillery fire by indicating targets and observing and reporting the results of rounds; the taking of photographs of enemy trenches, strong points, battery positions, and of the effect of bombardments; and the observation of the movements of the enemy behind his lines.

The greatest skill and daring has been shown in the performance of all these duties, as well as in bombing expeditions. Our Air Service has also co-operated with our infantry in their assaults, signaling the position of our attacking troops and turning machine guns on to the enemy infantry and even on to his batteries in action.

Not only has the work of the Royal Flying Corps to be carried out in all weathers and under constant fire from the ground, but fighting in the air has now become a normal procedure, in order to maintain the mastery over the enemy's Air Service. In these fights the greatest skill and determination have been shown, and great success has attended the efforts of the Royal Flying Corps. I desire to point out, however, that the maintenance of mastery in the air, which is essential, entails a constant and liberal supply of the most up-to-date machines, without which even the most skillfull pilots cannot succeed.

The style of warfare in which we have been engaged offered no scope for cavalry action with the exception of the one instance already mentioned, in which a small body of cavalry gave useful assistance in the advance on High Wood.

Work of Other Services

Intimately associated with the artillery and infantry in attack and defense the work of various special services contributed much toward the successes gained.

Trench mortars, both heavy and light, have become an important adjunct to artillery in trench warfare, and valuable work has been done by the personnel in charge of these weapons. Considerable experience has been gained in their use, and they are likely to be employed even more frequently in the struggle in future.

Machine guns play a great part—almost a decisive part under some conditions—in modern war, and our Machine Gun Corps has attained to considerable proficiency in their use, handling them with great boldness and skill. The highest value of these weapons is displayed on the defensive rather than in the offensive, and we were attacking. Nevertheless, in attack also machine guns can exercise very great influence in the hands of men with a quick eye for opportunity and capable of a bold initiative. The Machine Gun Corps, though comparatively recently formed, has done very valuable work and will increase in importance.

The part played by the new amored cars —known as "tanks"—in some of the later fights has been brought to notice by me already in my daily reports. These cars proved of great value on various occasions, and the personnel in charge of them performed many deeds of remarkable valor.

The employment by the enemy of gas and of liquid flame as weapons of offense compelled us not only to discover ways to protect our troops from their effects but also to devise means to make use of the same instruments of destruction. Great fertility of invention has been shown, and very great credit is due to the special personnel employed for the rapidity and success with which these new arms have been developed and perfected, and for the very great devotion to duty they have displayed in a difficult and dangerous service. The army owes its thanks to the chemists, physiologists, and

physicists of the highest rank who devoted their energies to enabling us to surpass the enemy in the use of a means of warfare which took the civilized world by surprise. Our own experience of the numerous experiments and trials necessary before gas and flame could be used, of the great preparations which had to be made for their manufacture, and of the special training required for the personnel employed, shows that the employment of such methods by the Germans was not the result of a desperate decision, but had been prepared for deliberately.

Since we have been compelled, in self-defense, to use similar methods, it is satisfactory to be able to record, on the evidence of prisoners, of documents captured, and of our own observation, that the enemy has suffered heavy casualties from our gas atacks, while the means of protection adopted by us have proved thoroughly effective.

Praise of the Engineers

Throughout the operations engineer troops, both from home and overseas, have played an important rôle, and in every engagement the field companies, assisted by pioneers, have co-operated with the other arms with the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty.

In addition to the demands made on the services of the Royal Engineers in the firing line, the duties of the corps during the preparation and development of the offensive embraced the execution of a vast variety of important works, to which attention has already been drawn in this dispatch. Whether in or behind the firing line, or on the lines of communication, these skilled troops have continued to show the power of resource and the devotion to duty by which they have ever been characterized.

The tunneling companies still maintain their superiority over the enemy underground, thus safeguarding their comrades in the trenches. Their skill, enterprise, and courage have been remarkable, and, thanks to their efforts, the enemy has nowhere been able to achieve a success of any importance by mining.

During the battle of the Somme the work of the tunneling companies contributed in no small degree to the successful issue of several operations.

The field survey companies have worked throughout with ability and devotion, and have not only maintained a constant supply of the various maps required as the battle progressed, but have in various other ways been of great assistance to the artillery.

The Signal Service, created a short time before the war began on a very small scale, has expanded in proportion with the rest of the army, and is now a very large organization.

It provides the means of intercommunication between all the armies and all parts of them, and in modern war requirements in this respect are on an immense and elaborate scale. The calls on this service have been very heavy, entailing a most severe strain, often under most trying and dangerous conditions. Those calls have invariably been met with conspicuous success, and no service has shown a more whole-hearted and untiring energy in the fulfillment of its duty.

Supply System Never Failed

The great strain of the five months' battle was met with equal success by the Army Service Corps and the Ordnance Corps, as well as by all the other administrative services and departments, both on the lines of communication and in front of them. The maintenance of large armies in a great battle under modern conditions is a colossal task. Though bad weather often added very considerably to the difficulties of transport, the troops never wanted for food, ammunition, or any of the other many and varied requirements for the supply of which these services and departments are responsible. This fact in itself is the highest testimony that can be given to the energy and efficiency with which the work was conducted.

In connection with the maintenance and supply of our troops, I desire to express the obligation of the army to the navy for the unfailing success with which, in the face of every difficulty, the large numbers of men and the vast quantities of material required by us have been transported across the seas.

I also desire to record the obligation of the army in the field to the various authorities at home, and to the workers under them—women as well as men—by whose efforts and self-sacrifice all our requirements were met. Without the vast quantities of munitions and stores of all sorts provided, and without the drafts of men sent to replace wastage, the efforts of our troops could not have been maintained.

Heroic Medical Service

The losses entailed by the constant fighting threw a specially heavy strain on the medical services. This has been met with the greatest zeal and efficiency. The gallantry and devotion with which officers and men of the regimental medical service and field ambulances have discharged their duties is shown by the large number of the R. A. M. C. and Medical Corps of the dominions who have fallen in the field. The work of the medical services behind the front has been no less arduous. The untiring professional zeal and marked ability of the surgical specialists and consulting surgeons, combined with the skill and devotion of the medical and nursing staffs, both at the casualty clearing stations in the field and the stationary and general hospitals at the base, have been beyond praise. In this respect also the Director General has on many occasions expressed to me the immense help the British Red Cross Society has been to him in assisting the R. A. M. C. in its work.

The health of the troops has been most satisfactory, and, during the period to which this dispatch refers, there has been an almost complete absence of wastage due to disease of a preventable nature.

With such large forces as we now have in the field, the control exercised by a Com-

mander in Chief is necessarily restricted to a general guidance, and great responsibilities devolve on the army commanders.

In the Somme battle these responsibilities were intrusted to Generals Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Hubert Gough, commanding respectively the Fourth and Fifth Armies, who for five months controlled the operations of very large forces in one of the greatest if not absolutely the greatest struggle that has ever taken place.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the great qualities displayed by these commanders throughout the battle. Their thorough knowledge of the profession and their cool and sound judgment, tact, and determination proved fully equal to every call on them. They entirely justified their selection for such responsible commands.

The preparations for the battle, with the exception of those at Gommecourt, were carried out under Sir Henry Rawlinson's orders. It was not until after the assault of July 1 that Sir Hubert Gough was placed in charge of a portion of the front of attack, in order to enable Sir Henry Rawlinson to devote his whole attention to the area in which I then decided to concentrate the main effort.

The army commanders have brought to my notice the excellent work done by their staff officers and technical advisers, as well as by the various commanders and staffs serving under them, and I have already submitted the names of the various officers and others recommended by them.

I desire also to record my obligation to my own staff at General Headquarters and on the lines of communication, and to the various technical advisers attached thereto for their loyal and untiring assistance.

Throughout the operations the whole army has worked with a remarkable absence of friction and with a self-sacrifice and whole-hearted devotion to the common cause which is beyond praise. This has insured and will continue to insure the utmost concentration of effort. It is indeed a privilege to work with such officers and with such men.

I cannot close this dispatch without alluding to the happy relations which continue to exist between the allied armies and between our troops and the civil population in France and Belgium. The unfailing co-operation of our allies, their splendid fighting qualities, and the kindness and good-will universally displayed toward us have won the gratitude as well as the respect and admiration of all ranks of the British armies.

Future Prospects

In conclusion, I desire to add a few words as to future prospects.

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects. The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year. Neither victors nor the vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense.

Our new armies entered the battle with the determination to win and with confidence in their power to do so. They have proved to themselves, to the enemy, and to the world that this confidence was justified, and in the fierce struggle they have been through they have learned many valuable lessons which will help them in the future.

I have the honor to be, your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG,
General, Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

How France Breaks the News to Bereaved Families

A correspondent of a London paper, criticising the British official method of announcing the sad news of the fallen, thus describes the more humane procedure used in France:

I think we could not do better than to copy the method used by the French Ministry of War in communicating the news of the death of each heroic soldier to his family. Instead of sending the cold, bare fact by telegraph or post, the news is sent to that important official in French public life, the local Mayor. The document requests him to convey the sad news to the bereaved with all possible sympathy and delicacy and to report to the Ministry of War the date upon which the visit was made. The Mayor, in his turn, has willing helpers in the matter, who personally visit the relatives and offer them the thanks of the French Nation for their sacrifice and express to them those words of comfort which are so precious at such a time. I have just returned from Paris, where I was enabled to judge personally of the excellent results of this system and to see its effects upon the spirit of the people—a spirit which is the admiration of the whole world.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

Germany's Last Resort

—From Il 420, Florence.

The chained eagle spells "Peace" with its chains.

The Allies' Answer

To the end!

Futilè Regrets

—*From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.*

THE LEARNER (to the sea of blood): "Back, I say, back!"

THE MASTER: "Ha ha!!!"

[German Cartoon]

The American Pawnshop

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

Times are pinching, times are pinching
For you Entente nations;
In the distance looms grim hunger,
For you're short of rations!

Run to Morgan, run to Morgan,
Run like frightened orphans!
All your crowns and lands and rubbish
You must pawn for war funds!

[German Cartoon]

The First Peace Call

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

"Come over here!..... Nobody answers."

[Polish Cartoon]

The Peace Proposal Trap

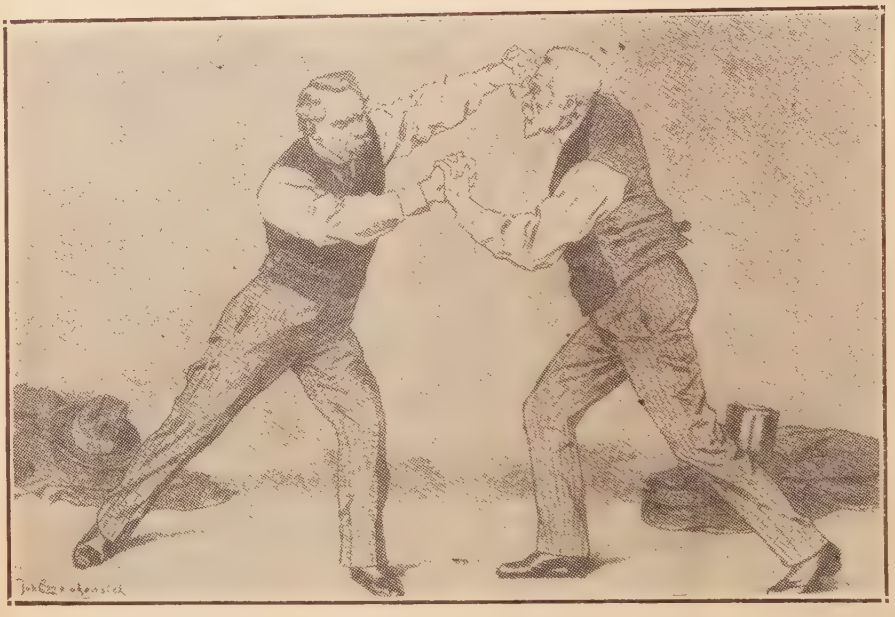
—From Mucha of Moscow, late of Warsaw.

WILHELM: "Well?"

BETHMANN: "It was no go! Not one of the mice showed any sign of entering!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Trial of Strength



—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

LLOYD GEORGE
BETHMANN HOLLWEG } Kneel!!!

[French Cartoon]

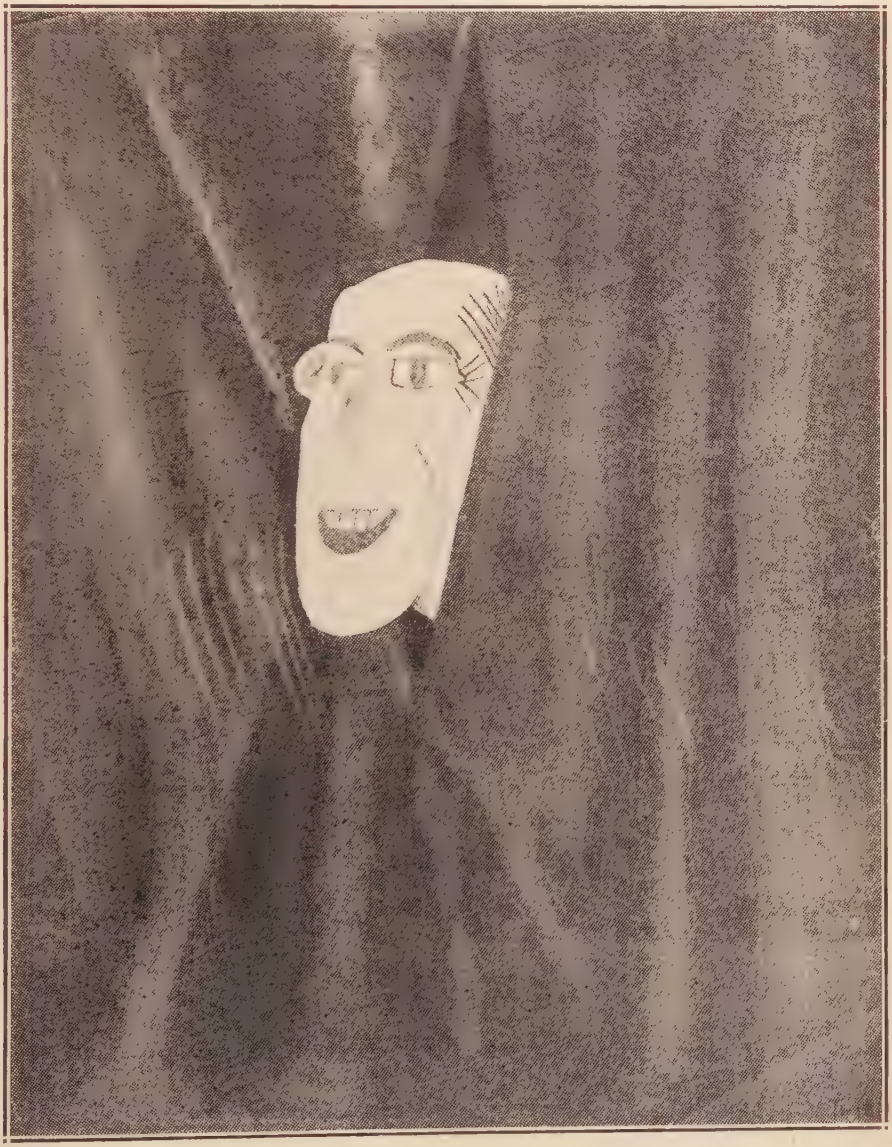
Answering Our Peace Note

—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.*

FRANCE TO PRESIDENT WILSON: "What would you say if that were New York?"

[German Cartoon]

Our Neutral Friend



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

"Peek-a-boo! Here I am again!"

[Published in Berlin at the time of President Wilson's peace efforts.]

[American Cartoon]

The Only Answer

—*From The New York Herald.*

KAISER: "One day in the week you may go to Falmouth."
UNITED STATES: "Seven days in the week you may go to ——!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The American Peace Note

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

The instrument is American, but the music is undoubtedly Wagnerian.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace

—*From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.*

The word that was blotted out.

NOTE.—"Vrede" is the Dutch word for peace.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Chanticleer

—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

CHANTICLEER (the Kaiser): "At my song the Sun of Peace arises."

[The words coming from his mouth mean "Anti-war conference"]

[Dutch Cartoon]

A Serenade in Vain

—From De Amsterdammer.

PEACE (at the window): "It's useless, Fritz! I don't trust you."

[French Cartoon]

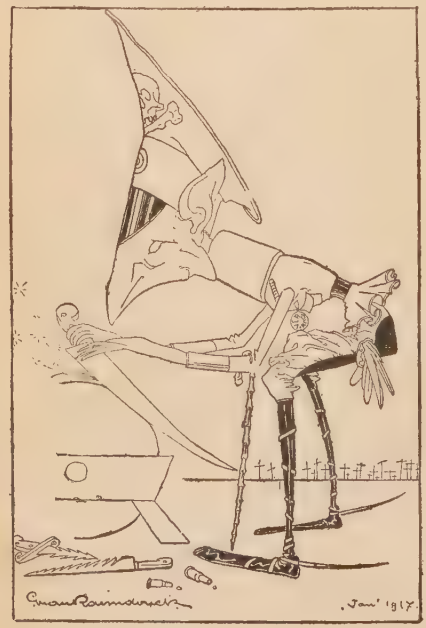
Fine Promises

—From Le Journal, Paris.

"On our German honor, we will never pass through Switzerland. We swear it by Belgium!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The German Hero of Verdun

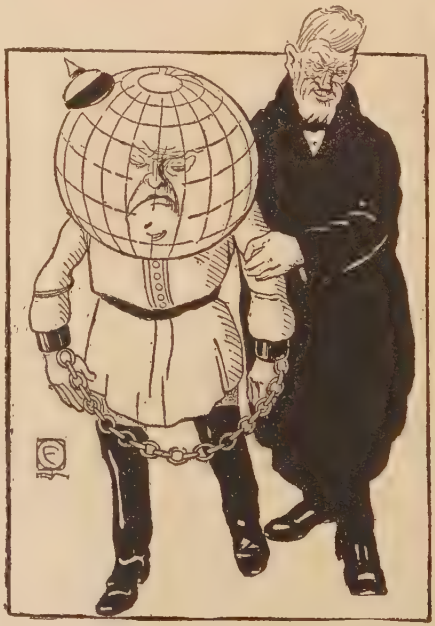


—From De Amsterdammer.

Getting ready for the next job.

[Italian Cartoon]

Germany's Program



—From Il 420, Florence.

BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "You wish to see our peace conditions? Here you are!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

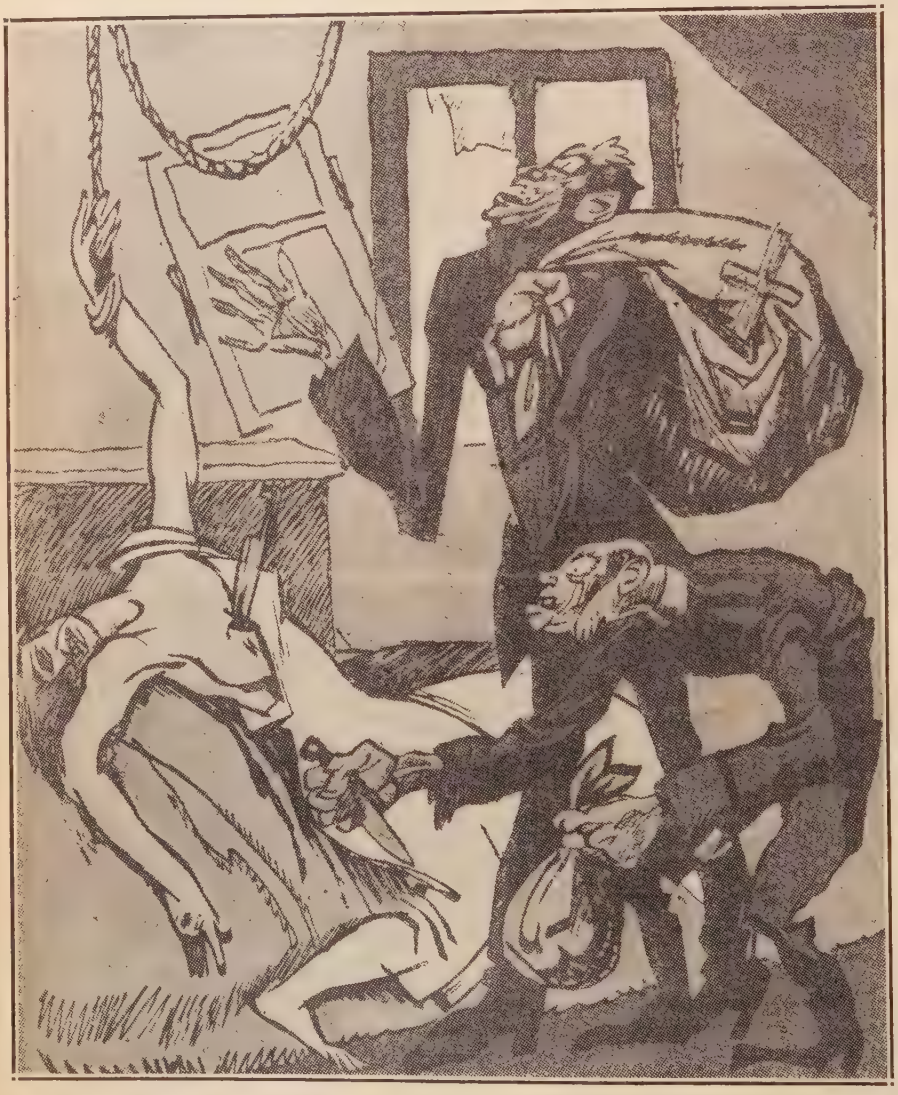
Herod the Second

—From Esquella, Barcelona.

With apologies to Herod the First.

[Russian Cartoon]

In the Name of Progress



—From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

KAISER: "My dear Poland, you must be an independent kingdom—I have said it!"

[German Cartoon]

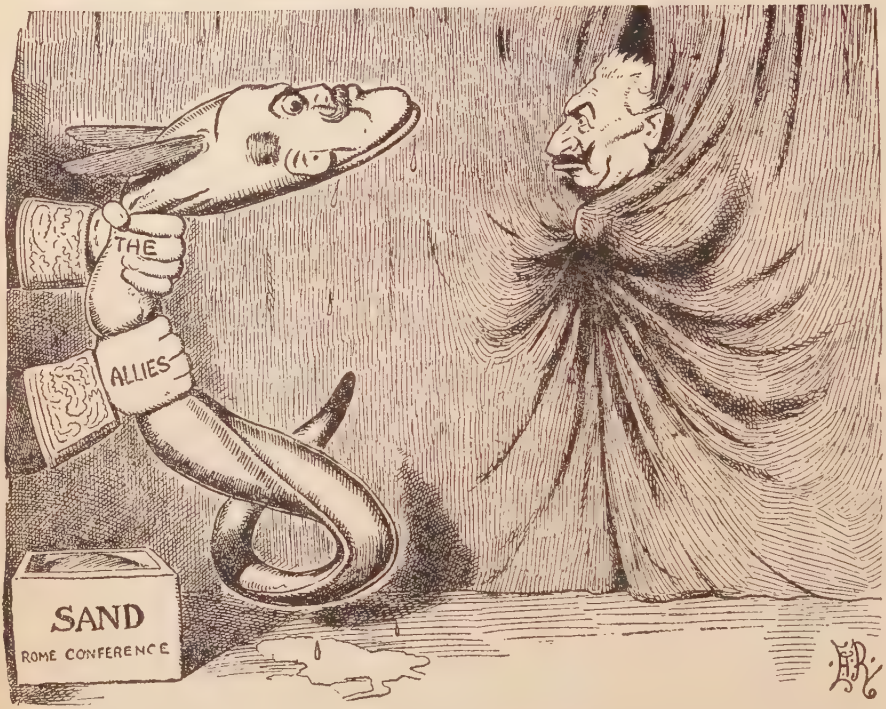
Panic in the Munition Business

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

UNCLE SAM TO DEATH: "Why do you wish so suddenly to sever our important business relations?" [Apropos of America's peace efforts.]

[English Cartoon]

The Sanded Eel



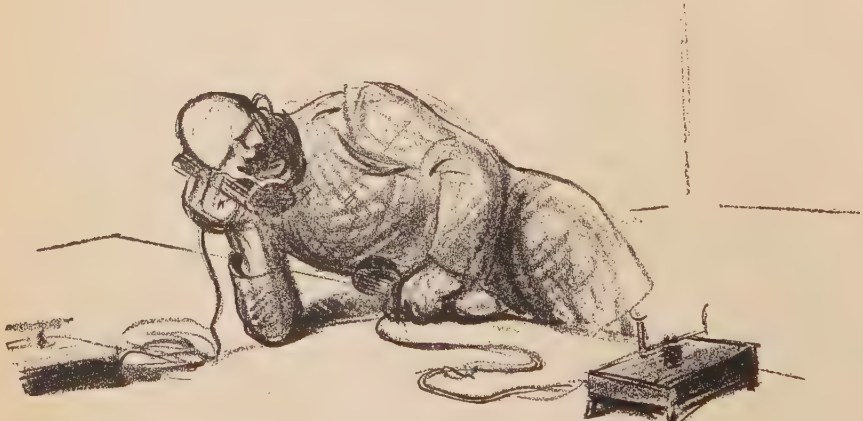
—From The Pall Mall Gazette.

THE CONCEALED BROTHER-IN-LAW: "Wriggle, Tino! Wriggle! Wriggle like the deuce!"

CONSTANTINE THE SLIPPERY: "Oh, it's all very fine! I think I've done my bit at wriggling; but they've got some *sand* or something now, and it's not so easy, I can tell you!"

[French Cartoon]

Greece Accepts the Ultimatum



—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

CONSTANTINE, TELEPHONING TO THE KAISER: "I don't see what is troubling you. I have given them nothing but my word."

[German Cartoon]

Sympathy

—© *Jugend.*

"The more I see of men the happier I am to be an ape."

[German Cartoon]

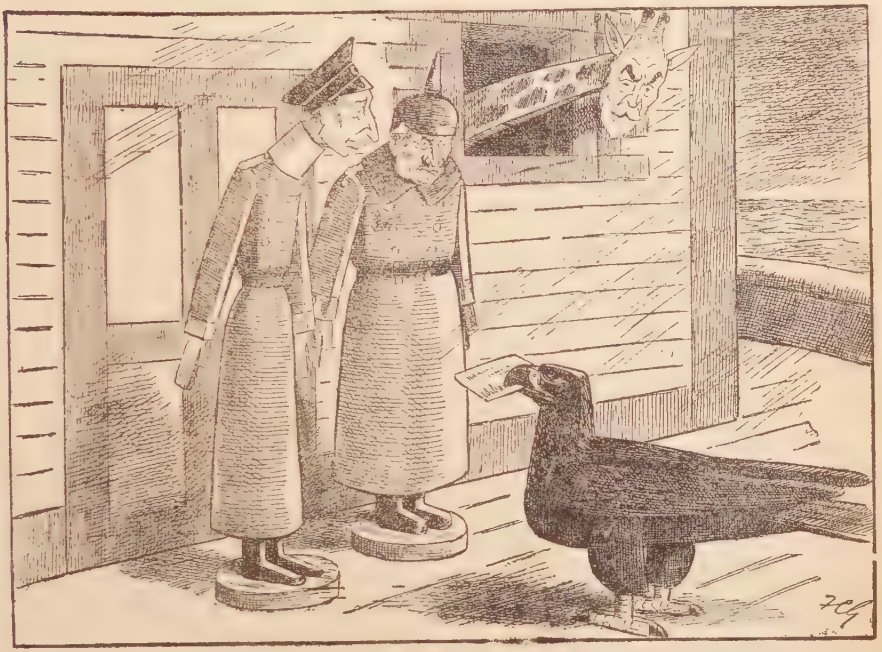
Lloyd George

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

Sensational attraction! England's strongest man appears in his unequaled Entente juggling act!

[English Cartoons]

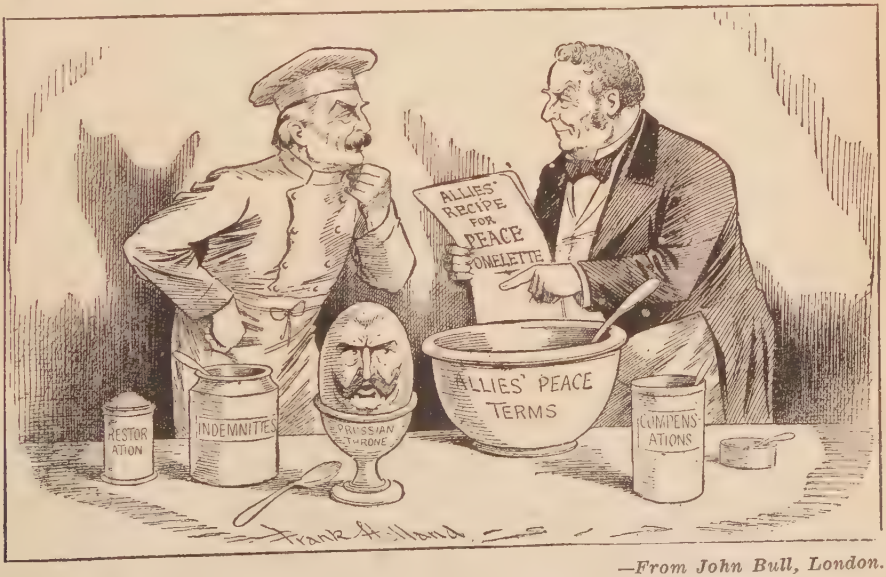
A Note of Interrogation



—From The Westminster Gazette.

KAISER NOAH: "What has he brought back? An olive branch?"
CROWN PRINCE SHEM: "No, father; it looks like a note from Wilson."

Sparing the Egg and Spoiling the Omelette

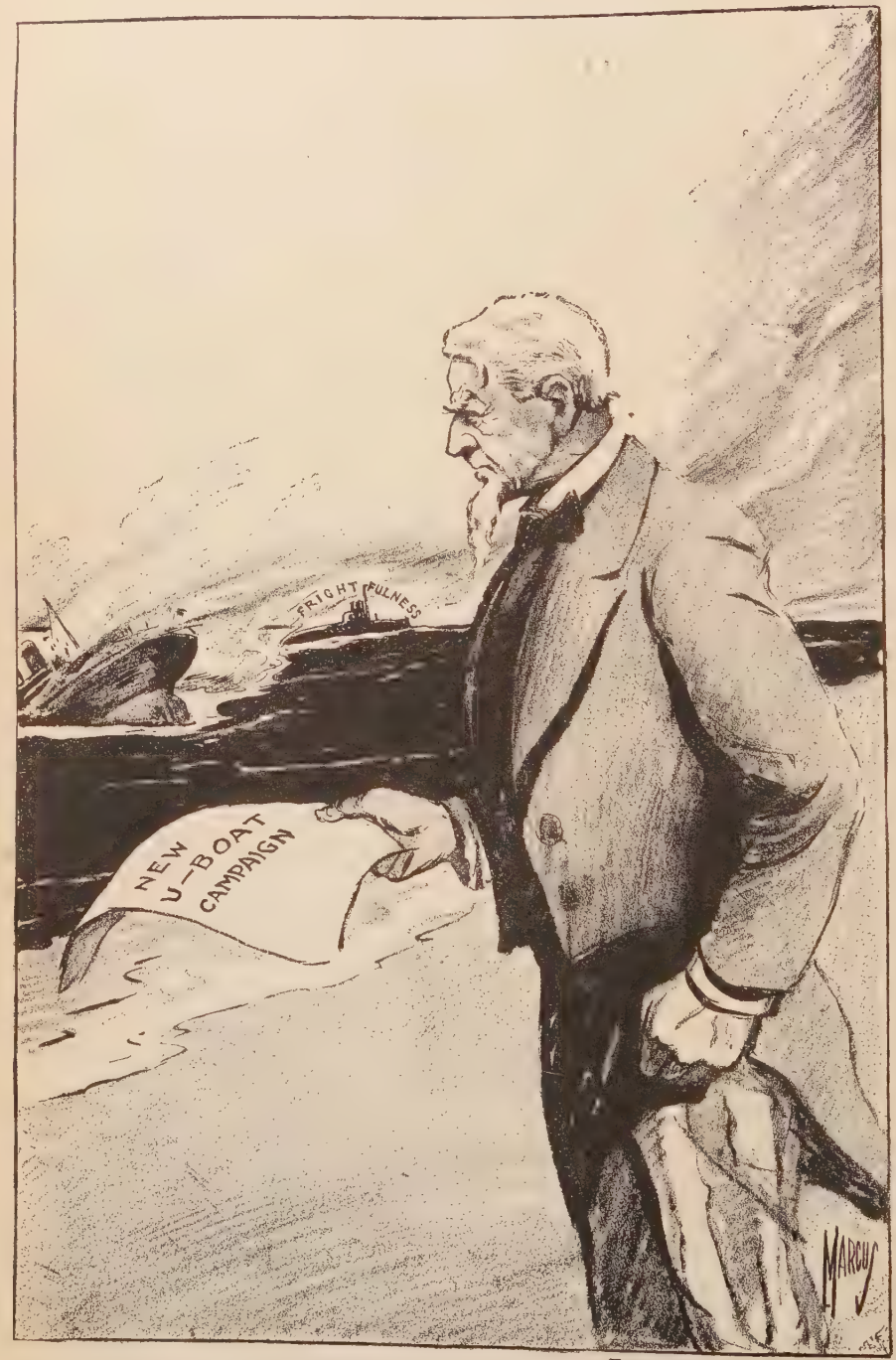


—From John Bull, London.

JOHN BULL: "Yes, the recipe's good, George, as far as it goes, but I don't think the omelette will be a success unless you break the egg."

[American Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's Problem



—*From The New York Times.*

"One cannot keep peace longer than his neighbor will let him."

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
v.5
/Current history of the European War
3 3645 00060637 9

NOT TO BE TAKEN
FROM THIS ROOM.

D510 .C87 1914
vol.5
Current history of the
European War : in 8 vols.

NO.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA

S0-BLB-897